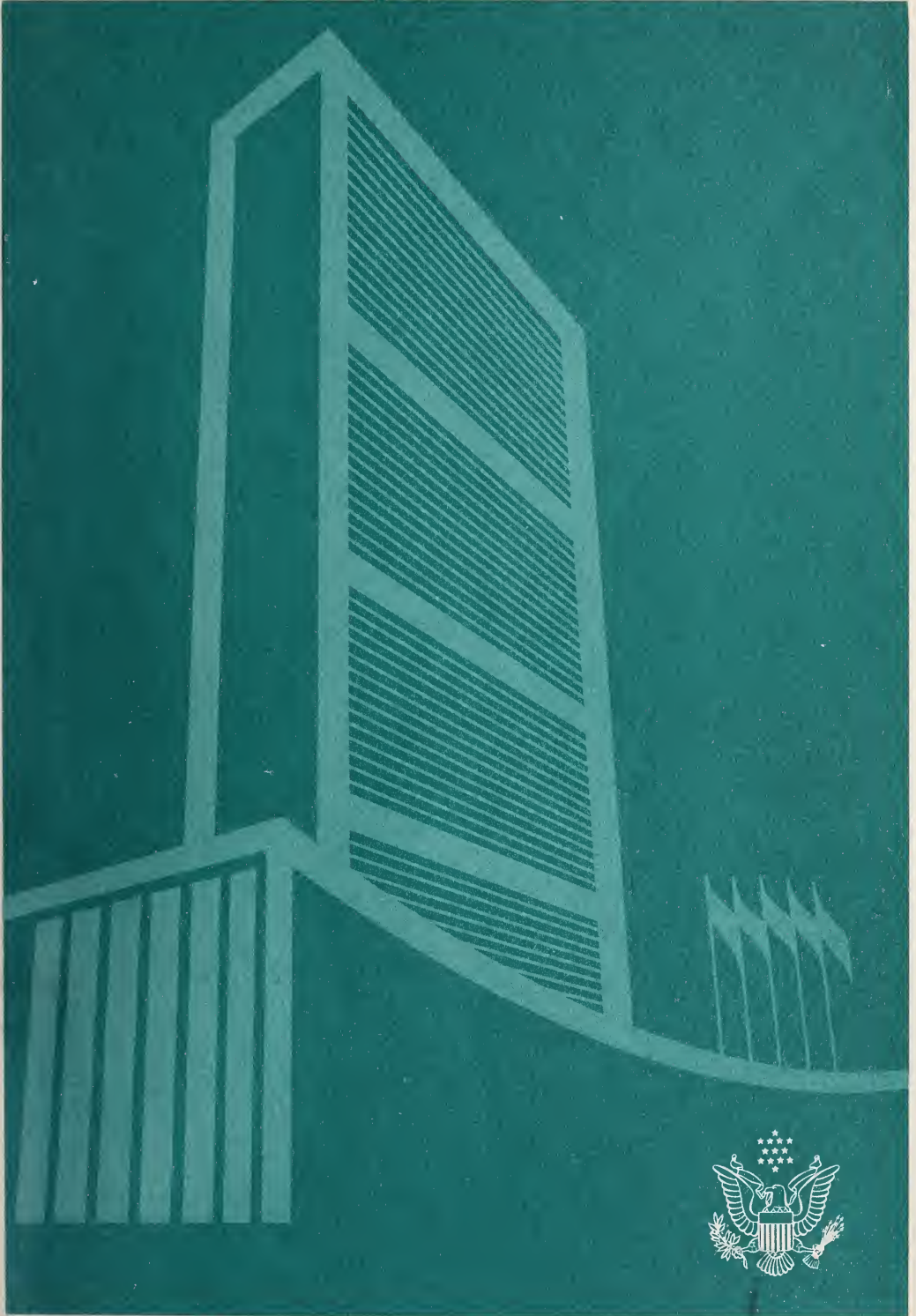


# U.S. Participation in the UN



REPORT BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE CONGRESS FOR THE YEAR 1971

## Abbreviations and Short Forms

ACABQ	—Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions
ACASTD	—Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development
ACC	—Administrative Committee on Coordination
Committee on Colonialism	—Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples
Committee of 33	—Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations
CCD	—Conference of the Committee on Disarmament
ECA	—Economic Commission for Africa
ECAFE	—Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East
ECE	—Economic Commission for Europe
ECLA	—Economic Commission for Latin America
ECOSOC	—Economic and Social Council
FAO	—Food and Agriculture Organization
GATT	—General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
IAEA	—International Atomic Energy Agency
IBRD	—International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICAO	—International Civil Aviation Organization
ICRC	—International Committee of the Red Cross
ICSU	—International Council of Scientific Unions
IDA	—International Development Association
ILO	—International Labor Organization
IMCO	—Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization
IMF	—International Monetary Fund
IOC	—Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission
ITU	—International Telecommunication Union
NATO	—North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OAS	—Organization of American States
OUA	—Organization of African Unity
OECD	—Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
UNCITRAL	—UN Commission on International Trade Law
UNCTAD	—UN Conference on Trade and Development
UNCURK	—UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea
UNDP	—UN Development Program
UNESCO	—UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNFICYP	—UN Force in Cyprus
UNHCR	—Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	—UN Children's Fund
UNIDO	—UN Industrial Development Organization
UNITAR	—UN Institute for Training and Research
UNRWA	—UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East
UNSCEAR	—UN Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation
UNTSO	—UN Truce Supervision Organization
UPU	—Universal Postal Union
WFP	—World Food Program
WHO	—World Health Organization
WMO	—World Meteorological Organization

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

REPORT BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE CONGRESS FOR THE YEAR 1971

**DEPARTMENT OF STATE PUBLICATION 8675**  
**International Organization and Conference Series 104**

*Released September 1972*

**BUREAU OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AFFAIRS**

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# LETTERS OF TRANSMITTAL

## *The President of the United States*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

It is a pleasure to transmit to the Congress the 25th annual report on United States participation in the work of the United Nations. This report covers the calendar year 1971.

During the period under review there were many developments within the UN framework of importance to the United States and to other member states. Some of these events were favorable; others were not. Among the former:

- The General Assembly decided to seat the representatives of the People's Republic of China, and this was followed by corresponding action in the Security Council.
- The United Nations established a Fund for Drug Abuse Control that will finance a concerted worldwide action program to assist member states in reducing both the demand for and the supply of dangerous drugs.
- At a plenipotentiary conference in Vienna sponsored by the United Nations, a Convention on Psychotropic Substances was adopted, designed to curb the misuse of such substances as the hallucinogens, amphetamines, barbiturates, and tranquilizers.
- The 26th General Assembly endorsed two treaties, both sponsored by the United States, and expressed its hope for the widest possible adherence to them. The first was the Convention on International Liability for Damage Caused by Space Objects; the second was the Convention on the Prohibition of Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction.

- In December the United Nations elected a new Secretary General, Ambassador Kurt Waldheim of Austria.
- At an international conference in Montreal sponsored by the International Civil Aviation Organization, a Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Civil Aviation was adopted.
- The UN Economic and Social Council was strengthened by the Assembly's decision to adopt and submit to member states for ratification an amendment to the Charter that will double the Council's membership to 54, thereby making it a more representative body. In addition the Council created two new standing committees, one concerned with review and appraisal of the progress toward the goals of the Second UN Development Decade, and the other concerned with problems of science and technology.
- The United Nations created the position of Disaster Relief Coordinator within the UN Secretariat to assist countries stricken by disasters.

In addition to these favorable developments there were others that were disappointing.

- The Republic of China, a member in good standing for many years, was deprived of representation by the same resolution that gave representation to the People's Republic of China. This action was extremely regrettable and was strongly opposed by the United States.
- Despite determined efforts by the United States and others, the war between India and Pakistan demonstrated again the severe limitations on the organization's ability to carry out its primary function, the maintenance of international peace and security.
- No progress was made toward resolving the differences among UN members on the organization and conduct of peace-keeping missions.
- The General Assembly's effort to rationalize its organization and procedures fell far short of our hopes.
- The United Nations made no great progress toward resolving its difficult financial problems.

During 1971 the United States Government announced its intention to negotiate a reduction in the rate of its UN assessment to a level no higher than 25 percent. This decision is in line with a recommendation by the Commission for the Observance of the 25th Anniversary of the United Nations, chaired by Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, and is consonant with our belief that an

organization of almost universal membership should not be overly dependent upon a single member for its financial support.

This proposed reduction in our rate of assessment does not affect our voluntary contributions to various UN programs. Indeed, the Lodge Commission recommended increases of at least corresponding size in voluntary contributions whose size depends on each nation's judgment of its own interests and capabilities.

These and many other topics are covered in the report. I commend to the Congress this record of our participation in the United Nations during 1971.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Richard Nixon". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned centrally on the page.

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
*September 1972.*



## *The Secretary of State to the President*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
*Washington, July 19, 1972*

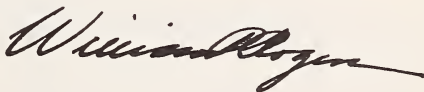
THE PRESIDENT:

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 1971 has therefore been prepared.

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

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

Respectfully submitted,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "William P. Rogers", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

THE PRESIDENT,  
*The White House.*



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**Part I**

*Maintenance of Peace  
and Security*





# Disarmament and Arms Control

## Conference of the Committee on Disarmament

Since its enlargement in 1969, the CCD has had 26 members.<sup>1</sup> The U.S. and Soviet Representatives serve as Cochairmen. In 1971 the American delegation was led by Ambassador James F. Leonard, Assistant Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA). There were two sessions of the Conference in 1971: February 23-May 13 and June 29-September 30.

### CHEMICAL AND BACTERIOLOGICAL (BIOLOGICAL) WEAPONS

In a February 23 message to the CCD, President Nixon expressed the belief that there was an opportunity for progress in the field of chemical and biological weapons. There was a common interest among CCD members in achieving effective restraints on these weapons, and they were aware that such progress would "enhance their own security and international security in general." The President believed that an agreement prohibiting the development, production, and stockpiling of biological weapons should serve these objectives. On chemical weapons, however, there were difficult problems of verification. The United States was determined to pursue

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

the task of finding solutions to these problems and would support in a biological weapons convention a commitment to further negotiations on limitations on chemical weapons.

At the outset of the 1971 negotiations, the principal issue was whether both chemical and biological weapons should be covered in a single convention. The Soviet Union and its allies maintained that this was necessary and desirable and continued to support their draft convention of October 23, 1970, banning the production, acquisition, and stockpiling of chemical and biological weapons.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Leonard, urged the Conference to negotiate a convention exclusively on biological weapons along the lines of the British draft of August 18, 1970. If this were done, the CCD would for the first time have achieved a "genuine and significant disarmament measure." Biological weapons posed a far greater threat to mankind than chemical weapons, and the British draft was a negotiable and effective instrument to deal with the danger. Meanwhile, the United States would continue its efforts to find a solution to the problem of verifying effective restraints on chemical weapons.

The U.S. Representative called attention to an ACDA study which showed that large quantities of organophosphorus nerve agent could be manufactured and stockpiled without detection by existing national means. One of the most effective deterrents at present against the use of chemical weapons was the belief that they would be used in retaliation, and many parties to

the Geneva Protocol<sup>1</sup> had reserved the right to retaliate in kind. Before giving up the capability to retaliate, nations would wish to be protected by an effective verification system.

During the spring session of the CCD, the Soviet Union shifted its position and abandoned its previous insistence on simultaneously prohibiting chemical and biological weapons. On March 30 the Soviet Union and its allies tabled a draft convention to ban the development, production, stockpiling, or acquisition of biological agents or toxins and their means of delivery. Existing stocks were to be destroyed or diverted to peaceful uses within 3 months after the convention became effective. The convention would be verified by national means, but parties would also consult and cooperate to settle questions involving observance. Complaints which could not be resolved through mutual consultation could be placed before the Security Council, which would investigate complaints and report its findings to the parties. There would be a review conference after 5 years, and the parties to the convention would undertake to negotiate on effective measures to prohibit chemical weapons. The convention would not limit or detract from obligations under the Geneva Protocol.

The Soviet draft convention was closely modeled in many respects on the British proposal. Unlike the British draft, however, it contained no ban on the use of biological weapons, and the Polish Representative argued that none was necessary, since the Geneva Protocol would remain in force and all stocks would be destroyed. The U.S. Rep-

resentative maintained that a ban on use was still desirable since reservations by many states on the Geneva Protocol permitted the use of biological weapons in retaliation. He also believed that the complaint procedures of the British proposal were stronger, since they provided for automatic, quick, and impartial investigations and reports to the Security Council.

Most CCD members now accepted the idea of a separate convention on biological weapons, but the Swedish and Mexican Representatives were not convinced. Concerned that a separate biological weapons convention might delay agreement on chemical weapons, they continued to advocate a comprehensive agreement covering both.

The U.S. Representative said that the U.K. draft and the new Soviet draft had prepared the way for early negotiation of an agreement which would receive broad support from the international community.

On August 5, the United States and the U.S.S.R. and its allies submitted separate but identical draft conventions, the basic provisions of which were very similar to the Soviet March 30 draft. The third article was a revised version of a Soviet article prohibiting the international transfer of biological weapons. The new draft omitted a previous Soviet article making each party responsible for compliance by "legal or physical persons of that state." However, it added to an article on the measures to be taken by parties the obligation to cover all biological weapons and toxins "within the territory of such state, under its jurisdiction or under its control anywhere."

The fifth and sixth articles provided for consultation and cooperation and for complaints to the Security Council. The seventh article stated that nothing in the conven-

<sup>1</sup> Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, signed at Geneva on June 17, 1925.

tion would detract from obligations under the Geneva Protocol. The eighth article contained an undertaking to negotiate in good faith on prohibiting chemical weapons. The ninth article provided for the exchange of information, equipment, and materials on the peaceful uses of biological agents and toxins. Other articles covered amendments, a review conference, duration, signature, and authentic copies. On the suggestion of Egypt, a withdrawal clause was added to the duration article.

The U.S. Representative said that the new draft owed much to the previous British proposal, which had presented the basic framework for an agreement on biological weapons. The proposed convention was a real disarmament measure which would outlaw a potentially dangerous weapon and support and strengthen the Geneva Protocol. Recalling the President's message, he noted that the convention contained a commitment to undertake further negotiations on chemical weapons.

The August 5 draft won wide support in the CCD, but there were many proposals for changes. The Canadians, Japanese, and Italians wished to add a provision specifically prohibiting use. The U.K. Representative renewed his proposals for international investigation of complaints and for assistance to the victim of a biological weapons attack. Sweden and other nations favored a clear and unambiguous definition of "toxins." Hungary, Mongolia, and Poland submitted a draft Security Council resolution declaring that the Security Council would consider complaints immediately, take all necessary measures to investigate them, and inform parties of the results of the investigation.

On August 17, 11 nonaligned nations submitted a working paper rec-

ommending some drafting changes in the preamble and a new preambular paragraph affirming the principle that "a substantial portion of the savings" from disarmament measures "should be devoted to promoting economic and social development, particularly in the developing countries." They also proposed changes in the articles on consultation and cooperation, negotiations on chemical weapons, and peaceful cooperation. The Mexican Representative wished to add a moratorium on the future development, production, or stockpiling of chemical agents with "the highest lethal effects."

The Cochairmen adopted many of these suggestions, and on September 28 the United States, the U.S.S.R., Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Italy, Mongolia, the Netherlands, Poland, Romania, and the United Kingdom submitted a revised draft convention. The basic provisions were changed to read as follows:

#### *Article I*

Each State Party to this Convention undertakes never in any circumstances to develop, produce, stockpile or otherwise acquire or retain:

(1) Microbial or other biological agents, or toxins whatever their origin or method of production, of types and in quantities that have no justification for prophylactic, protective or other peaceful purposes;

(2) Weapons, equipment or means of delivery designed to use such agents or toxins for hostile purposes or in armed conflict.

#### *Article II*

Each State Party to this Convention undertakes to destroy, or to divert to peaceful purposes, as soon as possible but not later than nine months after the entry into force of the Convention all agents, toxins, weapons, equipment and means of delivery specified in Article I of the Convention, which are in its possession or under its jurisdiction or control. In implementing the provisions of this Article all necessary



safety precautions shall be observed to protect populations and the environment.

Although the revised draft did not include a provision specifically prohibiting use, the U.S. Representative expressed the view that the convention would remain in effect in time of war. This view was supported by the words "never in any circumstances" in article I, which emphasized the intention that reservations to the Geneva Protocol should not constitute an exception. The new language of this article was also responsive to the Swedish view that the term "toxins" should be broadly defined.

The article on consultation and cooperation now provided that these procedures could be implemented within the UN framework. A new article VII, based on the U.K. draft, provided for assistance by states parties if the Security Council decided that a party had been "exposed to danger as a result of violation of this convention." The articles on continued efforts to ban chemical weapons and on cooperation in peaceful uses of biological materials were strengthened. The new draft met with wide approval and was submitted to the General Assembly as an annex to the annual CCD report.

However, the revised draft convention did not include a moratorium on chemical weapons, and the Mexican Representative reiterated his views on this question. Several of the nonaligned delegates also regretted the omission of the provision they had suggested on the use of savings from disarmament. The U.S. Representative said that the United States shared the view that one of the important objectives of disarmament was to free resources "for the welfare of people everywhere, including . . . the economic and social development of the developing coun-

tries." The specific way of using these resources would have to be decided by each government in accordance with its constitutional processes. The United States hoped that further disarmament measures would release "significant resources and thus contribute to economic and social development." Recalling their 1970 memorandum, the 12 non-aligned members on September 28 submitted a joint memorandum to the CCD in which they outlined the basic elements of a ban on chemical weapons and expressed the belief that the CCD should give this question high priority.

#### COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN

In his February 23 message, President Nixon said that the United States would continue to support efforts for a comprehensive test ban, "particularly those designed to achieve a greater understanding of the verification issue." The U.S. Representative said that the American position had not changed and that the United States still believed that adequate verification required on-site inspection.

Canada and the Netherlands presented working papers providing new estimates of detection and identification capabilities. A U.S. expert, Dr. Stephan Lukasik, Director of the U.S. Advanced Research Projects Agency, said, at a June 30 meeting of technical experts, that judging from the progress to date, the problem of discrimination between earthquakes and explosions by seismic means appeared to be "a difficult but not totally insoluble problem." Improved seismic instrumentation was needed to deal with events below seismic magnitude 4.5, and it was also desirable to expand the existing detection network. Noting several problems, he said that seismic means alone were not suffi-

cient to identify earthquakes and explosions in all cases. He anticipated that some uncertainties would always persist.

If a comprehensive test ban should not be immediately feasible, Canada, Japan, and the Netherlands expressed interest in a threshold treaty, i.e., banning only underground tests above a certain seismic magnitude. Canada also suggested a number of other transitional measures that might be adopted. The Soviet Representative rejected the threshold approach as inconsistent with the U.S.S.R. position that existing means of detection were adequate to verify a ban on all tests. The Ethiopian, Egyptian, and Swedish Representatives also doubted the usefulness of the threshold approach.

Believing that the time had come to conclude a treaty based on available knowledge, the Swedish Representative on September 2 submitted draft treaty provisions for a system of "verification by challenge." (Sweden had for several years advocated such a system under which a state suspecting another of conducting an underground test could ask for proof that no test had in fact taken place. If the challenged state did not provide satisfactory information, the other party would be free to withdraw from the agreement.) The Swedish proposal incorporated the British idea of phasing out tests and added new articles on peaceful nuclear explosions and a review conference. The Swedish Representative emphasized that the real need was effective deterrence against violations, and she believed that a 10% probability of correct identification of nuclear explosions would be politically adequate for this purpose.

At the end of the session, the Soviet Representative reaffirmed support for a comprehensive test ban. At the same time, he again re-

jected the threshold approach, the U.K. proposal for a descending quota of tests, and the Canadian proposal for advance notification of tests. He expressed doubt that resumption of discussions on "black boxes" (automatic seismic stations) would promote progress when the Soviet proposal of 1962 had failed to produce agreement. Noting that the United States had previously rejected the Swedish proposal for "verification by challenge," he asserted that he did not see that the United States was showing any tendency toward compromise.

Nine nonaligned nations appealed for a comprehensive test ban in a joint memorandum of September 30. Stressing the relationship of a comprehensive test ban to the non-proliferation treaty and the strategic arms limitation talks between the United States and the U.S.S.R., they expressed the view that "the verification problem could be resolved on the basis of national means, i.e., remote control supplemented and improved upon by international cooperation and procedures." They also expressed their belief that the peaceful application of nuclear explosives should be regulated.

#### CONVENTIONAL ARMAMENTS

In his February 23 message, President Nixon expressed the hope that increasing attention would be given to the question of limiting conventional armaments and said that "all states, in all stages of development" shared "a common interest in exploring the possible paths toward sound agreements consistent with their security interests." As the U.S. Representative said, the United States intended conventional arms restraints to apply to the major military powers as well as to the developing countries. The United



States supported efforts toward mutual and balanced force reductions in Europe. A number of delegations had noted rising military expenditures, and the U.S. Representative pointed out that limitations on conventional as well as nuclear weapons could release resources for nonmilitary purposes.

The U.S. Representative noted that the urgency of the problem of nuclear weapons had "largely overshadowed the question of restraints on conventional arms." There had also been fear that such restraints "might undermine the security, limit the influence, increase the dependence or curtail the economic opportunities of one or another country." The United States nevertheless believed that the development of conventional arms restraints was a matter of vital concern in light of the principles of the UN Charter and the increasing interdependence of nations.

Urging intensified discussion of both global and regional approaches to the problem, he recalled the principles for possible regional agreements that the United States had outlined in 1966 and 1970. Global limitations would be more difficult in view of the differing geographical situations and security requirements. It was the task of the CCD to come to grips with this problem, while it continued its efforts to deal with weapons of mass destruction.

The Japanese Representative said that the cooperation of the militarily significant powers and self-restraint by arms-supplying nations were vitally important for the reduction of armaments in areas of conflict. His government did not permit arms exports to such areas. The Soviet Representative called attention to the Soviet proposal to discuss limitations of foreign and national forces and armaments in Europe and noted with satisfaction that most Western coun-

tries had expressed their interest in such questions.

#### **FSSIONABLE MATERIALS PRODUCTION CUTOFF AND TRANSFER**

For many years the United States has advocated a cutoff on the production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes, accompanied by the transfer of materials to peaceful uses. In 1969 the United States proposed that IAEA safeguards be applied to production facilities under a cutoff. The Soviet Union has rejected these proposals on the grounds that they would not reduce existing arsenals or prevent future production of nuclear weapons.

In the CCD's 1971 discussion the Japanese Representative reaffirmed support of the U.S. proposals and suggested that the United States and the Soviet Union agree, even before the cutoff, to make available supplies of weapon-grade enriched uranium for peaceful nuclear activities in the non-nuclear-weapon states, under appropriate safeguards. The Italian Representative endorsed the Japanese proposal.

The U.S. Representative expressed gratification for the support given the cutoff. To those who argued that it would be illusory because of the stockpiles already accumulated, he replied that continued production would increase the difficulty of establishing control over the materials and that the cutoff, by limiting stocks, "could become truly significant over the long run, if not immediately, as a brake on the nuclear arms race."

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

At the beginning of the 1971 discussion, the Soviet Representative reaffirmed support for general and complete disarmament and noted that this involved many complex

problems. In view of the danger of nuclear war, he said it was natural to give priority to nuclear disarmament. Moreover, the basic questions of nuclear and complete disarmament could and should be "solved with the participation of all nuclear weapon states," and the maximum number of countries must be covered. He later said that partial disarmament agreements exerted a positive influence on finding solutions to the problem of general and complete disarmament and that consideration of general and complete disarmament also helped to work out partial measures. The representatives of Yugoslavia and the Soviet allies also emphasized general and complete disarmament.

The U.S. Representative maintained that conventional as well as nuclear armaments must be dealt with if progress was to be made toward general and complete disarmament. As he had said in 1970, the Conference began to make real progress toward general and complete disarmament when it began to take up individual measures.

Referring to the 24th General Assembly resolution on a comprehensive approach to disarmament, the Italian Representative said that the problem of general and complete disarmament should be the main item on the agenda of the 1972 session of the CCD.

#### NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES

A nuclear-free zone established by the 1967 Treaty of Tlatelolco<sup>1</sup> covers most of Latin America. By adopting Additional Protocol II to

<sup>1</sup> Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, done at Mexico, February 14, 1967.

<sup>2</sup> Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof.

this treaty, the nuclear powers may undertake to respect the nuclear-free status of the zone. During the 1971 CCD discussions, the Mexican Representative urged all the nuclear powers to sign and ratify the protocol. The United States ratified the protocol and deposited its instrument of ratification at Mexico City on May 12. The U.S. Representative at Geneva observed that this action gave further evidence of American support for nuclear-free zones "in appropriate areas and under appropriate circumstances." The United States and the United Kingdom are the only nuclear powers that have ratified the protocol.

There was also some discussion by Poland, Romania, and Sweden of proposals to establish nuclear-free zones in Europe.

#### OTHER MEASURES

The seabed arms control treaty<sup>2</sup> negotiated in the CCD was opened for signature at Washington, London, and Moscow on February 11, 1971. Article V of the treaty provides for continued negotiations on "further measures in the field of disarmament for the prevention of an arms race on the seabed, the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof." During the 1971 CCD session the Soviet Representative asserted that the 1969 Soviet draft treaty on demilitarization of the seabed could serve as a basis for such continued negotiations. Hungary, Poland, and Sweden also urged negotiations on the demilitarization of the seabed.

The Romanian Representative called attention to his government's proposal for a universal treaty binding all nations not to resort to the threat or use of force and not to intervene in the internal affairs of other states. Such a measure, he said, would do much to strengthen

international security and the disarmament negotiations. In addition, the Soviet Union and its allies continued to advocate the Soviet draft convention of 1967 outlawing the use of nuclear weapons.

## General Assembly

Speaking before the 26th General Assembly on October 4, Secretary of State William Rogers pointed to progress in both bilateral and multilateral arms control negotiations. He recalled that in May 1971 the United States and the U.S.S.R. had announced their intention to achieve agreement on limitation of both defensive and offensive strategic weapons. This, he said, had brought the sides closer to an agreement to limit antiballistic missile systems. Meanwhile the strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) had already produced two valuable agreements, one on preventing nuclear accidents from leading to war, the other on improving Washington-Moscow "hotline" communications through the use of satellites.

The Secretary noted that there had also been encouraging movement in multilateral negotiations. "Here, too, the United States intends to work constructively for further concrete results. In particular, we urge this General Assembly to seek broad ratification of the convention to prohibit the development, production, and stockpiling of biological weapons."

The General Assembly had eight disarmament and arms control-related items on its agenda: (1) general and complete disarmament; (2) question of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons; (3) urgent need for suspension of nuclear and thermonuclear tests; (4) establishment within the IAEA

framework of an international service for peaceful nuclear explosions; (5) status of signature and ratification of Additional Protocol II of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America; (6) economic and social consequences of the arms race; (7) declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace; and (8) world disarmament conference.

The first six of these items were on the agenda as a result of action taken by the 25th General Assembly. The seventh was proposed by Ceylon and Tanzania, and the eighth by the U.S.S.R. The last was discussed directly in plenary; all the rest were allocated to the First Committee (Political and Security) which considered them together in a combined general debate from November 11 to December 1.

### U.S. STATEMENT

Opening the disarmament debate in the First Committee on November 11, Ambassador George Bush praised the successful negotiation of a draft biological weapons convention. He expressed the belief that all UN members could take satisfaction in the work accomplished by the CCD as "an achievement that can eliminate the threat of the use of disease as a method of warfare." Reviewing the negotiating history of the convention, the U.S. Representative observed that "this important multilateral instrument has been forged with the significant help and through the participation of many countries." It was, he said, in the interest of all governments and all mankind, a true disarmament measure providing for the elimination from the arsenals of states of an entire class of weapons. Ambassador Bush noted that in accordance with the spirit of the draft convention and pursuant to his previous deci-



sions regarding U.S. biological weapons programs, President Nixon had announced on October 18 that the former Army Biological Defense Research Center at Fort Detrick, Maryland, was being converted into a cancer research center open to the world's scientists.

On the related issue of chemical weapons the U.S. Representative expressed the belief that during the past 2 years a "serious start" had been made in exploring possible approaches to the problem of verification. The task ahead, as the United States saw it, was to examine "elements of verification that might be amenable to development as effective tools for insuring compliance with prohibitions on chemical weapons." Ambassador Bush expressed the hope that the General Assembly would request the CCD to continue its work on this important issue.

The U.S. Representative also focused on the problem of verification in discussing the question of a comprehensive ban on nuclear weapons tests. In this connection he said:

I can assure you that my own government will continue to examine all serious possibilities for effective controls over a prohibition on underground testing . . . the United States has devoted considerable effort to the study of the seismic detection, location, and identification of earthquakes and underground explosions. We have made our findings broadly available to other countries in the hope that this would contribute to a better understanding of the verification issues. The United States continues to support an adequately verified comprehensive ban on the testing of nuclear weapons. In order to be effective, we believe, verification of such a measure should include on-site inspections.

Ambassador Bush also, *inter alia*, repeated an earlier U.S. call for exploration of possible restraints on conventional weapons; cited progress by the IAEA in elaborating a system of safeguards in accordance with the nuclear nonproliferation

treaty; pointed to progress in U.S.-Soviet negotiations on strategic arms limitations; outlined steps toward negotiations on regional arms control issues, especially in Europe; and noted the favorable prospects for early U.S. ratification of the seabed arms control treaty, commended for signature by the 25th General Assembly and signed by some 80 countries as of that date.

#### GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

In considering this item the Assembly had before it the reports of both the CCD and the IAEA. Three resolutions were adopted.

#### Safeguards and the Nonproliferation Treaty

In its preambular paragraphs this resolution, introduced by Malta on December 1, (1) recalled the 25th General Assembly's resolution calling on the IAEA to take new uranium enrichment techniques into consideration in developing safeguards under the nonproliferation treaty and (2) noted from the IAEA's report that detailed safeguards procedures remained to be elaborated and applied in this connection. In its key operative paragraph it asked the IAEA to include information on its progress in meeting these obligations in its next report to the General Assembly. The resolution was approved in the First Committee on December 8 by a vote of 76 (U.S.) to 0, with 17 abstentions, and adopted by the General Assembly on December 16 by a vote of 89 (U.S.) to 0, with 17 abstentions.

#### Renewed Efforts Toward General and Complete Disarmament

A second resolution, introduced by Italy on December 1 and sponsored by 12 states, called upon the

CCD to resume its work on the question of general and complete disarmament on the basis of a resolution of the 25th General Assembly that had urged the CCD to make more intensive efforts to bring about a faster pace toward achieving disarmament measures. The resolution was approved in the First Committee on December 8 by 92 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention, and adopted by the plenary on December 16 by 105 (U.S.) to 0, with 4 abstentions.

#### **Educative Efforts on Disarmament**

The third resolution, introduced by Ireland on December 8 and sponsored by 5 states, affirmed the value of holding international conferences of "experts and scientists" on problems of the arms race and disarmament and declared that progress toward general and complete disarmament would be promoted if academic institutions in all countries established "continuing courses and seminars" to study problems of the arms race. The First Committee adopted the resolution December 8 by a vote of 94 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions, and the plenary on December 16 by 110 (U.S.) to 0, with no abstentions.

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

##### **Biological Weapons Convention**

The First Committee had before it the report of the CCD containing the draft convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological (biological) and toxin weapons and on their destruction. On November 16, 35 countries including the United States, the U.S.S.R., and the United Kingdom submitted a draft resolution commending the conven-

tion for signature. (Four more countries subsequently became cosponsors.)

Summing up in the First Committee debate on November 29, the U.S. Representative, Joseph Martin, Jr., stressed U.S. support for the convention and noted three of the central features—"the fact that it fully safeguards and protects the validity of the Geneva Protocol of 1925, that it contains an extremely firm commitment regarding continued negotiations on effective prohibition of chemical weapons, and that it provides for international cooperation in the peaceful applications of bacteriology and biology."

On November 18, 16 states proposed an additional preambular paragraph for the resolution which would affirm the principle that a substantial portion of savings from disarmament should be devoted to promoting economic and social development, particularly in the developing countries. On December 2, 40 countries including the United States, the United Kingdom, and the U.S.S.R. (subsequently joined by three more cosponsors) submitted a revision of the original draft resolution with a substitute preambular paragraph expressing the conviction that implementation of disarmament measures should release resources to promote development. The earlier amendment on disarmament savings was withdrawn and the revised draft resolution commending the convention was adopted in the First Committee by acclamation on December 8 and in plenary by a vote of 110 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention (France), on December 16.

##### **Chemical Weapons**

Another draft resolution, submitted on November 16 by 25 countries (including U.S., U.K., and U.S.S.R.)



#### SUSPENSION OF NUCLEAR AND THERMONUCLEAR TESTS

and joined later by 12 more co-sponsors, requested the CCD to continue considering the problems of chemical warfare with a view to early agreement on effective measures to prohibit chemical weapons development, production, and stockpiling. On November 18, 27 countries, later joined by 1 more, submitted a draft resolution taking note of (1) the "commitment" in the draft biological weapons convention to continue negotiations on chemical weapons "in good faith" and (2) the September 28 memorandum on chemical weapons submitted by the 12 nonaligned members of the CCD (see p. 6). These two drafts were subsequently replaced by a draft resolution incorporating the main elements of each which was submitted December 2 and ultimately sponsored by 63 countries (including U.S.). This resolution was adopted on December 8 by acclamation in the First Committee and on December 16 by a vote of 110 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention (France), in plenary.

A draft resolution submitted on November 30 and sponsored by 14 states in its final form urged all states, pending agreement on a complete ban on chemical weapons, to undertake a moratorium on the development, production, or stockpiling of highly lethal chemical agents not usable for peaceful purposes.

This resolution was adopted in the First Committee on December 8 by a vote of 96 to 0, with 11 abstentions (U.S.), and in the plenary Assembly on December 16 by 110 to 0, with 10 abstentions (France, U.K., U.S.).

The United States abstained because of the absence of verification provisions which it regarded as essential in any measure for control of chemical weapons.

The CCD's report was the basis for the First Committee's consideration of this item. Three resolutions were adopted, each calling for a halt to all nuclear weapons testing. The United States abstained on all three in both the Committee and the General Assembly plenary, maintaining its longstanding position that a comprehensive test ban agreement must be accompanied by adequate provisions for verification. The People's Republic of China and Albania voted against all three resolutions.

On November 23 Mexico introduced a draft resolution, ultimately sponsored by 12 states, which condemned all nuclear weapon tests and urged nuclear-weapon states to cease testing at the earliest possible date, in any case no later than August 5, 1973. The resolution was adopted in the First Committee on December 9 by a vote of 66 to 2 (P.R.C.), with 39 abstentions (France, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.). The General Assembly plenary adopted it on December 16 by a vote of 74 to 2 (P.R.C.), with 36 abstentions (France, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.).

On November 22, Saudi Arabia introduced a draft resolution that in its final form stressed environmental factors in its preambular paragraphs. In its operative paragraphs it appealed to the nuclear powers to stop all testing and requested them not to deploy weapons of mass destruction. The vote in the First Committee on December 9 was 49 to 2, with 51 abstentions (U.S.); in the General Assembly on December 16 the vote was 71 (U.S.S.R.) to 2 (P.R.C.), with 38 abstentions (France, U.K., U.S.).

Canada introduced a resolution, submitted November 22 and ulti-

mately sponsored by 16 states, that (1) called upon testing countries to undertake unilateral or negotiated measures to suspend testing or to limit or reduce the size and number of tests pending a comprehensive test ban agreement; (2) requested governments that have been carrying out nuclear tests to develop specific proposals for an underground test ban treaty; and (3) requested the CCD to continue its deliberations on such a treaty.

On December 1, New Zealand submitted amendments noting that some nuclear powers continue to test in the atmosphere and urging all countries to refrain from testing in environments covered by the partial test ban treaty.<sup>1</sup> The amendments were approved and the draft resolution was adopted by the First Committee on December 9 by a vote of 82 to 2 (P.R.C.), with 22 abstentions (France, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.). The plenary General Assembly adopted the resolution on December 16 by a vote of 91 to 2 (P.R.C.), with 21 abstentions (France, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.).

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

Since 1968 the General Assembly has adopted resolutions asking the IAEA to keep under review the question of establishing an international service for nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, pursuant to article V of the nonproliferation treaty.<sup>2</sup> Article V seeks to ensure that potential benefits from peaceful

<sup>1</sup> Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, done at Moscow, August 5, 1963; entered into force for the United States, October 10, 1963.

<sup>2</sup> Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, done at Washington, London and Moscow, July 1, 1968; entered into force for the United States, March 5, 1970.

applications of nuclear explosions shall be made available to non-nuclear-weapon states that are parties to the treaty.

Austria introduced a resolution, sponsored by six states, that referred to the pertinent portion of the IAEA's annual report, noted that the IAEA was an appropriate organ to exercise the function called for in the nonproliferation treaty, commended the IAEA for its intensive work in this field, and requested the IAEA to continue its activities and studies concerning an international service for peaceful nuclear explosions under appropriate international control. The draft resolution was adopted in the First Committee on December 10 by a vote of 83 (U.S.) to 0, with 7 abstentions, and in the General Assembly on December 16 by a vote of 103 (U.S.) to 0, with 9 abstentions.

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

Additional Protocol II of the Treaty of Tlatelolco obliges nuclear-weapon states to respect the Latin American nuclear-free zone established by the treaty. As noted above (see p. 9) the United States and the United Kingdom are the only nuclear powers that are parties to the Protocol.

On November 29 Mexico introduced a draft resolution sponsored by 18 countries which noted with satisfaction the U.S. ratification of Additional Protocol II, deplored the failure of other nuclear-weapon states to ratify the Protocol despite three previous "urgent appeals" by the General Assembly, and urged those states to sign and ratify without further delay.

The First Committee approved the resolution on December 10 by a vote of 85 (U.S.) to 0, with 10 abstentions, and the General Assembly adopted it on December 16

by a vote of 101 (U.S.) to 0, with 12 abstentions.

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

Pursuant to a resolution unanimously adopted by the 25th General Assembly, the Secretary General submitted to the 26th General Assembly a report on the economic and social consequences of the arms race prepared by a group of experts from 14 countries. On December 10 Romania introduced a draft resolution sponsored by 28 countries welcoming the report and recommending that its conclusions be taken into account in future disarmament negotiations.

Preambular paragraphs reflecting those conclusions, *inter alia*, (1) expressed the conviction that "the common aspirations of mankind for peace, security and progress require the urgent cessation of the arms race, particularly of the nuclear arms race, and the reduction of military expenditures," and (2) stated the view that these steps would promote the social and economic development of all countries and increase the possibilities of providing additional resources to developing countries.

The latter paragraph represented a scaling-down of language sought by a group of nonaligned countries which would have had the effect of committing disarmament savings to development aid. The United States made clear that its acceptance of the compromise language in the resolution as submitted did not represent such a commitment on its part.

The First Committee adopted the draft resolution on December 10 by a vote of 94 (U.S.) to 0, with 6 abstentions. The General Assembly plenary adopted it on December 16 by a vote of 111 (U.S.) to 1, with 3 abstentions.

#### INDIAN OCEAN PEACE ZONE

On October 7 the General Committee approved a request by Ceylon and Tanzania for inclusion in the agenda of an additional item: "Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace." The Ceylonese Representative said that a discernible trend toward intensified military activity and competition in the Indian Ocean underlay the need for this action by the United Nations.

On December 1 Ceylon introduced a draft resolution embodying such a declaration on behalf of 11 Asian and African sponsors. Numerous countries had difficulties with the original text, and the draft underwent two revisions while acquiring two more cosponsors. As it ultimately came before the First Committee for a vote on December 10, the 13-power draft resolution contained detailed operative paragraphs that, *inter alia*, (1) declared the Indian Ocean a "zone of peace"; (2) called on the "great Powers" (a) to enter into immediate consultations with the Indian Ocean littoral states with a view to halting "further escalation and expansion of their military presence" and (b) to eliminate all bases, military installations, supply facilities, and "nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction" in the area; and (3) specified a number of elements to be included in an international regime for the Indian Ocean on the basis of its designation as a "zone of peace."

On December 10, speaking in explanation of vote, Mr. Martin affirmed that the United States shared with the resolution's sponsors the desire to promote peace and tranquility in the Indian Ocean area and to avoid competitive expansion of military strength on the part of the major powers. Nevertheless, in the U.S. view, this proposed declaration placed the Assembly in the posi-



tion of infringing upon disarmament and law of the sea without the usual careful consideration associated with those subjects. Referring to the projected 1973 conference on the law of the sea (see p. 22), he continued:

The United States is concerned that resolutions such as the Ceylonese proposal, purporting to establish special regimes for particular areas, undercut this most important United Nations objective of achieving a worldwide law of the sea, particularly where the general language of the declaration raises questions regarding such basic principles as freedom of navigation on the high seas. We reject the view that a group of states in a certain region can establish a legal regime for the high seas in that region. This may affect . . . fundamental security interests . . .

Widespread reservations among member states regarding the resolution were reflected in an unusually large number of abstentions. France, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and even a few Indian Ocean littoral states joined the United States in abstaining throughout the voting.

In a series of separate votes the first operative paragraph was adopted in committee by a vote of 47 to 0, with 46 abstentions; the second and third operative paragraphs by a vote of 43 to 0, with 55 abstentions; and the resolution as a whole by 50 to 0, with 49 abstentions. The plenary Assembly adopted the resolution on December 16 by a vote of 61 to 0, with 55 abstentions.

#### WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

In a letter to the Secretary General dated September 6, Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko asked for the addition of the question of a "World Disarmament Conference" as an "important and urgent item" to the agenda of the 26th General Assembly. The letter noted that the Soviet Government had recently proposed convening a conference of the five nuclear powers "who bear special

responsibility for the maintenance of international security," but it did not allude to the rejection of that proposal by the People's Republic of China. At the same time, the letter continued, a World Disarmament Conference (WDC) would be desirable in the interest of encouraging more active efforts by all countries, nonnuclear as well as nuclear, to solve disarmament problems.

Foreign Minister Gromyko introduced a draft WDC resolution on September 28 during the Assembly's general debate. The resolution contained some of the same elements as his letter, expressing the conviction that convening a WDC was "a matter of expediency and urgency" and calling for agreement on the date and agenda of such a conference by the end of 1972. The WDC agenda item was considered by the General Assembly plenary without referral to a committee.

The U.S. attitude toward the question of a WDC was first put forward by Secretary of State Rogers in his speech before the General Assembly on October 4:

Frankly, we are skeptical that such a generalized approach would produce specific accomplishments. All postwar experience indicates that a concrete, step-by-step approach offers better prospects for success than more grandiose schemes, which tend to generate many words and few results.

Ambassador Christopher Phillips, speaking in plenary November 26, amplified the Secretary's statement:

Progress in restraining armaments, progress toward halting and turning back the arms race, progress that is stable and durable, can best be achieved through the working out and the acceptance of concrete agreements among states. Such agreements are most likely to be reached through serious and careful negotiations. They are not likely to be produced through the convening of large and unwieldy conferences. The crucial issues of arms control and disarmament . . . involve both complex technical problems and



broad political questions of great domestic and international sensitivity to governments.

Serious arms control and disarmament negotiations are thus difficult and complex. . . . Progress in such negotiations . . . requires patience and persistence—and at times long and frustrating waits while governments are formulating positions on the proposals of other participants. We would not expect that these would be characteristics of a world disarmament conference.

Consideration of the WDC question in plenary had already revealed rather widespread lack of enthusiasm for such a conference when, on November 24, the People's Republic of China rejected the Soviet proposal with a speech which sparked an exchange of polemics between the two countries. Subsequently the Soviet draft resolution was withdrawn.

On December 16 Mexico, Romania, and 25 other states tabled a substitute draft that significantly

scaled down the statement of urgency for a WDC. It dropped the call for agreement on a date and agenda by the end of 1972 and simply invited states to communicate their views on these and other questions concerning a possible WDC to the Secretary General before August 31, 1972.

In explaining his support for the 27-power draft, the P.R.C. Representative said that as necessary prerequisites for such a conference the United States and the Soviet Union should undertake obligations, *inter alia*, (1) not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and (2) to withdraw their nuclear forces and weapons from foreign countries.

On the basis that the new draft did not represent a commitment to hold a WDC but merely left the question open for consideration by the next General Assembly, the United States was able to join in the adoption of the resolution by acclamation on December 16.

## Outer Space

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During 1971 the United States was actively involved in all aspects of UN outer space affairs, participating in regular sessions of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space,<sup>1</sup> its Legal Subcommittee, and its Scientific and Technical Subcommittee, and in the organizational meeting of the Working Group on Remote Sensing of the

Earth by Satellites. The UN program to expand international understanding of the potential practical benefits of space technology continued to enjoy substantial U.S. support. Highlighting the year's accomplishments was agreement on an outer space liability convention which culminated years of complex negotiations following a U.S. initiative.

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

## Legal Subcommittee

At its 10th session, in Geneva June 7-July 2, the Legal Subcom-

mittee reached agreement on a draft Convention on International Liability for Damage Caused by Space Objects. A long negotiating process, which began with U.S. introduction of a treaty proposal on space liability in 1963, climaxed with the Subcommittee's approval of the Convention in June. The U.S. Representative, Herbert Reis, noted that for the first time claimants were afforded a "reasonable expectation of prompt and fair compensation."

Agreement on the draft text was made possible by resolving prior impasses on provisions covering settlement of claims and applicable law. On the latter point a Belgian initiative, modifying an earlier Italo-American proposal which had called for "full compensation" to the victim, met with Soviet acceptance and produced an acceptable compromise. The formulation adopted in the Convention reads as follows:

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

With respect to settlement of claims, the compromise text adopted provides that if diplomatic negotiations do not achieve settlement of a claim within 1 year, a Claims Commission (arbitral tribunal) shall be established at the request of either party. The Commission's award is to be binding if both parties so agree in advance; otherwise its award

is recommendatory, with the parties required to consider it in good faith. Four members of the Subcommittee—Canada, Iran, Japan, and Sweden—found this provision inadequate, maintaining that the Commission's award should be binding in all cases. These countries continued to raise the same objection in the Outer Space Committee and General Assembly; however, a great majority in both bodies agreed with the position of the United States and others that the arbitration provision in the draft Convention was the strongest realistically attainable and represented a substantial advance over previous law. Rear Admiral Alan B. Shepard, Jr., presented the U.S. view on the arbitration issue in the General Assembly's First Committee:

I would like to explain in clear terms the dilemma faced by the Outer Space Committee and the Legal Subcommittee on this point. From the outset of negotiations in the early 1960's, we had witnessed extremely strong and persistent objection to arbitration in general and to binding awards in particular. It became clear in 1970 that our common choice was to agree to strong provisions on settlement of claims with only recommendatory awards and an option to make them binding or to insist on binding decrees in the knowledge that this would make impossible the conclusion of the convention and not just for 1 or 2 years but more likely for 5, 10 years, or a completely indeterminate period.

In this circumstance we could not responsibly choose a course of action involving substantial delay. . . . None of us now has a practical assurance of compensation in the absence of workable and detailed treaty provisions. But we will all have good assurance indeed under the Liability Convention . . . notwithstanding what are criticized as "merely" recommendatory awards. We believe . . . parties will in fact comply with awards be-

cause they will recognize that it is in their own self-interest to do so.

Because of the priority given to completing work on the Liability Convention, the Legal Subcommittee was not able to consider in any detail other items on its agenda, such as the definition of outer space and the implications of space communications. The Subcommittee asked the Outer Space Committee to set agenda priorities for these and other topics including registration of objects launched into space; man's activities on the moon and the legal regime governing substances coming from the moon and other celestial bodies; and legal aspects of earth resource surveys by satellites.

The Outer Space Committee subsequently assigned first priority to lunar matters and registration and lower priority to the other three topics for the Legal Subcommittee's next regular session.

## Scientific and Technical Subcommittee

The Scientific and Technical Subcommittee held its eighth session in New York July 6-15. The Subcommittee divided its agenda into two main headings: (1) promotion of the applications of space technology, and (2) consideration of scientific and technical aspects of international cooperation in space activities.

### APPLICATIONS OF TECHNOLOGY

The Subcommittee first considered the question of convening a working group on earth resource surveying, with special reference to satellites. Adopting a proposal cosponsored by the United States and eight others, the Subcommittee decided to estab-

lish such a body. It defined the Working Group's overall objective as the promotion of the optimum utilization of remote sensing from space platforms, and requested the Working Group to (1) assess the potential of various sensors and data handling systems; (2) consider whether certain operational systems might be of special value in meeting "international, regional, and global requirements"; and (3) make recommendations on the possible establishment of data handling systems in the United Nations or other international framework. Cognizant of the scheduled launch of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration experimental earth resource survey satellite ERTS-A in early 1972, and recognizing that potential benefits from such technology could be extremely meaningful for both economic development and environmental preservation, the Subcommittee recommended that the Working Group wait to begin its substantive work until assessment becomes possible of these "definitive experiments testing the feasibility" of the technology. ERTS-A data will be made available to the Working Group in furtherance of President Nixon's offer at the 24th General Assembly in 1969 to share with the world community the benefits of the U.S. earth resource satellite program as it "proceeds and fulfills its promise." (The Working Group on Remote Sensing of the Earth by Satellites subsequently held its organizational meeting September 9 and elected Franco Fiorio of Italy as Chairman.)

In assessing the needs of developing countries and the ability of the United Nations to meet those needs, especially in the field of space applications, the Subcommittee discussed reports by the Secretary General and by the UN Expert on Applications of Space Technology,



Dr. Humberto Ricciardi of Argentina. It recognized the importance of the Expert's work in promoting developing countries' awareness of the potential benefits of space applications, and recommended that this work be continued in 1972. The Subcommittee specifically endorsed the Expert's program of meetings by UN panels and by national "points of contact" on space applications. Recognizing that UN activities in the space applications field are likely to continue to increase, the Subcommittee instigated studies to further the efficient administration of the program.

The Subcommittee considered the use of satellite broadcasting for the advancement of education and training, and on the basis of a UNESCO report it expressed "full satisfaction" over UNESCO's work in this field. It commended the regional and country surveys carried out by UNESCO and ITU as "most vital" to the development of educational satellite broadcasting. It also noted progress in preparations for a U.S.-Indian satellite instructional television experiment scheduled for 1974.

The Subcommittee noted a report by WMO on the use of meteorological satellites and sounding rockets for improved weather forecasting, and took note with appreciation of WMO's response to a 25th General Assembly resolution requesting it to stimulate research on mitigating the effects of tropical storms. The Subcommittee also referred to the new Working Group on Remote Sensing of the Earth by Satellites two reports prepared by the Secretariat on the use of earth survey satellites in monitoring the changes in the global environment, and it drew the documents to the attention of the Preparatory Committee of the UN Conference on the Human Environment to be held in Sweden in 1972.

Under this general heading the Subcommittee first discussed ways to exchange information. Regarding a Secretariat review of national and cooperative international space activities, the Subcommittee expressed its appreciation to those countries supplying information to the United Nations on their national activities (the United States is one) and hoped that others would do so in the future. It also took note of a review of the activities and resources of the United Nations, its specialized agencies, and other international bodies, relative to the peaceful uses of outer space. In addition the Subcommittee welcomed reports on UNESCO's compilation of bibliographies on space communications, a UNESCO-ITU brochure in preparation on communications satellites, and WMO's compilation of a pamphlet on weather prediction based in part on satellite data.

With regard to education and training, the Subcommittee noted with satisfaction the report of the UN panel on remote sensing systems for earth resources surveys (sponsored by the United States in May). It also welcomed a French invitation to technical panels to observe space applications programs at the National Space Research Center, and a Japanese statement of intention to issue such an invitation to a panel on educational satellite broadcasting. The Subcommittee took particular note of British and French offers of fellowships in space applications to candidates from developing countries and an Indian training program for such candidates in satellite communications technology.

The Subcommittee also welcomed reports on the Thumba Equatorial Rocket Launching Station in India



and the CELPA Mar del Plata Rocket Launching Station in Argentina. Expressing its "complete satisfaction" with the work being carried out at these ranges, it recommended their continued sponsorship by the United Nations. The Subcommittee also welcomed the continued availability of Italian and French facilities for international cooperative projects.

## Outer Space Committee

The resumed 14th session of the Outer Space Committee met in New York September 1-10 under the chairmanship of Kurt Waldheim (Austria) and reviewed the work of its two Subcommittees.

Agreeing that technological advancements in earth survey technology could be "extremely meaningful" for economic development and the preservation of the global environment, the Committee looked forward to the beginning in 1972 of the substantive work of the Working Group on Remote Sensing of the Earth by Satellites.

The Committee noted the valuable work of the Expert on Applications of Space Technology in promoting such applications, especially among developing countries, and approved continuation of his program during 1972. In this connection it "noted with pleasure" the success of the May meeting in the United States of the first UN panel on remote sensing, and noted that a similar panel would be held in Brazil at the end of the year. It also took note of an FAO-sponsored panel on the applicability of remote sensing to food resource management, held in September at FAO headquarters in Rome.

The Committee reported that in conformity with a resolution of the 16th General Assembly establishing a registry of space launchings, it had continued to receive information from launching states. Such information, according to the Committee, had come from Japan, the U.S.S.R., and the United States.

Acknowledging the Legal Subcommittee's "outstanding work" in successfully concluding its negotiation of the Convention on International Liability for Damage Caused by Space Objects, the Committee adopted the draft text of the Convention and submitted it to the General Assembly for consideration and final adoption.

## General Assembly

The First Committee of the General Assembly considered the outer space agenda items November 4-11 and approved four draft resolutions. All four were adopted by the General Assembly in plenary session on November 29.

Austria introduced an omnibus resolution, cosponsored by 19 states in all (including the United States), that *inter alia* (1) endorsed the report and work of the Outer Space Committee, (2) reiterated the need for continued international efforts to promote practical applications of space technology, and (3) welcomed progress in international cooperation in space research and exploration. The resolution was adopted unanimously by the General Assembly.

A second resolution, introduced by Belgium and cosponsored by 13 states in all (including the U.S.), took note with appreciation of the successful negotiation of the Outer Space Liability Convention, com-

mended the Convention for signature and ratification, and expressed hope for the widest possible adherence. The General Assembly adopted this resolution by a vote of 93 (U.S.) to 0, with 4 abstentions (Canada, Iran, Japan, Sweden).

A resolution introduced by Sweden on behalf of 20 cosponsors (including the United States) welcomed the decision to convene the Working Group on Remote Sensing and requested member states, the specialized agencies and other appropriate UN bodies, and the Secretary General to assist the Working Group. The General Assembly adopted the resolution unanimously.

Also adopted unanimously by the General Assembly was a fourth resolution cosponsored by the U.S.S.R. and 11 others that took note of the draft treaty on the moon submitted by the U.S.S.R., referred the question of such a treaty to the Outer Space Committee and its Legal Subcommittee, and requested those bodies to report to the Assembly at

its 27th session. The initial U.S. reaction to the proposal for a moon treaty was that the Soviet draft did not significantly expand on the Outer Space Treaty. However, Admiral Shepard made clear during the Committee's debate that the United States was willing to examine the question in the Outer Space Committee and the Legal Subcommittee and that in the meantime it would be studying the Soviet proposal in depth.

In the same statement he presented a personal overview of the United Nations and space affairs:

... I believe that the peaceful uses of outer space is a topic about which we will hear a great deal more over the coming years here at the United Nations. This is most appropriate. We have many member states on this single fragile and beautiful planet on which we live. We have many varying interests, but certainly the peaceful uses of outer space is a single common bond among all member states. It is well that the United Nations is seeking now to promote the benefits of a global technology for the future benefit of all mankind.

## Seabed and Law of the Sea

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Two resolutions that the 25th General Assembly adopted on December 17, 1970, were (1) a declaration of principles governing the seabed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction; and (2) an omnibus resolution calling for a conference on the law of the sea in 1973 to deal with (a) the establishment of an equitable international regime for the seabed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, (b) a precise definition of the area to which the regime would apply, and (c) a broad range of important related is-

ssues. These issues included the regimes of the high seas, the continental shelf, the territorial sea (including the question of its breadth and the question of international straits) and contiguous zone, fishing rights and conservation of the living resources of the high seas (including the question of the preferential rights of coastal states), the preservation of the marine environment, and scientific research. The Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Seabed and Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction

(Seabed Committee) was enlarged from 42 to 86 members,<sup>1</sup> and instructed, in preparation for the conference, to prepare draft treaty articles on a seabed regime based on the declaration of principles. It was also to prepare a comprehensive list of and draft treaty articles on other law of the sea subjects.

The omnibus resolution also requested the Secretary General to study (1) the possible impact on world markets of seabed mineral production in the area beyond national jurisdiction, with special reference to the problems of developing countries, and (2) the question of free access to the sea by landlocked countries and the special problems of landlocked countries relating to seabed exploration and exploitation beyond the limits of national jurisdiction.

## Seabed Committee

After intensive informal discussions in February and the first part of March 1971, the Seabed Commit-

<sup>1</sup> The original members were Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, El Salvador, France, Iceland, India, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Kuwait, Liberia, Libya, Malagasy Republic, Malaysia, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Poland, Romania, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Tanzania, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, and Yugoslavia.

The members added in 1970 were Afghanistan, Algeria, Bolivia, Byelorussian S.S.R., Colombia, Congo, Cyprus, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Lebanon, Mali, Mauritius, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Panama, Philippines, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sweden, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian S.S.R., Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen (San'a), and Zaire. One member has not yet been chosen.

tee held its first session in Geneva, March 12-26. This meeting was devoted primarily to procedural questions. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe of Ceylon was reelected Chairman, and three subcommittees of the whole were established:

Subcommittee I to prepare draft treaty articles embodying the international seabed regime;

Subcommittee II to prepare a comprehensive list of subjects and issues relating to the law of the sea (including those concerning the regimes of the high seas, the continental shelf, the territorial sea and contiguous zone, and fishing and conservation of the living resources of the high seas), and to prepare draft treaty articles thereon, it being understood that the Subcommittee might decide to draft articles before completing the comprehensive list; and

Subcommittee III to deal with marine pollution and scientific research and to prepare draft treaty articles thereon.

Earle E. Seaton of Tanzania, Reynaldo Galindo Pohl of El Salvador, and Alfred van der Essen of Belgium were elected Chairmen of Subcommittees I, II, and III, respectively. In addition, 17 vice chairmen and 4 rapporteurs of the Committee and Subcommittees were elected in accordance with the principle of equitable geographical representation.

Despite strenuous efforts to resolve all procedural problems during the March meeting, three questions remained at the end of the session: the priority of each oceans issue; which Subcommittee would deal with defining the limits of national jurisdiction over the seabed; and how the Committee would deal with the question of the peaceful uses of the international seabed area.



The second meeting of the Committee in 1971 was also in Geneva, July 19–August 27. Nearly 70 countries spoke at this session, many for the first time setting out their detailed views on the outstanding oceans issues. Most of the discussion concerned the question of the degree of coastal state control over fish and seabed resources. Various proposals in the form of draft conventions, draft treaty articles, working papers, and draft lists were submitted to the Committee. Tanzania, the U.S.S.R., Poland, Canada, the United Kingdom, 13 Latin American countries, and 7 landlocked and shelflocked states submitted papers on seabeds. The United States, United Kingdom, and France had previously submitted papers on this subject. In addition, Malta submitted a comprehensive draft ocean space treaty, and various countries submitted draft lists of subjects that should be dealt with by the 1973 conference. The Committee decided to request the UN Secretariat to prepare a comparative analytical table to cover all draft treaties and other papers submitted.

With respect to the remaining procedural questions, the Committee decided that the question of the international seabed regime should receive priority, which meant the allocation of more time to Subcommittee I. Further, while each Subcommittee would have the right to discuss and record its conclusions on the question of seabed limits so far as this was relevant to the subjects allocated to it, it was agreed that the main Committee would not reach a decision until the recommendation of Subcommittee II had been received on this issue. The question of the peaceful uses of the international seabed area was allocated to the main Committee.

Most of the substantive work was performed in the Subcommittees,

and their reports were made integral parts of the Committee's overall report.

Subcommittee I made progress during its sessions in 1971 toward the preparation of draft treaty articles embodying an international seabed regime. Subcommittee II concluded that the views exchanged, together with the proposals made and the suggestions advanced, had contributed to further clarifying the positions of delegations and would therefore facilitate progress in the future. Less progress was made in Subcommittee III, which only began to come to grips with the problems of marine pollution and scientific research. Moreover, it did not want to duplicate efforts underway in other forums, such as IMCO and the Preparatory Committee for the UN Conference on the Human Environment.

Finally, the Committee considered the reports of the Secretary General on the possible impact on world markets of seabed mineral production in the area beyond national jurisdiction and the problems of landlocked countries. The Committee issued its own report in November which included the reports of the three Subcommittees as well as annexes containing the various working papers and draft treaty articles submitted and summaries of the two reports of the Secretary General requested by the 25th General Assembly.

#### **U.S. PROPOSALS**

On August 3 the U.S. Representative, John R. Stevenson, introduced drafts of three treaty articles that would establish the maximum permissible breadth of the territorial sea at 12 nautical miles, provide for free transit through and over international straits, and provide



certain coastal state preferences over offshore fisheries. He explained that these provisions constituted the basic elements of President Nixon's oceans policy announced in 1970, and that the United States would be unable to conceive of a successful conference that did not accommodate the objectives of its draft articles on territorial seas and straits. He pointed out the importance to all states of facilitating navigation and the dependence of security interests on free transit through and over straits. Discussing the draft article on fisheries, he noted the relationship between a solution to resource problems and freedom of navigation.

In subsequent speeches, the U.S. Representative indicated flexibility on the method of delimiting the outer boundary of the seabeds trusteeship zone, which the United States had proposed in 1970, and indicated the need to focus on the precise mixture of national and international elements in the U.S. proposals.

The U.S. 1970 seabed proposal was in the form of a draft convention on the international seabed area which proposed, in implementation of President Nixon's oceans policy, that nations agree to limit national jurisdiction over the seabed to the 200-meter water depth. The area beyond would be international with substantial benefits flowing to the international community. An intermediate area from the 200-meter water depth to an agreed limit on the continental margin would be administered by coastal states on behalf of the international community and they would control the seabed resources in that area. The U.S. 1971 fisheries proposal would give to the coastal state a preference with regard to those fish it can harvest (except highly migratory species) subject to international arrangements which would include impartial third-party dispute settlement.

There was considerable debate regarding the breadth of the territorial sea, with most countries indicating it should not exceed 12 miles, and some discussion of how the closely related question of international straits should be handled.

Many countries expressed support for some form of coastal state control over ocean resources beyond 12 miles, some urging the adoption of a "trusteeship" or "intermediate" zone approach. Canada proposed a "custodianship" arrangement similar to the U.S. seabed proposal. Some other countries favored an exclusive 200-mile zone. Most countries agreed on the need for freedom of navigation and other international rights beyond the territorial sea.

There was general agreement on the need for a seabed regime and international machinery. Some developing countries spoke in favor of the creation of an international operating agency with exclusive jurisdiction over development of seabed resources beyond the limits of national jurisdiction with the exclusive power to engage in exploration and exploitation directly. Other countries, especially among the industrially developed, considered such an arrangement unrealistic.

There were wide differences on the fisheries issue; traditional distant-water fishing nations, and some landlocked countries, supported maximum freedom of fishing while many coastal states called for exclusive fishing rights off their coasts.

## General Assembly

The First Committee considered the seabed agenda item on December 2, 6, and 10-16. For the most part delegates limited their debate to a review of the work of the two sessions of the Seabed Committee in

1971 and to procedural and organizational matters. On December 16 the Committee approved by a vote of 97 to 0 a resolution which (1) noted with satisfaction the encouraging progress of the preparatory work of the Seabed Committee toward a comprehensive conference on the law of the sea; (2) decided to enlarge the Committee by four members—the People's Republic of China and three others, "to be appointed by the Chairman of the First Committee in consultation with

under-represented regional groups"; and (3) requested the Committee to hold two sessions in 1972, one in New York and one in Geneva.

The General Assembly, on December 21 unanimously adopted this resolution after amending it to provide for five additional members—the People's Republic of China and four others "to be appointed by the Chairman of the First Committee in consultation with regional groups with due regard to the interests of under-represented groups."<sup>1</sup>

## Peaceful Settlement

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### African Problems

#### SENEGAL-PORTUGAL

By a letter of July 6, 1971, the Permanent Representative of Senegal to the United Nations requested the President of the Security Council to convene the Council urgently, referring to several incidents along the border between Senegal and Portuguese Guinea in which the loss of Senegalese life and property had been caused by land mines. The letter stated that "the laying of mines in Senegalese territory by the regular Portuguese forces constitutes a further obvious and flagrant violation of Senegal's sovereignty and territorial integrity, which should be punished by the international community."

Responding in a letter of July 10, the Portuguese Chargé denied re-

sponsibility for the alleged incidents, stating that they were "due solely to the facilities granted by the Senegalese authorities to a subversive group, which organizes, prepares and promotes, in Senegalese territory, armed attacks directed against the populations of the Portuguese province of Guinea."

The Council began consideration of Senegal's complaint on July 12. From the beginning the United States made it clear that while it was sympathetic about the loss of life, it recognized that not all relevant facts were available and found it difficult to condemn another country without evidence from an impartial fact-finding mission. On July 15 Somalia introduced a draft resolution sponsored by the five African and Asian members that requested the Council President and the Secretary General to investigate the facts, but at the same time condemned Portugal for acts of aggression against Senegal. The resolution was adopted the same day by a

<sup>1</sup> On December 22 the Chairman of the First Committee announced that he had appointed Fiji, Finland, Nicaragua, and Zambia to the Seabed Committee.

vote of 13 to 0, with 2 abstentions (U.K., U.S.).

In explanation of vote Ambassador Bush expressed regret that the United States was unable to support the resolution but said that it violated the concept, important to Americans, that a person is innocent until found guilty. He stated that the United States was very much in favor of sending a fact-finding mission to the area and requested a separate vote on the operative paragraph setting up the special mission. That paragraph was adopted unanimously.

The mission's mandate, as set forth in the resolution, was to carry out an inquiry into the facts of which the Council had been informed, to examine the situation along the border between Portuguese Guinea and Senegal, and to report to the Security Council, making any recommendations aimed at guaranteeing peace and security in the region.

The mission, composed of Belgium, Burundi, Japan, Poland, Nicaragua, and Syria and under the chairmanship of the Nicaraguan Permanent Representative, arrived in Senegal on July 25. Mission visits to both sides of the border were ruled out when Portugal in a July 24 letter declined to cooperate on the grounds that all the incidents in question had taken place in Senegal, and that the Security Council resolution establishing the mission had already condemned Portugal without evidence. Instead, Portugal renewed its offer—made several times since 1963 and rejected by Senegal—to “set up a commission for controlling the Luso-Senegalese frontier, consisting of Portuguese and Senegalese representatives and presided over by a high personality in whose impartiality both the countries are able to trust.”

In pursuing its mandate the mission decided to hold meetings with both governmental leaders and local authorities, to receive testimony from organizations and private individuals, and to examine general conditions in the frontier area concerned.

The mission left Senegal on August 1 after consultation and investigation in Dakar and in Senegal's Casamance region where the incidents reportedly had occurred. Much of its time was spent in Casamance interviewing witnesses and examining evidence remaining from mine explosions. Before its departure the mission met with Amilcar Cabral, secretary general of the PAIGC (Partido Africano da Independencia da Guine e Cabo Verde), the dominant insurgency movement in Portuguese Guinea.

In its report of September 16 the mission concluded that at least one Senegalese village had been attacked and that the attacks could have been carried out only by a well-armed and properly trained force with a safe refuge nearby. While the mission noted testimony by witnesses that Portuguese forces had carried out attacks, it could not itself determine the origin of the mines. In its investigation of a shelling incident, the mission reported being informed that only the Portuguese had heavy artillery in the region. The mission deplored Portugal's lack of cooperation which prevented it from gathering information on the Portuguese Guinea side of the border, but asserted that according to its observations the PAIGC was not engaging in any military activity in the area along the frontier. It reached the conclusion that the violence and destruction in the area appeared to result from the colonial situation in Portuguese Guinea.

The mission recommended that the Council ensure (1) respect for



Senegal's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and (2) the immediate cessation of acts of violence against its territory and its people in order to contribute to peace and security in the region. It further recommended that it should be possible for Portuguese Guinea to exercise without delay its inalienable right to self-determination and independence. Finally, it recommended that the Council take "all appropriate steps and initiatives" to obtain Portuguese respect for and implementation of its recommendations.

The Security Council met November 23 and 24 to consider a draft resolution sponsored by the three African members that was based on the report but went beyond it by ascribing responsibility for the incidents to Portugal even where the mission did not. The resolution was adopted on November 24 by a vote of 14 to 0, with 1 abstention (U.S.).

Ambassador Bush expressed appreciation for the mission's efforts and support in general for the spirit of the report, but also concern about the one-sidedness of the resolution and its failure to take into account the role that the use of sanctuaries by insurgents plays in the creation of border tensions. He noted that discussions with other delegations had not revealed sufficient support to warrant his proposing at this time the establishment of a commission to investigate border incidents and report periodically to the Council on such questions as progress toward self-determination in Portuguese Guinea and other elements that could lead to a satisfactory settlement in the region. Nevertheless, he noted that this was the kind of step that the Council might take which would prevent future incidents and be consistent with the recommendations of the special mission's report.

## GUINEA-PORTUGAL

A second complaint against Portugal—this time lodged by Guinea—was brought before the Security Council on August 3, 1971. In a letter of that date Guinea told the Council that its security service had intercepted conversations between Portuguese naval units and Portuguese army headquarters in Portuguese Guinea discussing an imminent Portuguese attack against Guinea. Guinea requested an immediate meeting of the Security Council to consider the threat. The Council met the same evening and unanimously adopted a resolution sponsored by Burundi, Sierra Leone, Somalia, and Syria affirming that Guinea's territorial integrity and political independence must be respected and deciding to send a special mission of three Council members to consult with Guinean authorities and report "immediately" on the situation.

On August 4, while the Security Council President and the Secretary General were undertaking consultations to determine the composition of the special mission, Guinea requested that the sending of the special mission be delayed. Then, on August 12, Guinea notified the President of the Security Council by letter that it would receive the Council's special mission and would give it every assistance. The United States believed that if the mission were still to go to Guinea it should do so to ascertain the facts of the situation and not merely to consult with the Government of Guinea. The United States joined, however, in approving a consensus statement by the Council President on August 26 which called on the mission to consult the Government of Guinea "on its complaint" and to report back to the Council "as soon as possible." The statement, which had



the effect of amending the Council's August 3 resolution, also decided that the mission should consist of two members only. Argentina and Syria were appointed to the mission that same day.

The special mission visited Guinea from August 30 to September 2, and held three meetings with Guinean officials, including President Toure. These discussions, which centered largely on the Guineans' concerns about an imminent Portuguese threat, were included verbatim in the special mission's report, issued September 15.

In response to the report, the Portuguese Charge in New York wrote the President of the Security Council on September 29 that the report disproved the allegation that Portugal was planning aggression against Guinea and that it was regrettable that the Council should have been asked to meet urgently to consider vague and misleading information.

The Council began examining the report on September 29. After lengthy negotiation, the Council agreed on November 30 to a consensus statement which took note of the report, reiterated the paragraph of the August 3 resolution affirming that Guinea's territorial integrity and political independence must be respected, noted the "continuing concern" in Guinea about possible Portuguese aggression, and said that Portugal's failure to apply the principle of self-determination, including the right to independence, in Portuguese Guinea was having "an unsettling effect" on the area.

#### ZAMBIA-SOUTH AFRICA

On October 5, 1971, South African Prime Minister Balthasar Johannes Vorster announced before the Transvaal National Party Congress that "terrorist" incidents had

occurred in the Caprivi Strip area of Namibia on October 4 and 5 and restated his government's determination to pursue terrorists into the territory of countries that harbor them. He gave the impression that actual South African military operations were underway against guerrillas who had crossed into Zambia although he later said this was not his intention.

In a letter to the President of the Security Council on October 6, the Zambian Representative said that South African forces had crossed into Zambian territory on October 5 and he requested a meeting of the Council as soon as possible to consider South Africa's "violations of the sovereignty, air space, and territorial integrity" of his country. The Security Council met on October 8 to consider the complaint and heard the Zambian Representative recount a history of South African incursions into Zambia since October 1968, most of which were violations of air space. He reiterated his charge of South African aggression on October 5.

South African Foreign Minister Hilgard Muller, participating in the Council's debate, noted that in the past inadvertent minor border crossings and trespassing in air space had occurred in the area of the Zambian-Eastern Caprivi border, but said that both sides had been responsible, not only South Africa. He categorically rejected the Zambian allegations concerning the October 5 incident.

A draft resolution on the Zambian complaint, submitted by Burundi, Sierra Leone, Somalia, and Syria on October 8, condemned South Africa's violations of Zambian territorial integrity. However, in view of South Africa's denial and the absence of any evidence of an incursion the draft failed to attract general support.

A revised resolution calling on South Africa to respect Zambia's sovereignty and territorial integrity was adopted unanimously on October 12.

In explaining the U.S. vote, Ambassador Phillips said that the statements made to the Council had not been fully consistent and sometimes left open questions as to the timing, nature, or extent of incidents that might have taken place along the border between Zambia and Namibia. However, it was clear, he said, that tension and apprehension had arisen over the possibility that incidents of this kind might arise in the future. In the U.S. view the resolution would have contributed more to a reduction of tension in the area if it had also explicitly pointed out that unauthorized crossings of international frontiers by irregular forces or armed bands are contrary to the principles of the Charter.

#### APARTHEID

Drawing in large part on the report of its Special Committee on Apartheid,<sup>1</sup> the 26th General Assembly devoted considerable time to its agenda item on "The policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa."

#### Special Committee

Starting on January 19 the Apartheid Committee held 43 meetings during the year. In its annual report to the General Assembly and the Security Council, adopted unanimously on October 6, the Committee noted that the situation in South Africa had deteriorated during the year as the Government pursued its

<sup>1</sup> Established in 1962, the Committee's members in 1971 were Algeria, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, India, Malaysia, Nepal, Nigeria, Philippines, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Trinidad and Tobago, and Ukrainian S.S.R.

policy of apartheid. It noted that opposition to apartheid was growing in South Africa while the Government continued to invoke repressive measures to stifle opposition. South Africa's main trading partners—including the United Kingdom, the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, Italy, France, and others—were specifically cited for their "continued and increasing collaboration" with South Africa.

The Committee decided that its 1972 program of work should include, *inter alia*, identification of the principal foreign corporations with investments in southern Africa and encouragement of anti-apartheid campaigns in the countries concerned. It also decided to publish "periodic reports on the collaboration of Governments and private enterprises with the South African regime." The Committee further decided to investigate reports of torture and ill-treatment of political prisoners in South Africa and to prepare a report on "crimes committed by the South African regime in the implementation of its apartheid policies."

#### General Assembly

The Special Political Committee of the General Assembly considered the question of apartheid at 24 meetings between October 20 and November 16. Some 70 countries took part in the debate and 10 resolutions were adopted.

The reported ill-treatment of political prisoners in South Africa was the subject of the first resolution, introduced on November 2 by Somalia and eventually sponsored by 56 states. The resolution expressed the Assembly's "grave indignation and concern" over the maltreatment and torture of opponents of apartheid in South Africa and over the increased persecution of religious leaders op-

posed to that policy. Among other provisions it called on all states to do everything in their power to secure the repeal of legislation giving effect to apartheid and the liberation of persons detained or imprisoned for their opposition to it. The Special Political Committee approved the resolution on November 3 by a vote of 98 (U.S.) to 1, with 2 abstentions, and the plenary Assembly adopted it on November 9 by a vote of 109 (U.S.) to 2, with no abstentions.

On November 4 Norway introduced a draft resolution ultimately sponsored, in its final form, by 37 states, that appealed to states, organizations, and individuals for contributions to the UN Trust Fund for South Africa. The Fund is used for humanitarian assistance to persons persecuted under repressive legislation in South Africa, Namibia, and Southern Rhodesia. The resolution was approved by the Committee on November 11 by a vote of 102 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention, and adopted by the plenary Assembly on November 29 by a vote of 110 (U.S.) to 1, with 1 abstention. U.S. support for this resolution was based on the resolution's goals and did not constitute a commitment to contribute to the Fund.

A series of eight draft resolutions, subsequently combined in an omnibus resolution, were designed to give effect to anti-apartheid programs in a variety of areas. The first draft, introduced on November 10 by Nigeria and ultimately sponsored, in its final form, by 47 states, reaffirmed and strengthened the arms embargo against South Africa. It was approved by the Committee on November 15 by a vote of 87 to 1, with 6 abstentions (U.S.), and adopted by the Assembly on November 29 by a vote of 107 to 2, with 5 abstentions (U.S.). The U.S. abstention was based in part on its

position that an expanded arms embargo could diminish the level of compliance already achieved. A U.S. arms embargo against South Africa has been in effect even longer than that recommended by the Security Council, and the United States restated its intention to adhere to this embargo.

The second draft resolution, introduced on November 11 by India and ultimately sponsored in its final form by 59 states, requested UNESCO to prepare an educational kit on racial discrimination and apartheid in southern Africa for distribution to institutions of learning. The draft was approved by the Committee on November 15 by a vote of 97 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions, and adopted by the Assembly on November 29 by a vote of 112 (U.S.) to 1, with 3 abstentions.

The third draft resolution, introduced on November 11 by Nepal and eventually sponsored by 37 states, endorsed the Apartheid Committee's program of work, and specifically authorized the sending of representatives to international conferences dealing with the problems of apartheid and the holding of consultations with experts and "representatives of the oppressed people of South Africa" as well as anti-apartheid movements. It was approved by the Committee on November 15 by a vote of 89 to 0, with 4 abstentions (U.S.), and adopted by the Assembly on November 29 by a vote of 108 to 1, with 5 abstentions (U.S.). During the Special Political Committee's debate the United States reiterated its fundamental opposition to apartheid, but it abstained on the resolution because it was unable to support the financing required for some of the activities mentioned in the Apartheid Committee's report.

The fourth draft resolution, introduced on November 12 by Trinidad and Tobago and ultimately



sponsored by 49 states, called for the elimination of apartheid in sports. It was approved by the Committee on November 15 by a vote of 91 (U.S.) to 0, with 8 abstentions, and adopted by the Assembly on November 29 by a vote of 106 (U.S.) to 2, with 7 abstentions..

The fifth draft resolution, introduced on November 11 by Yugoslavia and ultimately sponsored, in its final form, by 46 states, condemned the establishment by the Government of South Africa of Bantu homelands (Bantustans) and the forcible removal of the African people to those areas as a violation of their inalienable rights. The resolution was approved by the Committee on November 15 by a vote of 99 (U.S.) to 1, with 3 abstentions, and adopted by the Assembly on November 29 by a vote of 110 (U.S.) to 2, with 2 abstentions.

The sixth draft resolution, introduced November 12 by Egypt and sponsored in its final form by 27 states, concerned the general situation in South Africa. It went beyond what the United States could accept by condemning those states that cooperate economically with South Africa and by recommending that the Security Council take action against South Africa, including enforcement measures under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. The draft was approved by the Committee on November 15 by a vote of 76 to 6 (U.S.), with 21 abstentions, and adopted by the Assembly on November 29 by a vote of 86 to 6 (U.S.), with 22 abstentions.

The seventh draft resolution, introduced on November 12 by Malaysia and sponsored in its final form by 36 states, concerned a wide-ranging plan for the dissemination of information on apartheid. It was approved by the Committee on November 16 by a vote of 82 to 1, with 5 abstentions (U.S.), and adopted

by the Assembly on November 29 by a vote of 108 to 2, with 6 abstentions (U.S.). The United States abstained because of the financial implications of the information campaign although it supported the broad aims of the resolution.

The eighth of this series of draft resolutions, introduced on November 15 by Somalia and ultimately sponsored by 24 states, appealed to all national and international trade union organizations to intensify their anti-apartheid activities, including the exertion of "maximum pressure on foreign economic and financial interests which are profiting from racial discrimination against non-white workers in South Africa, in order to persuade them to cease such exploitation." It was approved by the Committee on November 16 by a vote of 92 (U.S.) to 0, with 10 abstentions, and adopted by the Assembly on November 29 by a vote of 104 (U.S.) to 1, with 9 abstentions.

The Assembly also took up the problem of apartheid in its Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural) during consideration of the agenda item on "Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination." (See section on Human Rights, p. 128.)

## Cyprus

Tensions between the Greek and Turkish communities on Cyprus increased in 1971 and culminated in the breakdown of the intercommunal talks in August when Greek Cypriot negotiator Glafkos Clerides and Turkish Cypriot negotiator Rauf Denktash reached an impasse in their discussions on constitutional issues. The intercommunal talks had begun in 1968 under UN auspices in an effort to resolve the constitutional differences between the two communities including, *inter alia*,



judicial, legislative, and administrative relationships between them.

In an attempt to revive the talks, following meetings with the Foreign Ministers of Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey, the UN Secretary General on October 18 handed to representatives of these three countries an aide memoire containing the following procedural proposal:

The Secretary General's suggestion is that with a view to facilitating the future conduct of the inter-communal talks, his Special Representative in Cyprus, Mr. B. F. Osorio-Tafall, should, in the exercise of the Secretary General's good offices, take part in the talks between the representatives of the two communities. It is also suggested that the Governments of Greece and Turkey should each make available a constitutional expert who would attend the talks in an advisory capacity.

Greece accepted the Secretary General's suggestion for expanded intercommunal talks immediately; Cyprus announced its acceptance on December 13 during the Security Council meeting on the extension of the mandate of the UN Force in Cyprus; Turkey accepted it with some reservations.

The Security Council met once on May 26 and twice on December 13 to consider the reports of the Secretary General on Cyprus and to extend the mandate of UNFICYP for 6 months. On both days the Council adopted without objection a resolution similar to those adopted in previous years extending the mandate and urging the parties to act with restraint and to continue cooperative efforts to achieve the objectives of the Security Council.

At the May meeting of the Council, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador George Bush, stated:

The mechanism for resolving the Cyprus conflict exists in the intercommunal talks. As we have stated in the past, the United States firmly sup-

ports these talks and believed they provide the best procedure for reaching an agreement which will safeguard the legitimate rights of all elements in Cyprus. In the interim we welcome the Secretary General's comments on deconfrontation, deescalation, and refugee resettlement. Efforts by both sides to reach agreement on these outstanding problems would reduce tensions and the possibilities of violent incidents, thus enabling the local negotiations to concentrate on the basic issues before them. I join the Secretary General in calling upon the leaders of all parties to give impetus to these negotiations by exerting their best and most statesmanlike efforts to reach a mutually acceptable accommodation so that there may be an equitable, lasting, and peaceful solution. . . . I also join the Secretary General in urging all parties concerned to refrain from any activities or statements, especially statements referring to *enosis* or partition, which would aggravate the already delicate situation.

Ambassador W. Tapley Bennett, the U.S. Representative at the December 13 Security Council meetings, expressed deep regret over the "significant deterioration in the general situation on Cyprus as demonstrated by the increase in tensions between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities." He endorsed the Secretary General's proposal to reactivate the intercommunal talks under a new procedural formula and appealed to all parties to accept the Secretary General's suggestion. Noting with disappointment that there had been no progress toward normalization of relations between the two communities in the important areas of deconfrontation, freedom of movement, economic development, and resettlement of refugees, he appealed to all parties concerned "to exert their most statesmanlike efforts to reach mutually acceptable interim accommodations which would allow all elements of the Cypriot population to participate fully and without fear in all aspects of the life of their country."

At this same meeting the Representative of the People's Republic of China stated that his government would not participate in the vote on the resolution because of its "principled stand" on the question of UN forces, which he said was well known to all.

#### UNFICYP

The Secretary General reported on November 30 that as of November 13 UNFICYP was composed of 3,119 men from Australia, Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. The Force, which is under the command of Major General D. Prem Chand (India), included both military personnel and civilian police.

UNFICYP is financed from voluntary contributions. The United States pledged \$4.8 million toward the 1971 expenses of UNFICYP bringing the total U.S. cash pledge to UNFICYP since its inception in March 1964 to \$56.9 million. In addition, through 1965, the United States provided UNFICYP with air transport services valued at \$1.3 million for the rotation of troops and equipment.

In his November 30 report on the UN operation in Cyprus the Secretary General noted UNFICYP's continuing serious financial problems. The financial burden of this undertaking has been borne by a limited number of governments only and UNFICYP's deficit rose by the end of the year to approximately \$20 million, consisting mainly of reimbursement owed by the United Nations to certain troop-contributing nations for the extra expenses of maintaining their units in Cyprus. On December 13 the U.S. Representative announced in the Security Council:

In light of the serious financial crisis facing this vital peacekeeping

operation, we are presently consulting with other interested governments in an effort to work out an approach which would eliminate the deficit and place future UNFICYP financing on a sound and sustainable basis. In this connection, the United States would be prepared to make a substantial additional payment on its pledges to UNFICYP in the near future. We appeal to all other member states for their assistance in these efforts to ensure that the United Nations activities in Cyprus, as well as other vital peacekeeping efforts, can be effectively maintained in accordance with the principles of the Charter.

## India - Pakistan

In December 1970 Pakistan held its first parliamentary elections in 10 years and the Awami League, campaigning on a platform of autonomy for East Pakistan, won a majority of seats in the National Assembly. When the central Government and the Awami League were unable to reconcile their differences over autonomy, President Yahya Khan postponed indefinitely the convening of the National Assembly. In reaction to the postponement rioting broke out in East Pakistan in early March and the Pakistan Army was ordered to restore the central Government's authority. The civil strife and repressive measures against the population there resulted in hundreds of thousands of deaths and the exodus of millions of refugees into India.

Throughout 1971 the UN Secretary General and the United States undertook humanitarian and political initiatives in an effort to alleviate the suffering and prevent the outbreak of war. (See pp. 93 ff. for a discussion of the humanitarian efforts.) Nevertheless, following months of cross-border guerrilla warfare in East Pakistan and numerous incidents along the Indo-Pakistani border, full scale hostilities broke out

between India and Pakistan on December 3.

#### SECRETARY GENERAL'S INITIATIVES

In an effort to deal with the political aspects of the India-Pakistan crisis, the Secretary General addressed a memorandum dated July 20 to the President of the Security Council expressing his deep concern over the deteriorating situation in South Asia and suggesting that the Security Council might wish to take up the question. Neither of the parties directly concerned had requested a Security Council meeting, however, and informal consultations among the members of the Council revealed that there was not a consensus in favor of calling a meeting on the India-Pakistan question at that time. On October 20 the Secretary General addressed identical letters to the Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan stating that the situation in South Asia could all too easily give rise to open hostilities which would not only be disastrous to the two countries principally concerned, but might also constitute a major threat to the wider peace. He added:

In this potentially very dangerous situation, I feel that it is my duty as Secretary General to do all that I can to assist the Governments immediately concerned in avoiding any development which might lead to disaster. I wish Your Excellency to know, therefore, that my good offices are entirely at your disposal if you believe that they could be helpful at any time.

The Government of Pakistan accepted the Secretary General's offer to extend his good offices and urged him to pay an immediate visit to India and Pakistan to discuss withdrawal of forces. India did not accept the Secretary General's offer but urged him instead to try to persuade the Pakistani Government to "bring about a political settlement

in East Bengal which meets the declared wishes of the people there."

#### SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION

On December 4 the United States and eight other members called for an urgent meeting of the Security Council, and the Council met the same day. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Bush, introduced a draft resolution calling for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of armed personnel to their own sides of the border; authorizing the Secretary General, at the request of India or Pakistan, to place observers along the border; calling upon India, Pakistan, and others concerned to create a climate conducive to the voluntary return of the refugees to East Pakistan; and inviting India and Pakistan to respond affirmatively to the Secretary General's offer of his good offices. In view of the urgency of the situation, Ambassador Bush requested that the resolution be put to a vote the same day.

In his December 4 statement before the Security Council, Ambassador Bush deplored the recourse to war by the nations of South Asia as "tragic and unnecessary." He explained that the deteriorating military situation made it increasingly impossible for the United States to contribute to the economic development and political stability of the area, to which it was committed. He reviewed the steps the United States had taken with respect to the political and humanitarian aspects of the crisis in an attempt to avert war, including relief assistance for the refugees and for East Pakistan, efforts to facilitate negotiations leading to a settlement of the East Pakistan problem, and the urging of restraint and deescalation on both sides. The U.S. Representative called upon the United Nations "to bring the great moral authority of



this body effectively and quickly to bear to preserve the peace between two of its largest members.”

The vote on the U.S. draft was 11 (U.S.) to 2 (Poland, U.S.S.R.), with 2 abstentions (France, U.K.), and the resolution failed of adoption because of the Soviet veto.

At the next meeting, on December 5, the Council voted on a Soviet draft resolution which called for a political settlement in East Pakistan but which failed to acknowledge the involvement of India in the conflict. This resolution was rejected by a vote of 2 (Poland, U.S.S.R.) to 1 (P.R.C.), with 12 abstentions (U.S.).

A resolution cosponsored by Argentina, Belgium, Burundi, Italy, Japan, Nicaragua, Sierra Leone, and Somalia, calling for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of forces, then was vetoed by the Soviet Union. The vote was 11 (U.S.) to 2 (Poland, U.S.S.R.), with 2 abstentions (France, U.K.).

Commenting on the voting, Ambassador Bush said:

It is clear that the dominant sentiment in this Council is that it must decisively address itself to first things first. By large majorities—11 members in one instance and then 11 in another instance, this evening—this Council has sought to achieve agreement that a cease-fire must be brought about in the Indian subcontinent and that the troops of the parties involved must be withdrawn to within their own borders.

This Council can do no less if it is not to abdicate its responsibilities in the eyes of the world. . . . If the lowest-common-denominator resolution which can escape a Soviet veto makes no contribution to the urgent problem of peace in South Asia, then we cannot accept it.

On December 6, after 3 days of lengthy debate characterized by frequent bitter exchanges between the representatives of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China as well as between the Indian and

Pakistani delegates, the Security Council, by a vote of 11 (U.S.) to 0, with 4 abstentions (France, Poland, U.S.S.R., U.K.), adopted a resolution referring the India-Pakistan question to the General Assembly.

The procedure is authorized under the “Uniting for Peace” resolution, adopted by the General Assembly on November 3, 1950, which provides that in the event that lack of unanimity of its permanent members prevents the Security Council from exercising its responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, “the General Assembly shall consider the matter immediately with a view to making appropriate recommendations . . . .”

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

After a lengthy debate on December 7, the General Assembly, by a vote of 104 (U.S.) to 11 (Bhutan, Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, India, Mongolia, Poland, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R.), with 10 abstentions (Afghanistan, Chile, Denmark, France, Malawi, Nepal, Oman, Senegal, Singapore, U.K.), adopted a resolution sponsored by 34 states. Essentially the same as the eight-power draft that had been vetoed in the Security Council, the resolution called for a cease-fire, withdrawal of forces, protection of civilians in the area of conflict, and the creation of conditions conducive to the voluntary repatriation of the refugees.

Speaking before the General Assembly, the Secretary General appealed to all parties to take every possible measure to spare the lives of the innocent civilian population and to observe the Geneva Conventions.

In his statement to the Assembly, Ambassador Bush reiterated Amer-

ican policy toward the India-Pakistan crisis and the efforts made by the United States to avert war. Emphasizing that the United States attached great value to its friendly relations with both India and Pakistan, he reiterated that the beginning of the crisis went back to the use of force by Pakistan in March 1971. But, he added, since the beginning of the crisis it should also be clear that India bore a major responsibility for broadening the crisis by rejecting efforts of the United Nations to become involved. He urged the General Assembly to act—not out of any desire to assign blame—but to restore the conditions of peace which were essential for progress toward a political settlement and to protect the lives and well being of civilians in the area where the fighting was going on.

#### RETURN TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Pakistan accepted the terms of the General Assembly resolution. India did not, and the war continued.

On December 12, underscoring the responsibility of the Security Council to end this threat to world peace, the United States requested another urgent meeting of the Council.

Opening the debate, Ambassador Bush called attention to a U.S. Government statement of that day which recalled that 104 countries had supported the General Assembly resolution calling for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of forces and which expressed concern that if the fighting continued in the West after an Indian victory in the East, it would involve the very existence of a member state of the United Nations.

The U.S. Representative asked the Council to insist that India comply with the General Assembly resolution and assure the Council

that it did not intend to annex Pakistani territory in the west or change the status quo in Kashmir contrary to UN resolutions. He introduced a resolution similar in substance to that adopted by the Assembly on December 7. However, it failed to be adopted by the Security Council because the U.S.S.R. again vetoed; the vote was 11 to 2 (Poland, U.S.S.R.), with 2 abstentions (France, U.K.).

In the course of the next several days, members of the Security Council attempted unsuccessfully to reach a consensus on a text that would not be vetoed by the Soviet Union. In the meantime, on December 16, the Pakistani army in East Pakistan surrendered to the commander of the Indian and Bangladesh forces. Following the implementation by India and Pakistan of a cease-fire in the west on December 17, the Security Council on December 21 adopted, by a vote of 13 to 0, with 2 abstentions (Poland, U.S.S.R.), a resolution demanding that the cease-fire remain in effect until withdrawals, as soon as practicable of all armed forces to their respective territories and to positions fully respecting the cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir supervised by the UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan; calling for the preservation of human life and for the observance of the Geneva Conventions of 1949; calling for international relief assistance for the refugees; and authorizing the Secretary General to appoint, if necessary, a special representative to lend his good offices for the solution of humanitarian problems.

In a December 25 report to the Council on the implementation of this resolution, Secretary General U Thant announced the appointment of Vittorio Winspeare-Guicciardi, Under Secretary General and Director of the UN Office in Geneva, as

his special representative, and said that he had instructed him to proceed to South Asia immediately.

## Korea

In the months immediately preceding the 26th General Assembly, the Republic of Korea asked the United States and other countries that usually cosponsor resolutions supporting a continued UN role in Korea to determine whether the General Assembly might be willing to defer debate until the following year. The arguments in favor of deferral were strengthened after North Korea accepted a proposal by the Republic of Korea that the Red Cross societies of the two countries meet to discuss problems relating to the many families divided by the Korean conflict.

The group of cosponsors generally agreed that repetition of the usual Assembly debate would not help and conceivably could damage the atmosphere of the Red Cross talks, which represented the first direct contact between the two Koreas in a generation. The cosponsors agreed to present the Assembly with these facts and request it to defer debate for a year.

As in previous years three items relating to Korea appeared on the provisional agenda when the General Committee met on September 22-23 to make recommendations on the agenda:

1. "Withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces occupy-

<sup>1</sup> UNCURK was established by a General Assembly resolution on Oct. 7, 1950, to represent the United Nations in bringing about a unified, independent, and democratic Korea. Its members are Australia, Netherlands, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand, and Turkey. Chile, an original member of the Commission, withdrew on Nov. 14, 1970.

ing South Korea under the flag of the United Nations" proposed on August 21 by Mongolia, later joined by Algeria, Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Guinea, Hungary, Iraq, Mauritania, Poland, Romania, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., and Yemen (Aden).

2. "Dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea"<sup>1</sup> also proposed on August 21 by Mongolia and subsequently supported by the same nations plus Mali.

3. "Question of Korea: Report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" proposed on August 23 by the Secretary General.

On September 23, the United Kingdom suggested to the General Committee that all three items be deferred for 1 year in the hope that developments in the recently initiated Red Cross talks between North and South Korea would enable the United Nations to make more constructive and helpful contributions to the problems in Korea than had been possible in the past. A number of delegations, including the U.S., supported the U.K. statement. The Soviet Union and a number of other states argued that the two items which they had had placed on the provisional agenda should be debated. The General Committee then decided by a vote of 13 (U.S.) to 9, with 2 abstentions, to recommend to the General Assembly that the three items concerning Korea be included in the provisional agenda of the 27th General Assembly (and thus not debated during the present Assembly).

The recommendation of the General Committee with respect to the Korean items was taken up by the General Assembly on September 24 and 25. Mongolia, the Soviet Union,



and a number of other states urged the Assembly to reject the recommendation of the General Committee, arguing that although of some importance to Korea, the Red Cross talks should not be allowed to prevent UN debate of the Korean question.

The United States and a number of other states suggested instead that the Assembly accept the General Committee's recommendation. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Bennett, stated, in part,

We see in Korea today steps being taken by the Korean people themselves to reduce that tension—the first moves toward national reconciliation. We fervently hope that these talks will bear good fruit.

In order to give these talks the best possible chance of success, to act in favor of the reconciliation of the Korean people, we ask all members to support the recommendations of the General Committee.

At the request of Mongolia, separate votes were taken on each of the provisional agenda items. The General Committee's recommendation to defer debate on the three items was approved by votes of 68 (U.S.) to 28, with 22 abstentions; 68 (U.S.) to 25, with 22 abstentions; and 70 (U.S.) to 21, with 23 abstentions, respectively. No further debate of the question took place at the 26th General Assembly although the People's Republic of China, in its initial address before the Assembly on November 15, firmly supported North Korea's demand that all UN resolutions on the Korean question be annulled and UNCURK be dissolved.

## Middle East

### PEACEMAKING EFFORTS

#### Jarring Mission

On January 5, 1971, Egypt and Israel resumed at UN Headquarters

#### *Peaceful Settlement*

their conversations with the Secretary General's Special Representative, Ambassador Gunnar Jarring, which had been suspended in September 1970. It was hoped that Ambassador Jarring's mission—to assist the parties to reach a just and lasting peace in the Middle East in accordance with Security Council Resolution 242 of November 22, 1967—could be reactivated.

Also in January, Israel presented to Ambassador Jarring for transmittal to the other governments concerned a paper containing its views on the "Essentials of Peace." Subsequently Egypt and Jordan presented papers containing their views on the implementation of Resolution 242.

In identical aides memoire presented to the representatives of Egypt and Israel on February 8, Ambassador Jarring requested that those governments make certain prior commitments to him, subject to their being made simultaneously and reciprocally by both parties. He proposed that Israel give a commitment to withdraw its forces from occupied Egyptian territory to the former international boundary between Egypt and the British Mandate of Palestine, and that Egypt give a commitment to enter into a peace agreement with Israel. Such an agreement would include explicit undertakings and acknowledgements to Israel, on a reciprocal basis, on the termination of all claims or states of belligerency; respect for and acknowledgement of each other's sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence; respect for and acknowledgement of each other's right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries; the responsibility to ensure that hostile acts do not originate in and are not committed from within their respective territories against the

other party; and noninterference in each other's domestic affairs.

In an aide memoire of February 15, Egypt stated that it would be ready to enter into a peace agreement with Israel, and would accept the specific commitments requested of it, as well as others arising from Resolution 242, if Israel would likewise give commitments concerning the resolution including, *inter alia*, withdrawal from Sinai and the Gaza Strip and achievement of a just settlement for the refugee problem.

In a communication of February 26, Israel stated that it viewed favorably Egypt's expression of its readiness to enter into a peace agreement with Israel and reiterated that it was prepared for meaningful negotiations on all subjects relevant to a peace agreement between the two countries. On the question of withdrawal of Israeli armed forces, Israel stated that it would withdraw to "the secure, recognized and agreed boundaries to be established in the peace agreement," but stated categorically that it would not withdraw to the pre-June 1967 lines. Discussions under Ambassador Jarring's auspices made no further headway in 1971.

#### **Maintenance of Cease-Fire**

In accepting the U.S. peace initiative of August 1970, the parties had agreed to observe a cease-fire for 90 days from August 7. This was extended a further 3 months in response to a 25th General Assembly resolution. Israel announced on February 2, 1971, that it would continue to observe the cease-fire on a mutual basis; Egypt announced on February 4 that it would refrain from opening fire for a period of 30 days ending on March 7. The cease-fire, although not officially extended beyond this date, was still in effect at the end of 1971.

#### **U.S. Canal Initiative**

Both prior to and following Secretary Rogers' visit to the area in May, the United States undertook efforts to promote an interim agreement providing for the reopening of the Suez Canal, and both parties continued to express their interest in such an agreement for most of 1971.

#### **OAU Mission**

On behalf of the OAU, a group of African heads of state conducted a mission to the Middle East, visiting Egypt and Israel during the autumn of 1971. The Senegalese Foreign Minister, Amadou Gaye, later told the General Assembly on December 7 that the OAU committee had been guided by the need to find ways to overcome the obstacles preventing a resumption of negotiations under Ambassador Jarring and the implementation of Resolution 242. On the basis of contacts with the two governments the OAU committee had drawn a number of positive conclusions regarding the will of both parties for peace, their continuing acceptance of Resolution 242 and further negotiations under Ambassador Jarring's aegis, and their willingness in principle to consider an interim agreement for the reopening of the Suez Canal. However, Foreign Minister Gaye noted two elements that hindered continuation of the Jarring mission: (1) the withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied Arab territories under the terms of the resolution, and (2) the concept of secure and recognized boundaries.

#### **Four Power Talks**

The Four Power talks on the Middle East among the Permanent Representatives to the United Nations of France, the U.S.S.R., the

United Kingdom, and the United States continued throughout 1971. Although a number of sessions were held, the Four Power discussions produced no agreement on balanced guidelines which might assist Ambassador Jarring's efforts pursuant to Resolution 242.

#### SECURITY COUNCIL ACTIVITY

The Security Council held two series of meetings on matters relating to the Middle East. The first, on Jerusalem, involved debate on many issues dividing Israel and her Arab neighbors. The second concerned the status of three islands in the Persian Gulf which had been occupied by Iran after the British protectorate came to an end.

#### Jerusalem

In a letter to the President of the Security Council dated September 13, Jordan requested "an urgent Security Council meeting to consider Israel's illegal measures in Jerusalem in defiance of Security Council resolutions." Jordan stated that Israel was continuing its "illegal and unilateral measures and steps to change the Arab character of the City and its environs" in defiance of earlier Security Council resolutions. The Jordanian letter concluded with the statement: "The situation created by these illegal Israeli measures constitutes a direct threat to the character of Jerusalem and the surrounding suburbs and villages, the lives and destiny of its people and international peace and security. It calls for immediate consideration by the Security Council."

The Council met September 16, 17, and 25 in response to the Jordanian request. Over 20 speakers were heard, including representatives of Israel, Jordan, several other Arab states, and most of the members of the Security Council.

On September 25 the Council adopted, by a vote of 14 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention (Syria), a resolution submitted by Somalia which (1) reaffirmed two resolutions on Jerusalem adopted by the Council in 1968 and 1969; (2) deplored Israel's failure to respect previous UN resolutions concerning measures and actions by Israel purporting to affect the status of Jerusalem; (3) confirmed that all legislative and administrative actions taken by Israel to change the status of Jerusalem, including expropriation of land and properties, transfer of populations, and legislation aimed at the incorporation of the occupied section, were totally invalid and could not change that status; (4) urgently called upon Israel to rescind all previous measures and actions and to take no further steps in the occupied section of Jerusalem which may purport to change the status of the city, or which would prejudice the rights of the inhabitants and the interests of the international community, or a just and lasting peace; and (5) requested the Secretary General, in consultation with the President of the Security Council and using such instrumentalities as he may choose, including a representative or a mission, to report to the Security Council as appropriate, and in any event, within 60 days, on the implementation of this resolution.

Before voting on the resolution as a whole the Council had adopted by a vote of 13 to 0, with 2 abstentions (Nicaragua, U.S.), a Syrian amendment which added to paragraph 4 the provision calling upon Israel to rescind all previous measures and actions in Jerusalem. At the request of the U.S.S.R. a separate vote was taken on paragraph 5, which was adopted by a vote of 12 to 0, with 3 abstentions (Poland, Syria, U.S.S.R.). The U.S.S.R. abstained because it felt that the language con-



cerning a possible mission was subject to too many interpretations and in its view any such mission must be sent by the Security Council and must be composed of members of the Security Council.

**U.S. POSITION.** Following the vote, Ambassador Bush said that the United States supported the resolution because it believed it was time to reiterate concern that nothing be done in Jerusalem that would prejudice an ultimate and peaceful solution. In the U.S. view, the final status of Jerusalem should be determined through negotiation and agreement between the governments of Israel and Jordan in the context of an overall peace settlement, taking into account the interests of its inhabitants, of the international religious communities who hold it sacred, and of other countries in the area.

Ambassador Bush repeated principles enunciated in 1969 by Secretary Rogers which the United States believed would provide an equitable framework for a final Jerusalem settlement:

1. Jerusalem should be a unified city;
2. There should be open access to the unified city for persons of all faiths and nationalities;
3. Administrative arrangements for the unified city should take into account the interest of all its inhabitants and of the Christian, Jewish, and Moslem communities; and
4. There should be roles for both Israel and Jordan in the civil, economic, and religious life of the city.

The U.S. Representative noted with regret Israel's failure to acknowledge its obligations under the Fourth Geneva Convention as well as its actions contrary to the letter

and spirit of that Convention. He stated clearly, however, that the United States believed that Israel's respect for the holy places in Jerusalem had been exemplary.

**IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RESOLUTION.** The Secretary General communicated the Council's resolution to Israel on the day of its adoption. Through consultations he determined that Argentina, Italy, and Sierra Leone would be willing to serve on the mission envisaged in the resolution should circumstances arise in which it would be desirable to establish it, and he informed Israel of their willingness. Israel's reply on November 15 gave its views concerning the paragraph calling upon it to rescind certain measures and actions in Jerusalem, but it did not touch upon the question of the Secretary General's proposal for a mission to Jerusalem.

On November 19 the Secretary General reported to the Security Council on his actions in pursuance of the resolution. By the end of the year there had been no further response from Israel regarding the Council's resolution.

#### **THE PERSIAN GULF**

In 1971 the United Kingdom terminated its long-standing protective treaty relationships with nine sheikhdoms in the Persian Gulf. The problem raised by Iran's claim to Bahrain, the most populous of the nine sheikhdoms, had been resolved by the Security Council in 1970 on the basis of a report by the Personal Representative of the Secretary General concluding that the people of Bahrain wished to become independent. Iran abandoned its claim. Bahrain became independent in August 1971; and Qatar, the following month.

On December 2, six of the Trucial Sheikdoms (Abu Dhabi, Ajman, Dubai, Fujairah, Sharjah, and Umm al Qaiwain) announced the formation of the United Arab Emirates as an independent and sovereign state. (The seventh Trucial Sheikdom, Ras al Khaimah, joined the United Arab Emirates in February 1972.)

On November 30 Iran landed forces on three Gulf islands which it claims—Abu Musa (also claimed by Sharjah) and Greater Tunb and Lesser Tunb (also claimed by Ras al Khaimah). The landing on Abu Musa followed agreement with the Sheikh of Sharjah on an arrangement permitting Iran's garrisoning of part of the island. Iran had not, however, reached a comparable agreement with the ruler of Ras al Khaimah with respect to Greater and Lesser Tunb.

On December 3 Algeria, Iraq, Libya, and Yemen (Aden) requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider "the dangerous situation in the Arabian [sic] Gulf area arising from the occupation by the armed forces of Iran" of these three islands in the lower Gulf.

The Security Council met on December 9 to consider the question. The four requesting states plus Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Iran, and the United Kingdom presented their views to the Council. The Council then adopted a suggestion of the Somali Representative that since some states friendly to the parties were trying to work out a peaceful accommodation, the Security Council should adjourn until the results of this effort were known. No further Council consideration of this issue occurred in 1971.

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION

The General Assembly considered "the situation in the Middle East" in plenary session between December

3 and 14, 1971. Representatives of more than 70 countries made statements. One resolution was adopted, on December 13.

#### Egyptian Position

Opening the debate on December 3, Mahmoud Riad, Egypt's Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, denounced Israel's "continued aggression against three states members of the United Nations." He stated that while peace efforts were being undertaken by Ambassador Jarring to carry out Security Council Resolution 242, Israel had been actively engaged in a policy of colonizing the occupied territories. Mr. Riad noted that both the Security Council and the General Assembly had on a number of occasions reaffirmed their opposition to the acquisition of territory by force. Further, Israel's claim to territorial expansion, disguised as security considerations, defied present-day realities where security can no longer be attained through geography. After asserting that this expansionist policy had "shattered all the initiatives," he reviewed the history of the Jarring Mission and other efforts over the last 4 years to carry out the peaceful settlement embodied in Resolution 242. He concluded that Israel bore heavy responsibility for the failure of all these efforts.

#### Israeli Position

On December 6 Abba Eban, Israel's Foreign Minister, asserted that the urgent task was to strengthen the cease-fire and to begin detailed and concrete negotiations. Contrary to the Egyptian picture of an Israeli expansionist "imperialism," he stated that the reality was "a small nation fighting for nothing but its own peace, its own freedom, and its own security in the shadow of dark memories and immense

risks." He charged that Egypt had broadened a regional conflict by introducing a great power military presence into the area and, by its extreme demands, had held up a promising discussion of a special Suez Canal agreement as a starting-point for new accords. Mr. Eban said that the maintenance of the cease-fire was the essential condition for progress toward peace, and he asserted that Israel's acceptance of the Jarring Mission and of Security Council Resolution 242 had been secured "in return for the most precise public and private assurances that the resolution did allow for a negotiation on the final boundary and therefore on the scope of withdrawal." Israel asked only that its right to negotiate the issues vital to its future not be cut off in advance.

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

Speaking on December 10, Ambassador Bush recalled that the United Nations had been intimately concerned with the Arab-Israeli conflict for almost a quarter of a century. He noted that the United States has consistently favored a peaceful settlement based on agreement among the parties within the framework of the principles and provisions set forth in Resolution 242. Unfortunately efforts toward an overall peace settlement since 1967 had not produced the results for which all had hoped. Since February 1971 the most promising avenue for progress had been the possibility of an agreement on measures of an interim nature, involving partial Israeli withdrawal in Sinai and a reopening of the Suez Canal.

Both Egypt and Israel on their own initiative expressed an interest in this concept, and both then asked the United States to assist them in pursuing negotiations on this matter. We agreed to undertake this role. We see an interim agreement as being to the

potential benefit of all concerned, as a practical step toward an overall peace settlement, as a way to test the intentions of the parties and develop much-needed confidence that a political arrangement could be implemented and observed by the parties, and as a means of promoting a resumption of Ambassador Jarring's mission.

Since February the United States had undertaken extensive discussions with the parties regarding an interim agreement. A major difficulty, however, was that the parties sought to introduce into the context of an interim agreement concepts that logically belonged in an overall settlement. He noted that the merits of an interim agreement were precisely that it offered a prospect for practical, on-the-ground progress while leaving some of the most difficult issues—such as territory, the shape of the peace, and guarantees—for further negotiations at a subsequent stage.

Emphasizing that peace cannot be imposed on the area by outsiders, the U.S. Representative urged the Assembly to do nothing that would seem to reinterpret Security Council Resolution 242 or to alter the careful balance of that resolution. He affirmed that quiet diplomacy was the best format for progress, noting in particular that political-diplomatic options would be needed more than ever once the debate in the General Assembly was over.

By December 13, the Assembly had before it draft proposals from four groups of sponsors. The debate centered on a 21-power draft which was eventually adopted.

#### **21-Power Draft Resolution**

This draft was cosponsored by 19 Afro-Asian states, Spain, and Yugoslavia and in its final form incorporated amendments suggested by six West European states (Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Nether-



lands, and U.K.). Voted on after the Assembly had rejected a number of additional amendments (see below), the revised draft was adopted by a vote of 79 to 7, with 36 abstentions (U.S.).

Those in favor were:

Afghanistan, Argentina, Austria, Bahrain, Belgium, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cameroon, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gambia, Greece, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Nepal, Netherlands, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Peru, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Tanzania, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, Venezuela, Yemen (San'a), Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Those opposed were:

Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Haiti, Israel, Nicaragua, Uruguay.

Those abstaining were:

Algeria, Australia, Barbados, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Canada, Central African Republic, People's Republic of China, Dahomey, Denmark, Ecuador, Fiji, Gabon, Ghana, Honduras, Iceland, Ivory Coast, Khmer Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Malagasy Republic, Malawi, Morocco, New Zealand, Panama, Paraguay, Senegal, Singapore, Sweden, Syria, United States, Upper Volta, Yemen (Aden), Zaire.

Those absent were:

Albania, Bhutan, Guatemala, Iraq, Maldives, Mauritius, Philippines, Portugal, South Africa, Swaziland.

In one of its preambular paragraphs the resolution expressed the Assembly's conviction that Security Council Resolution 242 of November 22, 1967, should be implemented immediately in all its parts in order to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

In its operative section the resolution:

(1) reaffirmed that the acquisition of territories by force is inadmissible and that, consequently, territories thus occupied must be restored;

(2) reaffirmed that the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East should include the application of both of the following principles:

(a) withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from occupied territories; and

(b) termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence of every state in the area and its right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force;

(3) requested the Secretary General to take necessary measures to reactivate the mission of his Special Representative in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to reach a peace agreement as envisaged in the Special Representative's aide memoire of February 8 (see p. 39);

(4) expressed the Assembly's full support for all efforts of the Special Representative to implement Security Council Resolution 242;

(5) noted with appreciation the positive reply given by Egypt to the Special Representative's initiative;

(6) called upon Israel to respond favorably to this initiative;

(7) further invited the parties to the Middle East conflict to give their full cooperation to the Special Representative in order to work out practical measures for:

(a) guaranteeing freedom of navigation through inter-

national waterways in the area;

- (b) achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem;
- (c) guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every state in the area;

(8) requested the Secretary General to report to the Security Council and to the General Assembly, as appropriate, on the progress made by the Special Representative in implementation of Security Council Resolution 242 and of the present resolution; and

(9) requested the Security Council to consider, if necessary, making arrangements, under the relevant articles of the UN Charter, with regard to the implementation of Resolution 242.

#### **Two-Power Draft Amendments**

Barbados and Ghana proposed amendments to both the original and the revised 21-power draft. The latter would have had the Assembly (1) express support for proposals regarding a peace settlement put forth earlier by the OAU Committee of Heads of State, (2) call upon the Secretary General to "reactivate" Ambassador Jarring's mission (but make no mention of his February 8 aide memoire), and (3) call upon the parties to "resume negotiations" under Ambassador Jarring. The Assembly rejected all amendments by a substantial margin. The United States voted in favor of the amendment calling for the reactivation of the Jarring Mission and abstained on all the others. (A separate draft resolution embodying the substance of the amendments was not put to a vote.)

#### **Senegalese Draft Amendments**

Similarly, the Assembly rejected three amendments to the revised

21-power draft proposed by Senegal. These amendments would have had the Assembly (1) delete reference to the restoration of the occupied territories, (2) note the replies of Egypt and Israel to the memorandum of the OAU Committee of Heads of State and consider that these replies were sufficiently positive to permit a resumption of Ambassador Jarring's mission, and (3) delete operative paragraph (9) of the 21-power draft regarding implementation of the resolution by the Security Council. The United States voted in favor of all three amendments.

#### **Four-Power Draft Resolution**

Finally, after adopting the revised 21-power draft resolution, the Assembly rejected by a vote of 18 to 56, with 47 abstentions (U.S.), a draft resolution cosponsored by Costa Rica, El Salvador, Haiti, and Uruguay whose provisions were similar to the amendments proposed by Barbados and Ghana.

#### **U.S. Explanation of Vote**

Speaking shortly before the vote was taken on the revised 21-power draft resolution, Ambassador Phillips stated that the United States would abstain for two reasons:

First, we believe the resolution contains language that tends to alter the balance of Security Council Resolution 242, and we attach the greatest importance to a strict and careful adherence to that basic document upon which our hopes for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East are based. . . .

Second, my government is concerned about the practical effect of this resolution. We are all agreed, I believe, that this body should center its attention on what can be done to facilitate and promote the process of negotiations between the parties concerned. We are all disappointed—and none more than my government—that more progress has not been achieved in this direction since the last Assembly. Had we here

been able to work out a resolution whose terms were acceptable to the parties directly concerned, we would have made a real contribution toward the restoration of the negotiating process. But this body cannot by itself resolve the differences which Ambassador Jarring has not been able to overcome, and we fear that the present resolution may delay rather than promote the engagement of the parties in productive negotiations.

Turning to the text of the draft resolution, Ambassador Phillips said that the United States had urged that the reference to Ambassador Jarring's initiative of February 8 be noted in the preambular section of the resolution and that the operative clauses be more general in order to leave open as many options as possible to Ambassador Jarring in his efforts to resume his mission. This approach, he said, would have reflected the reality that Ambassador Jarring's February initiative, though commendable, "did not then succeed in breaking the deadlock in the negotiations and would be unlikely to do so today." In conclusion, Ambassador Phillips stated that the United States would continue to give its full support to Ambassador Jarring's efforts and that the United States regarded its endeavors for an interim agreement as supportive of Ambassador Jarring's mission and as a practical step toward an overall peace settlement in accordance with Security Council Resolution 242.

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

In May 1971 Dr. Laurence Michelmore of the United States retired as Commissioner General of UNRWA after more than 7 years in the position. He was succeeded by Sir John Rennie of the United Kingdom who had been Deputy Commissioner General since November 1968.

The 26th General Assembly's

Special Political Committee considered UNRWA at 13 meetings between November 17 and December 2. Attention focused primarily on the critical financial situation confronting the Agency. In opening the debate on November 17 the Commissioner General said there might be a deficit as large as \$6 million in 1972 unless a substantially higher income were received than in 1971. He called attention to his earlier statement to the Working Group on the Financing of UNRWA (see p. 50) that preparatory action to curtail expenditures would have to be taken unless the situation markedly improved. Many aspects of the Arab-Israeli dispute were discussed in the course of the Committee's debate. More than 50 states participated in the debate. As in previous years, the "Palestinian Arab delegation" and a representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization also spoke in Committee without this constituting recognition of the delegation or organization in question.

The Assembly adopted six resolutions relating to UNRWA. Five of them—on UNRWA's general mandate, relief to persons displaced in the 1967 hostilities, return of displaced persons to the West Bank and Gaza, Palestinian self-determination, and finances—closely paralleled resolutions adopted by the 25th General Assembly. A sixth dealt with measures taken by Israeli authorities in the Gaza strip.

#### U.S. Position

On November 18 Mrs. Gladys O'Donnell, U.S. Representative, told the Committee that the United States considered UNRWA's operations essential under present circumstances in the Middle East. Mrs. O'Donnell stated,

We have made clear our view that an overall peace settlement must take



into account the legitimate concerns of the Palestinians. To ignore them would produce a "peace" that was neither just nor lasting and therefore no peace at all. The problem of the Palestinian refugees is inextricably linked with the other issues that divide Israel and its Arab neighbors, and its solution will come only as a part of an overall settlement. This is clearly recognized in Security Council Resolution 242.

While the search for peace continues, she said, UNRWA is required to fill the basic needs of thousands of refugees.

Mrs. O'Donnell joined the Commissioner General in his appeal for additional funds for UNRWA to enable the Agency to avoid a cut-back in services. She noted with pleasure that the Agency had been able to stave off major reductions in its essential services in 1971, but added that unless there were a substantial increase in contributions, there seemed little doubt that some reduction of services would be necessary in 1972. She called upon all UN members, particularly those who had not given in the past, to contribute generously to enable UNRWA to avoid such cutbacks.

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

The U.S. Representative presented a draft resolution on November 22 which in its final form (1) noted with deep regret that repatriation or compensation of the refugees as provided for in paragraph 11 of General Assembly Resolution 194 (III) had not been effected; (2) expressed appreciation to Laurence Michelmore, the retired Commissioner General of UNRWA; (3) expressed thanks to UNRWA's Commissioner General and staff and to the specialized agencies and private organizations for their work in assisting the refugees; (4) noted with regret that the UN Conciliation Commission for Palestine was unable

to find a means of achieving progress in the implementation of paragraph 11 of Resolution 194 (III) and requested the Commission to exert continued efforts in this realm and to report thereon as appropriate and in any case not later than October 1, 1972; (5) directed attention to UNRWA's continuing critical financial position; (6) noted with concern that contributions to UNRWA continued to fall short of funds needed to cover essential budget requirements; (7) called upon all governments to make "the most generous efforts possible" to meet UNRWA's needs; and (8) extended UNRWA's mandate until June 30, 1975, without prejudice to the provisions of paragraph 11 of Resolution 194 (III).

The resolution was approved in committee on December 1 without objection, and in plenary on December 6 by a vote of 112 (U.S.) to 0, with 3 abstentions (Israel).

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

On November 22 Sweden introduced a "humanitarian" resolution sponsored by 19 states from all geographic areas. In terms identical with those of past resolutions it endorsed UNRWA's efforts to provide humanitarian assistance, on an emergency basis and as a temporary measure, to persons displaced and in serious need as a result of the 1967 hostilities. The resolution appealed to all governments, organizations, and individuals to contribute generously. The resolution was adopted in the Special Political Committee on December 1 without objection and in plenary on December 6 by a vote of 113 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention.

Another resolution relating to persons displaced in the 1967 hostilities was submitted on November 29 and sponsored by seven Afro-

Asian states and Yugoslavia. In its final form it recalled previous resolutions on this subject and, *inter alia*, called "once more upon the Government of Israel to take immediately and without any further delay effective steps for the return of the displaced inhabitants" and requested the Secretary General to report thereon to the General Assembly. This resolution was adopted in Committee on December 1 by a vote of 75 (U.S.) to 2, with 25 abstentions, and in plenary on December 6 by a vote of 88 (U.S., Arab States) to 3 (Israel), with 28 abstentions.

#### "Palestinian Rights" Resolution

On November 29, eight Afro-Asian states and Yugoslavia submitted a resolution concerning self-determination for the Palestinians. After recalling previous related resolutions, it (1) recognized that the people of Palestine are entitled to equal rights and self-determination, in accordance with the UN Charter; (2) expressed grave concern that the people of Palestine have not been permitted to enjoy their inalienable rights and to exercise their right to self-determination; and (3) declared that full respect for the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine is an indispensable element in the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. This resolution was adopted in Committee on December 1 by a vote of 46 to 20 (U.S.), with 36 abstentions, and in plenary on December 6 by a vote of 53 (Arab States) to 23 (Israel, U.S.), with 43 abstentions.

Speaking to the Assembly on December 6, just prior to the vote, Congressman Edward J. Derwinski explained why the United States opposed this resolution despite the fact that it had repeatedly stated its position that the legitimate concerns and aspirations of the Palestinian

people must be taken into account if there is to be a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Given the clear interpretation placed upon it during the debate by its cosponsors and some others, the resolution was meant to infringe on the sovereignty of states in the area, which would contravene article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter.

Secondly—and more important—he stated, this resolution does not contribute to efforts toward a peaceful settlement in the Middle East in accordance with Security Council Resolution 242, which is recognized as the basis for any such settlement. Finally, Mr. Derwinski pointed out, the draft said nothing whatsoever about UNRWA, which was the subject at hand.

#### Resolution on Israeli Actions in Gaza

On September 17, just prior to the opening of the 26th General Assembly, the Secretary General published a special report which he had received from the Commissioner General of UNRWA on the effect on Palestine refugees of recent operations carried out by the Israeli military authorities in the Gaza Strip. In this report the Commissioner General expressed his concern about the effect of these operations, in which shelters in refugee camps were demolished and about 15,000 persons displaced.

On July 8, the Israeli Minister of Defense had told UNRWA's field director in Gaza that in view of the ineffectiveness of other measures in dealing with violence in the Jabalia refugee camp in the Gaza Strip, the Israeli authorities intended to move numbers of the inhabitants from the camp so that roads could be built or widened for security purposes. There was, as the Commissioner General pointed out, no question of UNRWA being asked to agree to those measures, which were taken on

the initiative of the occupying power. The operations continued in several camps in Gaza throughout July and August. On November 23 the Secretary General transmitted another report from the Commissioner General on Israeli actions in Gaza.

The two reports were the subject of a draft resolution cosponsored by Afghanistan, Indonesia, Malaysia, Mali, Pakistan, Senegal, and Somalia which declared that the destruction of refugee shelters and the forcible removal of their occupants contravenes articles 49 and 53 of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of August 12, 1949. The resolution also deplored these actions by Israel, and called upon it to desist from further such actions and to allow the refugees to return to the camps from which they had been removed. Finally, the resolution requested the Secretary General to report no later than the opening date of the 27th General Assembly on Israel's compliance with the resolution.

The resolution was adopted in committee on December 1 by a vote of 66 to 4, with 32 abstentions (U.S.), and in plenary on December 6 by a vote of 79 (Arab States) to 4 (Israel), with 35 abstentions (U.S.).

Congressman Derwinski explained that the United States abstained primarily because the resolution sought "to make a determination that certain acts contravene the Geneva Convention for the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War without calling for the immediate invocation of the provisions of that Convention by the Parties concerned." He expressed the hope that all parties to the Geneva Convention (Israel and its Arab neighbors are parties) would invoke its provisions, especially Sections 9 through 12, re-

lating to the appointment of a Protecting Power, as well as Article 49 which prohibits individual or mass transfers or deportations of people from occupied areas. In conclusion, he stated that the United States looked forward to the day when, in the framework of the overall settlement envisaged in Security Council Resolution 242, there would be a just settlement of the refugee problem and the state of occupation would end.

#### UNRWA Finances

The gravity of the financial situation was emphasized not only by the Commissioner General (see p. 47) but also by the Working Group on the Financing of UNRWA, which had been established by the 25th General Assembly. In a report dated October 20, the Working Group (France, Ghana, Japan, Lebanon, Norway, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, U.K., U.S.) concluded that extraordinary efforts and exceptional measures were required to secure the maintenance of UNRWA's activities so that relief, health, and education activities would not have to be reduced. The Working Group recommended that "a special and urgent appeal should be made to the non-contributing governments, some of whom have the financial and economic capacity to make substantial contributions."

On November 17 the President of the General Assembly and the Secretary General issued a joint appeal for additional contributions to UNRWA.

On November 23 Belgium, Denmark, and Sweden (later joined by Finland, Greece, and Iran) submitted a draft resolution concerning UNRWA's finances. After recognizing the seriousness of the financial situation the draft (1) commended the Working Group for its work, approved its report, and requested it



to continue its work for 1 year; (2) supported the joint appeal made by the President of the General Assembly and the Secretary General of the United Nations to governments to join in the collective effort to solve UNRWA's financial crisis; and (3) requested the Working Group, after consultation with all concerned, to prepare a comprehensive report on all aspects of the financing of UNRWA and present it to the 27th General Assembly. This resolution was approved in the Special Political Committee on December 1 without objection, and adopted in plenary on December 6 by a vote of 114 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions.

#### **Pledging Conference**

Contributions of about \$18 million in cash, goods, and services in support of UNRWA's 1972 program were announced at the Agency's November 30 pledging conference which was attended by 42 governments. Representatives of the United States and Japan attended the conference but deferred announcement of their pledges.

The U.S. Representative at the conference, Mrs. O'Donnell, noted that the United States had contributed over half a billion dollars to UNRWA, nearly 70% of the total that has been given it since its creation. However, because Congressional action on the necessary appropriation had not yet been completed, she was unable to announce a pledge for 1972 at that time.

In again urging generous support for UNRWA, the U.S. Representative noted that failure of UN members to contribute generously to UNRWA would only mean a cutback in the Agency's programs, with inevitable added suffering for the refugees.

On December 22 the United States authorized its Mission to the United

Nations to inform the Secretary General of its pledge for 1972 of \$22.2 million in cash and commodities, on the understanding that the U.S. contribution would not exceed 70% of total contributions from governments. The U.S. pledge was also subject to the condition that UNRWA "take all possible measures to assure that no part of the United States contribution shall be used to furnish assistance to any refugee who is receiving military training as a member of the so-called Palestine Liberation Army or any other guerrilla type organization or who has engaged in any act of terrorism." This condition is embodied in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended.

#### **HUMAN RIGHTS IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES**

In a resolution adopted December 19, 1968, the 23d General Assembly had established a three-member Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories. The resolution also requested Israel to receive and cooperate with the committee. After a delay in finding three countries willing to serve, the Secretary General announced in September 1969 that Ceylon, Somalia, and Yugoslavia would comprise the special committee.

However, the special committee was unable to visit Israel or the occupied territories in connection with the preparation of its first report in 1970 or its second report in 1971, because Israel considered the committee and its mandate biased and refused to cooperate with it. A 25th General Assembly resolution called upon Israel to implement the recommendations of the special committee and decided to inscribe the committee's report on the agenda of the 26th Assembly.

The Special Political Committee of the General Assembly considered the special committee's 1971 report from December 13 to 16. The report was based on visits by the committee to Amman and Beirut, where it had taken testimony from 46 witnesses regarding alleged violations of human rights by Israel in the occupied territories. In its report the committee concluded, *inter alia*, that the evidence before it "reflects a policy on the part of the Government of Israel designed to effect radical changes in the physical character and demographic composition of several areas of the territory under occupation by the progressive and systematic elimination of every vestige of Palestinian presence in these areas." Addressing itself to the fact of occupation, the special committee repeated what it had stated in its first report, that "the fundamental violation of human rights lies in the very fact of occupation. The most effective way of safeguarding the human rights of the population of the occupied territories, therefore, is to end the occupation of these territories."

During the debate some delegations, including many from Arab states, attacked Israel for its alleged widespread violation of human rights in the occupied territories as well as its overall policy in relation to the Middle East conflict. The Israeli delegation defended its actions in the territories, rejected the political orientation of the report of the special committee, and reiterated its original opposition to the committee's mandate.

On December 14, the Malian Representative introduced a draft resolution, later cosponsored by Mauritania, which, in its final form, was adopted in committee on December 16 by a vote of 48 to 16 (U.S.), with 42 abstentions. This resolution, *inter alia*, called upon

Israel (1) to permit all persons who had fled the occupied territories or had been deported or expelled therefrom to return to their homes, (2) to comply fully with its obligations under the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, and (3) to receive and facilitate the work of the special committee.

In a statement preceding the vote the U.S. Representative, Arthur A. Fletcher, explained that the United States did not believe the resolution would either enhance respect for human rights in the area of conflict in the Middle East or ease the way toward a just and enduring peace in the area. He urged all parties to the conflict to adhere scrupulously to the Geneva Conventions on treatment of prisoners of war and protection of civilians, and he suggested that the parties concerned avail themselves of the procedures available under the Conventions for nomination of protecting powers.

The United States opposed the renewal of the special committee's mandate because the committee's humanitarian concern was restricted to the inhabitants of the occupied territories while ignoring the condition of Jewish minorities in certain states in the area of conflict. Since the application of human rights principles was universal, the United States saw no reason to limit the commitment of the Assembly to one group of people in the area. However, the negative U.S. vote did not indicate any lack of concern for the problem of human rights in the Middle East, but only its disagreement with the substance of this resolution which it considered unbalanced and unlikely to be effective.

The resolution was adopted by the Assembly on December 20 by a vote of 53 to 20 (U.S.), with 46 abstentions.

# General Political Problems

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## Chinese Representation

The basic United States approach toward the question of Chinese representation in the 26th General Assembly was outlined by the Secretary of State in a statement made on August 2, 1971. The Secretary noted that the President was attempting to forge a foreign policy which would look to the future while taking account of the legacy of the past. He pointed out that:

No question of Asian policy has so perplexed the world in the last 20 years as the China question—and the related question of representation in the United Nations. Basic to that question is the fact that each of two governments claims to be the sole government of China and representative of all of the people of China.

Representation in an international organization need not prejudice the claims or views of either government.

He went on to say that:

The United States accordingly will support action at the General Assembly this fall calling for seating the People's Republic of China. At the same time the United States will oppose any action to expel the Republic of China or otherwise deprive it of representation in the United Nations.

Through broad consultations in the months preceding the Assembly, the United States learned that there was wide agreement among members on the desirability of providing for the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. At issue in the 1971 debate was whether this goal would be attained by excluding the Republic of China from the organization or by permitting representation to both governments.

On July 15, 17 nations (Albania, Algeria, Congo, Cuba, Guinea, Iraq, Mali, Mauritania, Romania, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanzania, Yemen (Aden), Yemen (San'a), Yugoslavia, Zambia) requested that an item entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations" be inscribed on the agenda of the 26th General Assembly. The United States, on August 17, requested the inscription of a separate, neutrally worded, item entitled "The representation of China in the United Nations."

Speaking in the Assembly's General Committee on September 22, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Bush, proposed that the two items be combined in a single item called "The question of China." He indicated that the United States did not oppose discussion of the first item but believed that its wording was both "pejorative and polemical." Albania and a number of other states spoke in opposition to this suggestion. The General Committee then decided, by a vote of 17 to 2, with 4 abstentions, to recommend to the General Assembly that the first item be included on the agenda and by a vote of 11 to 9, with 4 abstentions, to recommend the inclusion of the second item. The United States proposal to combine the two items was subsequently rejected by a vote of 9 in favor to 12 opposed, with 3 abstentions.

### GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION

The first phase of Assembly consideration of this question took place on September 24 when Albania and



several other states requested the rejection of the General Committee recommendation for the inscription on the agenda of the U.S.-sponsored item. The Assembly decided instead, by a vote of 65 (U.S.) to 47, with 15 abstentions, to accept the Committee recommendation.

Debate on the substance of the issue, which took place in the plenary Assembly from October 18 to 25, focused on three draft resolutions.

The first, generally known as the Albanian resolution, was submitted on September 25 by Albania, Algeria, Ceylon, Congo, Cuba, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea, Iraq, Mali, Mauritania, Nepal, Pakistan, Romania, Somalia, Syria, Sudan, Tanzania, Yemen (Aden), Yemen (San'a), Yugoslavia, and Zambia, later joined by Burma and Sierra Leone (23 states). This draft called for the recognition of the representatives of the People's Republic of China as "the only legitimate representatives of China to the United Nations" and for the expulsion "forthwith" of the "representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from the place which they unlawfully occupy at the United Nations and in all the organizations related to it."

The second draft, a proposal generally known as the important question resolution, was submitted on September 29 by Australia, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Fiji, Gambia, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Japan, Lesotho, Liberia, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Philippines, Swaziland, Thailand, United States, and Uruguay, later joined by Bolivia and Mauritius (22 states). This draft stated that "any proposal in the General Assembly which would result in depriving the Republic of China of representation in the United Nations is an important question under Article 18 of the

Charter" (and thus would require a two-thirds majority for adoption).

The third draft, generally known as the dual representation resolution, stated the position taken by the United States and others in attempting to resolve the Chinese representation question at the 26th General Assembly. This resolution was proposed on September 29 by Australia, Chad, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Fiji, Gambia, Haiti, Honduras, Japan, Lesotho, Liberia, New Zealand, Philippines, Swaziland, Thailand, United States, and Uruguay, and later joined by Bolivia and Mauritius (19 states). It affirmed "the right of representation of the People's Republic of China," recommended that "it be seated as one of the five permanent members of the Security Council," affirmed "the continued right of representation of the Republic of China," and recommended "that all United Nations bodies and the specialized agencies take into account the provisions of this resolution in deciding the question of Chinese representation."

Additionally, Saudi Arabia and Tunisia introduced several draft resolutions. The most important Saudi proposal would have provided for representation both for the People's Republic of China and for the Republic of China, but specifying that the latter would be representing the people of the island of Taiwan. One of the Tunisian proposals would have created a study committee to report on the question to the next General Assembly. None of these proposals received any significant support.

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

On October 4 Secretary Rogers presented the U.S. position in an address before the General Assembly during its general debate. He noted that the dual representation resolution was based on "political reality

and on basic equity," and said that it would assure that the long-prevailing de facto situation in China was reflected in UN representation by providing "representation for the people concerned by those who actually govern them." He said:

—It is only realistic that the Security Council seat should be filled by the People's Republic of China, which exercises control over the largest number of people of all the world's governments.

—It would be unrealistic to expel from this body the Republic of China, which governs a population on Taiwan larger than the populations of two-thirds of the 130 United Nations members.

—Further, it would be unjust to expel a member which has participated for over 25 years in the work of this organization with unflinching devotion to the principles set forth in the Charter.

—The proposal that both the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China should be represented in the United Nations should commend itself to member states of varying national policies.

Noting that the Albanian draft was "punitive in substance and in intent" seeking to expel the Republic of China "forthwith" he continued:

The issue, then, . . . is the issue of expulsion. That is why we have proposed a draft resolution which we refer to as the "important question resolution" but which more properly should be referred to as the "non-expulsion resolution." This draft resolution requires a two-thirds vote to expel a present member of the United Nations. It is consistent with the letter and the spirit of the Charter.

Ambassador Bush formally introduced the U.S.-cosponsored draft resolutions on October 18, declaring:

The time has arrived to find a way to welcome the People's Republic of China into the United Nations. In so doing, however, we must act with due regard for realism, justice, and the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Ambassador Bush expressed the

U.S. disagreement with those who argued that the Republic of China must be expelled because the People's Republic of China had announced in advance that it would not participate in the United Nations on any other basis. He stated:

The formula we have proposed has been most carefully written to avoid placing any unnecessary difficulties in Peking's way . . . .

The resolution neither says nor implies that there are "two Chinas" or "one China and one Taiwan." It does not attempt to prejudice the status of China or of future developments between the Republic of China and the People's Republic of China or of relations between them.

Finally, noting that the important question resolution involved a procedural rather than a substantive point, he formally requested that, in accordance with UN practice, it be voted on prior to the Albanian resolution.

#### Assembly Action

Debate ended and voting took place on October 25 after the Assembly rejected by a vote of 53 in favor (U.S.) to 56 opposed, with 19 abstentions, a Saudi Arabian motion to postpone the voting until the next day. Subsequently the Assembly decided by a vote of 61 (U.S.) to 53, with 15 abstentions, to assign priority in voting, as requested by Ambassador Bush, to the important question resolution over the Albanian resolution.

In the key vote the Assembly then voted to reject the important question resolution by a vote of 55 (U.S.) to 59, with 15 abstentions.

Those in favor were:

Argentina, Australia, Bahrain, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Indonesia, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Khmer Republic, Leba-

non, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malagasy Republic, Malawi, Mauritius, Mexico, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Portugal, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Spain, Swaziland, Thailand, United States, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Zaire.

Those opposed were:

Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bhutan, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cameroon, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, Iceland, India, Iraq, Ireland, Kenya, Kuwait, Libya, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Nepal, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Poland, Romania, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tanzania, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, Yemen (Aden), Yemen (San'a), Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Those abstaining were:

Austria, Belgium, Botswana, Cyprus, Iran, Italy, Laos, Malta, Morocco, Netherlands, Qatar, Senegal, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey.

The Assembly then rejected by a vote of 51 (U.S.) to 61, with 16 abstentions, a U.S. motion which would have provided for a separate vote on that portion of the Albanian resolution requiring the expulsion of the representatives of the Republic of China. At this point, the Representative of the Republic of China announced that he would take no part in further proceedings of the General Assembly and left the hall; subsequently Foreign Minister Chow Shu-kai stated that his Government had decided to withdraw from the United Nations.

The Assembly then proceeded to adopt the Albanian resolution by a vote of 76 to 35 (U.S.), with 17 abstentions.

Those in favor were:

Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Austria, Belgium, Bhutan, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian S.S.R.,

Cameroon, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, Iceland, India, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Libya, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tanzania, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, Yemen (Aden), Yemen (San'a), Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Those opposed were:

Australia, Bolivia, Brazil, Central African Republic, Chad, Costa Rica, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Gabon, Gambia, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Ivory Coast, Japan, Khmer Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Malagasy Republic, Malawi, Malta, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Paraguay, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Swaziland, United States, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Zaire.

Those abstaining were:

Argentina, Bahrain, Barbados, Colombia, Cyprus, Fiji, Greece, Indonesia, Jamaica, Jordan, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Mauritius, Panama, Qatar, Spain, Thailand.

The dual representation resolution was therefore not put to the vote.

**Aftermath**

Representatives of the People's Republic of China began their participation in the General Assembly on November 15 and in the Security Council on November 23.

In welcoming the People's Republic of China's representatives to the Assembly on November 15, Ambassador Bush noted that their presence made the United Nations "more reflective of the world as it now exists," and expressed the hope that it would "contribute to the organization's potential for harmonizing the actions of nations."



## SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

In an October 26 communication to all UN specialized agencies, the UN Secretary General quoted the Albanian resolution, and cited a resolution of the Fifth General Assembly (1950) which recommended that questions of representation should be considered in the General Assembly and that the Assembly's attitude "concerning any such question should be taken into account in other organs of the United Nations and in the specialized agencies." The Secretary General requested that he be informed immediately of any actions taken by the specialized agencies on Chinese representation.

The UNESCO Executive Board was in session at the time the General Assembly adopted the Albanian resolution. Upon receipt of the Secretary General's communication, the UNESCO Director General recommended that the Board discuss the "participation of China in UNESCO's program," phrasing his question to the Board in the sense that he needed guidance on which government he should communicate with regarding the execution of UNESCO's program. The Director General's specific question was subsequently submerged in the ensuing debate on the representation issue as a whole. The United States argued that the General Conference and not the Executive Board was the competent body to decide the issue of representation. However, on October 29 the Board adopted by a vote of 25 to 2 (U.S.), with 5 abstentions, a resolution providing for recognition of the People's Republic of China as the only legitimate representative of China in UNESCO.

On November 3 the U.S. Permanent Representative to UNESCO submitted a letter to the Director General for circulation to all UNESCO members stating the U.S.

position that only the General Conference could decide the question of representation and that the United States was "compelled to conclude therefore that the Executive Board acted beyond its competence in adopting a resolution that purported to take a final decision on the question."

The ILO also moved quickly to resolve the question of Chinese representation. When the ILO Governing Body met on November 16 it had before it several proposals, of which two came to a vote. The first was a U.S. Government-sponsored resolution that would have had the question referred to the General Conference. The second, put forward by the workers' group, proposed (1) "that the Governing Body should take a decision now on the matter before it," and (2) "that it should decide to recognize the Government of the People's Republic of China as the representative government of China."

The U.S. resolution was defeated by a vote of 10 (U.S. Government delegate) to 35, with 2 abstentions.

The first clause of the workers' proposal was then adopted by a vote of 35 to 10 (U.S. Government), with 3 abstentions, and the second clause was adopted by a vote of 36 to 3 (U.S. Government), with 8 abstentions.

Subsequently the ILO Director General circulated to all ILO members a U.S. memorandum similar to that sent UNESCO setting forth U.S. objections to the way in which the question of Chinese representation was decided in the ILO.

The ICAO Council, which met on November 19, had before it two draft resolutions for consideration. One, a U.S.-sponsored resolution that would (1) authorize the ICAO Secretary General to ascertain the views of the People's Republic of China concerning its intention re-

garding participation in ICAO and adherence to the International Civil Aviation Convention, and (2) postpone consideration of the question of the representation of China in ICAO until the status of China as a contracting party was clarified.

The other draft resolution, sponsored by the Congo, provided that ICAO decide, for the matters within its competence, to recognize the representatives of the People's Republic of China as the only legitimate representatives of China in ICAO.

The U.S. Representative argued that quite apart from the questionable competence of the Council as opposed to the ICAO Assembly to decide the question of representation in ICAO, there was no membership *per se* in ICAO. The Chicago Convention on International Civil Aviation, only part of which deals with ICAO, provides that contracting parties to the convention have a right to representation in ICAO. Simple substitution of the People's Republic of China for the Republic of China in ICAO was therefore of doubtful legality and would raise serious questions regarding the status of the Republic of China's adherence to the convention. Moreover, simple substitution, while presumably making possible participation by the People's Republic of China at ICAO meetings, did not answer the question of whether the People's Republic of China was willing to accept the rights and obligations under the Chicago Convention as a whole, including such responsibilities for aircraft safety assigned by ICAO as providing flight information.

The Council decided to vote first upon the Congo proposal and adopted it by a vote of 20 to 2 (U.S.), with 5 abstentions. As a result, no vote was taken on the U.S. proposal.

At the December meeting of the IAEA Board of Governors the United States proposed a consensus statement that would note the Albanian resolution and direct the appropriate officers of the Agency to enter into discussions with the People's Republic of China. Although most of the Board members supported this approach, the Romanian Governor insisted upon a vote on a resolution (1) recognizing that "the Government of the People's Republic of China is the only Government which has the right to represent China in the International Atomic Energy Agency" and (2) deciding to expel immediately the Republic of China's representatives. The Board adopted this resolution on December 9 by a vote of 13 to 6 (U.S.), with 5 abstentions.

In voting against the resolution the U.S. Representative recorded his view that the Board had acted beyond its competence and in an illegal manner by taking a decision on Chinese representation, which was for the General Conference to decide.

At the end of the year representatives of the People's Republic of China had not yet participated in any of these organizations.

## Appointment of New Secretary General

At a press conference on January 18 U Thant announced that he would not be available for reappointment when his second term as Secretary General ended on December 31, 1971. He said he was making his decision known at that time to give UN members ample opportunity to find a successor, and he reiterated his position several times prior to the opening of the 26th General Assembly. The Secretary

General is appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council.

When the 26th General Assembly convened on September 21 there were three announced candidates for the post: Finland's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Max Jakobson; Ethiopia's former Permanent Representative, Endalkatchew Makonnen; and Ceylon's Permanent Representative, Shirley Amerasinghe. In addition, Kurt Waldheim, Austria's Permanent Representative and former Foreign Minister, while not a formally announced candidate, was known to be available. Subsequently, the candidacy of Felipe Herrera of Chile, former President of the Inter-American Development Bank, was announced, and a number of others were mentioned as possible successors to U Thant in informal discussions of this question. However, during most of the Assembly's session no consensus developed for any one candidate.

As the General Assembly neared its adjournment date private consultations among the five permanent members of the Security Council resulted in a decision that the Council should meet and vote on the announced candidates and any others who it was thought might attract the necessary support. The Council then held three closed meetings on December 17, 20, and 21, at which the voting was by secret ballot.

At the first meeting only Ambassador Waldheim, among the seven voted on, received the nine votes necessary for any Council action. However, while the vote for him was 10 to 3, with 2 abstentions, two of the three negative votes were cast by permanent members of the Council and therefore constituted vetoes. The others voted on were the four announced candidates plus Ambassador Gunnar Jarring of Sweden and

Sadrudin Aga Khan (Iran), the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

At the second meeting, the number of those voted on increased to 10, with the addition of UN Under Secretary General for Trusteeship Affairs Issoufou Djermakoye (Niger); Carlos Ortiz de Rozas, Argentina's Permanent Representative to the United Nations; Majid Rahnema, formerly Iran's Minister of Science, Scientific Research and Advanced Training; Shridath Ramphal, Attorney General and Minister of State of Guyana; and Gabriel Valdez (Chile), Assistant Administrator of the UNDP. Two of those included in the first day's balloting, Sadrudin Aga Khan and Endalkatchew Makonnen, were not voted upon again. Of the 10, three received the necessary number of votes. The vote for Ambassador Jakobson was 9 to 5, with 1 abstention; for Ambassador Ortiz de Rozas, 10 to 3, with 2 abstentions; and for Ambassador Waldheim, 11 to 2, with 2 abstentions. However, in each case one of the negative votes was that of a permanent member.

At the third meeting, balloting was restricted to the six who had received the highest number of votes at the second meeting. This eliminated Ambassador Amerasinghe, Under Secretary General Djermakoye, Minister Rahnema, and Minister Ramphal. Again Ambassadors Jakobson, Ortiz de Rozas, and Waldheim received the necessary number of votes. The vote for Ambassador Jakobson was the same as it had been the day before, while that for Ambassador Ortiz de Rozas was 12 to 3, but again in both cases one of the negative votes was that of a permanent member. The vote for Ambassador Waldheim was 11 to 1, with 3 abstentions, the single negative vote not being that of a permanent member. Ambass-



ador Waldheim was thus selected by the Council which then unanimously approved a resolution recommending to the General Assembly that he be appointed Secretary General. The following day, December 22, the Assembly by acclamation appointed Ambassador Waldheim Secretary General for a term of 5 years ending December 31, 1976.

The day after his appointment, President Nixon sent the Secretary General Designate a message congratulating him on behalf of the people of the United States and saying:

At this moment, when the United Nations needs to prove that it can function as the effective, responsible instrument for world peace its founders conceived it to be, I am pleased to assure you of full American support.

## Membership

### ADMISSION OF NEW STATES

UN membership rose to 132 with the admission of five states in 1971. All but one of the new members were on or adjacent to the Arabian Peninsula and their applications for membership reflected the U.K. decision to relinquish previous British responsibilities in the Persian Gulf area. Bhutan, on the Indian sub-continent, was the exception.

#### Bhutan

Bhutan applied for UN membership in a December 10, 1970, letter from its King to the UN Secretary General. Bhutan is a small Himalayan kingdom lying between north-east India and Tibet. Under a 1949 treaty of friendship with India, Bhutan is to be guided by India in its conduct of foreign affairs. India and Bhutan agree, however, that this voluntary arrangement in no way detracts from Bhutan's sovereignty, and India supported Bhutan's

application for UN membership.

The Security Council met on February 9, 1971, to consider Bhutan's application. The President of the Council that month, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Charles W. Yost, stated that it had been agreed in informal consultations that he would, under rule 59 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, refer the application to the Council's Committee on Admission of New Members for examination. This is a committee of the whole which usually meets in closed session and to which all membership applications were normally referred in the early days of the United Nations. The committee had become inactive during the "membership deadlock" at the beginning of the 1950's and had not been revived following the ending of this deadlock in 1955. The United States wanted the committee reactivated so that Council members might be better able to fulfill their obligation under Article 4 of the Charter to reach a considered judgment that the applicant is "able and willing to carry out" the obligations of the Charter.

The Committee on Admission of New Members met that same day and unanimously recommended the admission of Bhutan. The Security Council met the following day and also unanimously recommended Bhutan's admission.

On this occasion Ambassador Yost, speaking as the U.S. Representative after the vote, said that he had concurred in the membership committee's recommendation and that he had "consequently supported" Bhutan's application. Noting that the United Nations "has drawn strength from the diversity of its membership," he then observed:

Although Bhutan is a relatively small country, it has long prided itself on its cultural traditions and its strong sense of national identity. In recent years not less than three different

American Ambassadors have visited Bhutan. They have all been impressed by the beauty of the country and by the determination which it is demonstrating in its efforts to achieve economic development while simultaneously preserving Bhutan's rich traditions and ancient culture.

When Bhutan joins the United Nations later this year, it will undoubtedly contribute from its own experience to the United Nations efforts to promote development and to improve international cooperation, while continuing to participate in the United Nations system's programs designed to assist countries to develop and perfect their economies. . . .

Bhutan was admitted to membership by acclamation on September 21, the opening day of the 26th General Assembly.

#### Oman

The Prime Minister of the Sultanate of Oman, in a May 24 letter to the Secretary General, applied for UN membership and requested that Oman's application be placed before the Security Council and the General Assembly during its 26th session.

The "Question of Oman" had first been brought before the United Nations in 1957 and had repeatedly been on the agenda of the General Assembly during the 1960's. At the time Oman's membership application was received the question was still on the agenda of the Assembly's Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Essentially at issue was Oman's international status. The British have consistently maintained that Oman is an independent, sovereign state. This has also been the view of the United States which has maintained treaty relations with the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman since 1833. The Arabs and their supporters, on the other hand, denied that Oman was

in fact independent, accusing the British of continuing intervention there.

The Security Council met on August 16 to consider Oman's application and that of Bahrain, which had been received the day before. Both applications were referred to the membership committee for examination. The committee decided to defer consideration of Oman's application and did not examine it until September 30, when it decided unanimously to recommend to the Security Council the admission of Oman. Its report to the Council on this meeting notes that "certain problems relating to the timing of the consideration of the matter" had been resolved, presumably a reference to Oman's admission to the Arab League on September 30.

The Security Council, meeting that same day, decided unanimously to accept its committee's recommendation. Prior to this decision, the Representative of Yemen (Aden), who at his request had been invited to participate in the meeting without the right to vote, addressed the Council to oppose the admission of Oman, declaring that "we still maintain that Oman is a colonial territory." However, the Syrian Representative on the Council later welcomed the Council's decision.

Speaking after the vote, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Bennett, said that Oman's application had "the full and whole-hearted support of the United States." He recalled the long history of relations between the United States and Oman, stating:

Our relations with Oman have always been based on the recognition of its independence and its behavior as a responsible member of the international community. We have always maintained this point of view when questions concerning Oman have been raised in various United Nations forums.

The United States has taken note of and applauds the determination of the present Government in Masqat to devote its oil income to progress and prosperity in Oman. The dramatic expansion of schools and the investment in new facilities for transportation and public health are happy auguries of the future.

The General Assembly on October 7 admitted Oman to UN membership by a vote of 117 to 1 (Yemen (Aden)), with 2 abstentions (Cuba, Saudi Arabia), after adopting a consensus statement recommended the previous day by its Fourth Committee. In this statement the Assembly concluded its consideration of the Oman question "by taking note with satisfaction that Oman has achieved the goals set forth in the Charter" and in the 1960 Declaration on Colonialism. The consensus statement was adopted by a vote of 115 to 2 (Cuba, Yemen (Aden)), with 1 abstention (Saudi Arabia).

#### **Bahrain**

The Amir of the State of Bahrain, in an August 15 letter to the Secretary General, referred to the agreement reached that day between the United Kingdom and Bahrain terminating the special treaty relationship between the two countries. The independent state of Bahrain, he said, wished to become a UN member and was therefore applying for admission.

As noted above, the Security Council at its meeting on August 16 referred Bahrain's application to its membership committee for examination. Meeting that same day, the committee unanimously decided to recommend to the Security Council the admission of Bahrain. On August 18 the Security Council unanimously adopted this recommendation to send to the General Assembly.

Speaking in the Council that day,

the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Bush, stated that his delegation "concurred wholeheartedly" in the recommendation of the Council's membership committee. Referring to the Council's earlier consideration of Bahrain in 1970, he continued:

We welcome the decision by the United Kingdom and Bahrain to terminate their longstanding treaty relationship in order for Bahrain to assume full responsibility for its relations with the international community. I know all members of the United Nations are gratified by the amicable and orderly manner in which this decision has been reached and implemented by mutual consent. On August 15, the United States announced its recognition of Bahrain. This meeting of the Council is not the first that has considered the case of Bahrain. At its 1,536th meeting, on May 11, 1970, the Council unanimously adopted Resolution 278 (1970). This endorsed the report of the Secretary General's Personal Representative and welcomed the conclusion that "the overwhelming majority of the people of Bahrain wish to gain recognition of their identity in a fully independent and sovereign state free to decide for itself its relations with other states."

Our action today marks the felicitous culmination of a process which has involved cooperation between the governments of two member states, the contribution of the good offices of the Secretary General and of his Personal Representative, Mr. Winspeare Guicciardi, and the participation of the representatives of the vast majority of the people of Bahrain. To each and all of those who played an important role in this process we extend our sincere appreciation.

On September 21 the General Assembly approved the admission of Bahrain by a vote of 119 to 0. Before the vote the Representative of Yemen (Aden) spoke in opposition to admission, stating that his delegation was "against pseudo-independence which perpetuates indirect colonial influence and internal suppression." After the vote, which it had missed, this delegation informed the Secretariat that it had



intended to vote against the admission of Bahrain.

#### **Qatar**

In agreement with the United Kingdom, Qatar announced its independence on September 3 and the following day the Emir of Qatar addressed a letter to the Secretary General applying for UN membership as "a sovereign and independent state." The Security Council met on September 14 and referred this application to its membership committee. The committee agreed unanimously that same day to recommend Qatar's admission.

The Security Council adopted this recommendation unanimously on September 15, after hearing a statement by the Representative of Yemen (Aden) who at his request had been invited to participate in the discussion without vote. He asserted that "the declarations of independence of Qatar and the other sultanates and emirates do not change the colonial relationship between those entities and their colonial patron." In the circumstances, he declared, "my Government finds itself totally opposed to the membership of both the Sultan of Bahrain and the Emir of Qatar."

Speaking after the vote, Ambassador Bush said that having concurred "warmly and wholeheartedly" in the recommendation of the Council's membership committee, his delegation was happy to support Qatar's application for membership. The United States "welcomed the decision of the United Kingdom and the State of Qatar to end a historic treaty relationship so that Qatar might assume full responsibility for its relations with the community of nations" and the U.S. Government had already announced its recognition of Qatar. Ambassador Bush then observed:

Qatar, which has a population of over 100,000 and a land area of 6,000 square miles, has for two decades made steady progress in developing its substantial natural wealth to bring prosperity and accelerated economic and social progress to its people. Its annual income from petroleum alone exceeds \$150 million and provides the basis for one of the world's highest gross national products on a per capita basis and a substantial balance of payments surplus.

The leadership of Qatar has proven its ability to manage the affairs of a progressing society. During this evolution the Government and people of Qatar have rapidly and constructively expanded their contacts with other peoples, including the United States. The relationship between our countries has been consistently amicable and cooperative.

The General Assembly approved the admission of Qatar on September 21 by a vote of 126 to 1 (Yemen (Aden)).

#### **United Arab Emirates**

Following the conclusion on December 1 of a series of agreements between the United Kingdom and seven Persian Gulf Emirates terminating their special treaty relationship, the rulers of six of the Emirates on December 2 proclaimed the United Arab Emirates to be an independent and sovereign state. The same day the President of this new state addressed a letter to the Secretary General applying for UN membership and requesting that this application be acted upon at the earliest opportunity.

The Security Council met on December 6 and referred the application to its membership committee, which unanimously decided the following day to recommend to the Council the admission of the United Arab Emirates. On December 8 the Council unanimously decided so to recommend to the General Assembly, and on December 9 the Assembly by a vote of 93 to 1 (Yemen (Aden)), with no abstentions,

adopted a resolution admitting the United Arab Emirates to UN membership.

After the vote, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Phillips, extended a warm welcome to the United Arab Emirates, noting that the United States had for many years enjoyed cordial relations with the component members of the newly formed union. He congratulated the rulers of the Emirates on the wise manner in which they and the United Kingdom had terminated their former treaty relationship and expressed the hope that the spirit of cooperation which had resulted in the promulgation of the Emirates' joint constitution would be a good omen for their future in the United Nations.

#### MICROSTATE PROBLEM

The Committee of Experts, established by the Security Council in August 1969 on U.S. initiative, held three closed meetings in 1971 but did not issue a report as it had in 1970. The reactivation of the Council's Committee on Admission of

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

<sup>2</sup> The Working Group, established by the Special Committee in 1968, consists of the four officers of the Committee (Chairman—vacant during 1971; Vice Chairmen—Canada and Czechoslovakia; Rapporteur—Egypt), France, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and United States. Its first report, on September 12, 1969, stated that it had agreed on a general scheme for Model I containing eight chapters, but no agreed text had been achieved for three of the chapters. The Working Group meetings were opened to all Committee members in 1970.

New Members, noted above, is the only suggestion put forward in the expert committee that has so far been acted upon by the Council. The Committee of Experts continues in being.

## Peacekeeping

The General Assembly, at its 25th session in 1970, adopted a resolution instructing its Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (Committee of 33)<sup>1</sup> to intensify its efforts to complete by May 1, 1971, a report on the guidelines for Model I peacekeeping missions—those dealing with "United Nations military observers established or authorized by the Security Council for observation purposes pursuant to Council resolutions."

#### WORKING GROUP

On April 1, 1971, the Committee of 33 agreed that its Working Group<sup>2</sup> should meet to deal with Model I (Observer Missions) and noted that Committee members who were not members of the Group could attend such meetings.

The Working Group met formally twice in April and held a number of informal sessions but was unable to make progress. In its fourth report to the Committee of 33 dated November 29, 1971, the Group noted that a number of concrete proposals had been made in informal discussions but that it was not possible to develop these proposals to a point where they could form the basis of negotiation in the Group. The Working Group once again noted that the difficulties encountered were substantive rather than procedural and were unlikely to be overcome without thorough and detailed negotiation, for which purpose the methods

and procedures of the Working Group continued to be appropriate.

The Working Group also reported that it had, in its informal meetings, given consideration to a proposal made by Kuwait and others at the 25th General Assembly for the creation of a peace fund to finance operations authorized by the Security Council. The Group concluded that, in the absence of progress on issues of a fundamental political nature, it would not be productive to pursue either this proposal or one made by Brazil also dealing with arrangements for the financing of peacekeeping operations.

#### COMMITTEE OF 33

Upon the reassignment of Ambassador Cuevas Cancino of Mexico, the Chairmanship of the Committee of 33 became vacant. Throughout 1971, the Committee was unable to agree on a successor to the Mexican chairman and the chair alternated by agreement between the two vice chairmen, the representatives of Canada and Czechoslovakia. In addition to the meeting mentioned above, the Committee met two other times, on May 6 and December 1. At both these meetings, a number of members expressed regret that neither the Working Group nor the Committee had been able to achieve progress on the work at hand. At the December meeting, the Brazilian Representative proposed that the Committee confess its inability to resolve the problems referred to it by the General Assembly, thus opening the way for the Assembly to propose new procedures. This suggestion was not adopted, however, and the Committee, after expressing regret at its inability to fulfill the mandate entrusted to it, proposed instead that it make a renewed collective effort to break the deadlock.

#### U.S.-U.S.S.R. BILATERALS

During 1970, the U.S. and Soviet delegations had held discussions on peacekeeping paralleling those in the Committee of 33. Early in that year, the United States had submitted suggestions to the U.S.S.R., the central feature of which was a proposed committee of the Security Council to provide continuing consultation and advice to the Secretary General after a peacekeeping operation had been launched. The Secretary General would retain sufficient operational control to assure effectiveness in the conduct of a peacekeeping mission and flexibility in adapting it to changing circumstances.

For the remainder of 1970 and well into 1971 the United States awaited a reply from the U.S.S.R. to its proposals. The response, which was received in July 1971, confirmed the positions that the U.S.S.R. had taken since the beginning of the bilateral discussions. It severely circumscribed the executive authority and operational flexibility of the Secretary General at all stages of a peacekeeping operation and put the permanent members of the Security Council in a position to exercise a veto over all aspects of the direction of a peacekeeping operation. The United States was convinced that such operational restrictions could make peacekeeping unworkable and that no Secretary General could function effectively under them.

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The Assembly's Special Political Committee considered UN peacekeeping at four meetings between December 7 and 10. As in the Working Group and the Committee of 33, the general tone of the debate was one of regret that no progress had been achieved since the subject



was last discussed. Most participants agreed, however, that the mandate of the Committee of 33 should be renewed and that it should make an increased effort to achieve progress.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador William Schaufele, reviewed the proposals already submitted by the United States on peacekeeping, emphasizing that there were few, if any, more important subjects before the General Assembly and noting that the United States was neither rigid nor doctrinaire about details. What was important was the end result—the development of the UN peacekeeping capacity and the removal of impediments to UN actions. The key to the problem was not the machinery but the political will.

On December 10, Belgium, Cyprus, Denmark, Greece, and New Zealand introduced a draft resolution recommending that, to expedite progress, the Working Group should report to the Committee of 33 not less than every 3 months; stressing the importance of achieving agreed peacekeeping guidelines; requesting UN members to contribute any views or suggestions to the Committee of 33 before March 15, 1972; and asking the Committee of 33 to report to the 27th General Assembly on the progress it had achieved. After minor amendment, this resolution was adopted by the Special Political Committee on December 10 by a vote of 70 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions. The General

Assembly adopted the resolution on December 17 by a vote of 86 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions.

## Rationalization of General Assembly's Procedures and Organization

The 31-member Special Committee on the Rationalization of the Procedures and Organization of the General Assembly<sup>1</sup> was established by the General Assembly in November 1970 as the result of a Canadian initiative. It met from February 2 to July 9, and from September 8 to 17, 1971, prior to reporting to the 26th General Assembly.

The United States played an active role throughout the committee's deliberations. As one of his first official acts as U.S. Representative, Ambassador Bush submitted to the Secretary General on behalf of the United States a number of specific proposals designed to enable the Assembly to carry out its responsibilities under the Charter more effectively and to streamline and shorten the Assembly's regular annual sessions. Among the more significant of these suggestions were:

(1) that the outgoing General (or steering) Committee should meet prior to each regular session to organize the new session's work in advance so that the Assembly could proceed without delay to adopt its agenda and begin its debates with a view to completing its work within a fixed time limit;

(2) that each annual session be limited to a maximum of 8 weeks;

(3) that the practice of holding a general debate annually be discontinued and that such a debate be held only every other year and at

<sup>1</sup> The special committee was composed of Afghanistan, Austria, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Chile, Denmark, Egypt, France, Greece, India, Japan, Lebanon, Liberia, Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Tunisia, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, and Zambia.

the level of head of state or minister for foreign affairs, thus attracting greater world interest in this event while at the same time permitting shorter Assembly sessions in alternate years;

(4) that the agenda be more carefully screened and shortened, for example by requiring a two-thirds majority to inscribe any item proposed less than 30 days before the date fixed for the beginning of an Assembly session;

(5) that 25- to 30-minute time limits be established for initial interventions on each agenda item and that briefer time limits be set for subsequent statements;

(6) that with a view to maintaining better budgetary control final votes on resolutions having substantial financial implications be deferred pending receipt of estimates prepared by the Secretary General and the ACABQ.

A large number of other suggestions for reforming the Assembly's procedures and organization were put forward by many Governments, by former Presidents of the Assembly, and by former chairmen of main committees. Of particular interest to the United States was a suggestion advanced by Japan designed to avoid the taking of decisions by a small number of affirmative votes when there were a large number of abstentions. It was pointed out in this connection that decisions taken by only a small number of affirmative votes carried little weight and were unlikely to be implemented, thus impairing the influence and authority of the United Nations. One of the methods suggested by Japan for remedying this situation was to change voting procedures to require that abstentions be counted in determining whether the majority required for decisions had been obtained.

The various suggestions for procedural reform were considered in detail at 45 meetings held by the special committee, which issued a 219-page report. The majority of the committee's members favored adjustments to improve many of the Assembly's work methods and practices but opposed major innovations for organizational and procedural reform such as those advocated by the United States or the Japanese proposal described above.

The committee's conclusions regarding ways and means to adjust existing practices included such recommendations as, for example, (1) that the Secretary General communicate to members by mid-June the Assembly's provisional agenda, briefly annotated to indicate each item's history and earlier decisions by UN organs with respect to it, and (2) that items be allocated to main committees for initial consideration in such a manner as to ensure a more balanced division of work among the committees. The special committee also recommended changes in certain of the rules of procedure which were designed to save the Assembly's time. These new rules would, *inter alia*:

(1) permit debates to proceed on the basis of a quorum of one-third (instead of a majority) in plenary and one-quarter (instead of one-third) in committee;

(2) limit the number of speakers on motions to impose time limits on speeches to two in favor and two against;

(3) limit nominating speeches in the election of officers to one for each candidate;

(4) limit congratulatory speeches to newly elected officers of main committees to one for each committee.

Following a brief debate, the

26th General Assembly, acting on the recommendations of the special committee and the Sixth (Legal) Committee, adopted on December 17, without vote, a resolution by which it approved the proposed changes in its rules of procedure as outlined above, endorsed the special committee's general conclusions, called for periodic review of the progress achieved in rationalizing the Assembly's work, and requested the Secretary General to report as appropriate on the extent to which the special committee's conclusions were reflected in the Assembly's practice.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Bennett, in a statement before the Assembly on December 17, expressed regret that it was not possible for the special committee to reach agreement on more substantial reforms and stressed the U.S. view that further procedural reform was urgently required if the Assembly were to carry out effectively its central role under the UN Charter. Accordingly he welcomed recognition in the resolution approved by the Assembly that the effort to streamline and improve procedures was a dynamic process warranting continuing and sustained effort. He also expressed the hope of the United States that the Secretary General, in carrying out his responsibilities under the resolution, would review the suggestions considered by the special committee with a view to submitting further appropriate proposals for the Assembly's consideration. He noted that areas of procedural reform regarded by the United States as particularly meriting further attention included ways to organize Assembly sessions in a more considered and speedy manner, better organized and more expeditious debates, briefer speeches, and improved voting procedures.

## Strengthening International Security

An item on the strengthening of international security was first discussed by the General Assembly in 1969 at the request of the Soviet Union. In December 1970 the Assembly adopted a Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and requested the Secretary General to report to the 26th Assembly "on steps taken in pursuance of the . . . Declaration." The item was referred to the Assembly's First Committee which considered it at 21 meetings between October 14 and December 17.

On October 13 the Soviet Union and seven of its allies submitted a draft resolution that reiterated several well-known themes of Soviet foreign policy and appealed to all states to implement the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

On November 8 a group of 21 Latin American delegations and on November 10 a group of 46 delegations—mostly from Africa and Asia—submitted resolutions placing greater emphasis on the interests of the developing countries. A drafting committee was formed which worked out one text acceptable to both these groups of cosponsors, but representatives of the two groups did not respond to efforts by western delegations to achieve agreement on a consensus text.

On December 17 the First Committee voted on the combined draft, which was sponsored by 57 states. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 71 to 1, with 14 abstentions (U.S.). The vote in plenary on December 21 was 95 to 1, with 16 abstentions (U.S.). The Soviet, 21-power, and 46-power drafts were not put to the vote.



The lengthy resolution, *inter alia*, (1) reaffirmed the principles and provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security; (2) declared that the United Nations should evolve a concept of collective economic security and affirmed that a substantial portion of the savings derived from disarmament should be devoted to economic and social development, particularly in the developing countries; and (3) declared that "any measure or pressure directed against any state while exercising its sovereign right freely to dispose of its natural resources, constitutes a flagrant violation of the principles of self-determination of peoples and nonintervention, as set forth in the Charter." The remainder of its provisions were similar to those of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security adopted at the 25th Assembly in 1970.

#### U.S. POSITION

During the First Committee's debate the U.S. Representative, Admiral Shepard, on October 29 reviewed briefly the major steps being taken by the United States to strengthen international security. He cited President Nixon's forthcoming visits to Peking and Moscow, U.S. efforts to reach agreement on strategic arms limitation. U.S. peace

initiatives in the Middle East, and measures taken to end the conflict in Southeast Asia. He suggested that states look for ways to strengthen the cause of international security by constructive action on items such as chemical and bacteriological weapons, peaceful uses of the seabed and of outer space, and peacekeeping operations, that were already on the Assembly agenda. He concluded:

We believe that the United Nations should concentrate its efforts where they can bear fruit—on the items on its agenda that can produce workable decisions and not more rhetoric. Accordingly, we support the idea expressed by the distinguished representative of the United Kingdom and by others that we conclude our discussion by reaffirming the declaration worked out so arduously at the 25th General Assembly, and by devoting ourselves to taking constructive action on the important items on the agenda of this 26th General Assembly.

Before the vote on December 17 Ambassador Schauffele noted that consultations between the cosponsors of the 57-power draft and the Western European and Others group had begun only a day before the vote and in that short time it was not possible to work out a consensus resolution. Therefore the United States would abstain on principle and without prejudice regarding the substance of particular paragraphs of the resolution.



Part II

*Economic, Social,  
and  
Humanitarian Developments*





# Economics

## Economic Commission for Europe

ECE was established in 1947 to assist in the reconstruction of the European economy. Its original concerns were with the basic sectors of the economy and with the fundamental problems of production, distribution, and trade in Europe. Today, when almost all its members have highly industrialized economies, ECE has increasingly become a forum where East and West discuss and act on contemporary problems of trade promotion, exchange of technical information, and analysis of economic developments in the region. ECE is also concerned with issues such as environment and urban planning which go beyond conventional economic problems.

The Commission is composed of the European members of the United Nations, the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Switzerland. Upon its application, Switzerland was elevated by ECOSOC in 1971 from its long-time status of observer at ECE to full member. ECE activities are not limited to its members, however, and any UN member can participate in ECE meetings on subjects of interest to it.

During 1971, problems of the environment continued to be a major ECE concern. Due to the insistence of the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries that East Germany, which is not an ECE member, be allowed to participate in the planned ECE ministerial Conference on Problems Relating to Environment, the Conference had to be downgraded to a symposium attended by experts rather than by

governmental representatives of ministerial level. It was, nevertheless, held as scheduled in Prague in May. As further evidence of its concern for environmental problems, ECE at its 26th plenary session (held in Geneva, April 19-30) established a principal subsidiary body known as the Senior Advisers to ECE Governments on Environmental Problems and placed the pre-existing Working Party on Air Pollution Problems under the jurisdiction of the Senior Advisers. An ECE seminar on Problems of Air and Water Pollution Arising in the Iron and Steel Industry was held in Leningrad in August. Other environmental problems were considered by the Committee on Water Problems, an air pollution subgroup of the Inland Transport Committee, and other major standing committees of the ECE. The United States participated actively in the various environmental activities of the Commission.

Another major interest of the ECE during 1971 was the field of East-West trade. Under the auspices of its Committee on Development of Trade, a week-long informal meeting of trade experts was held in Geneva in September at which experts from East and West engaged in frank discussion of practical means of reducing obstacles to trade. The Committee on Development of Trade also made preparations for a seminar on East-West Trade Promotion, Marketing, and Business Contacts to be held in 1972. The seminar will focus on the trade problems of a limited number of specific product lines. The United States will present studies of the marketing of food processing machinery, sporting goods, and outdoor equipment in Eastern Europe.

In another 1971 action, the ECE

established a new principal subsidiary body known as the Senior Advisers to ECE Governments on Science and Technology. The terms of reference for this body are (1) the exchange of experience between member governments in the application of science and in technological policy, (2) formulation of proposals for the promotion of international cooperation in the application of science and technology, and (3) the improvement and coordination of the activities of other ECE subsidiary bodies in matters of science and technology.

## Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East

ECAFE was established in 1947 to help promote the reconstruction and economic development of post-war Asia. In 1971 ECAFE had 29 full members (including France, Netherlands, U.S.S.R., U.K., and U.S. as nonregional members) and 5 associate members. The Pacific island states of Tonga and Nauru were admitted as full members during the year, and the British Solomon Islands Protectorate was admitted as an associate member. The geographic scope of the Commission extends from Iran to Fiji and from Mongolia to New Zealand. In October 1971 China's representation in ECAFE changed as the result of the General Assembly resolution recognizing the representatives of the People's Republic of China as the only legitimate representatives of China in the United Nations.

There have been two major trends in ECAFE's work during recent years: (1) toward action-oriented programs producing tangible impact and (2) toward increased emphasis on regional cooperation to speed up

economic growth and raise living standards. These trends continued in 1971 in such diverse fields as economic development planning, trade, transport and communications, statistics, and public administration. There were a number of specific achievements during the year. The South East Asia Iron and Steel Institute, based in Singapore, was inaugurated in March; the Pepper Community was established in April by India, Indonesia, and Malaysia with provision for membership by other pepper-producing countries; and a draft agreement for an Asian Clearing Union was drawn up by a preparatory committee convened by ECAFE in March and the text was referred to international financial bodies for study. A new body, which was authorized by the Commission at its 27th plenary session and which held its first meeting in May 1971, gave special attention to problems of ECAFE's landlocked members. Finally, a new subcommittee was created to deal with tourism and the facilitation of international traffic.

The United States took part in ECAFE's 27th plenary session (held in Manila from April 20 to 30) as well as the annual meetings of the standing committees on industry and natural resources, transport and communication, and trade. During 1971 the United States also attended sessions of other subsidiary bodies dealing with such subjects as typhoon control, social aspects of population growth, and off-shore prospecting for minerals. The United States gave noteworthy support to the last-named activity by furnishing the services of experts for an ECAFE-fostered program to map potential sources of petroleum and solid minerals.

The United States also continued to contribute to the Mekong Coord-



dinating Committee's projects for several hydroelectric and irrigation systems in the lower Mekong River Basin, which includes parts of Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, and the Republic of Viet-Nam. The momentum of Mekong development was maintained in 1971, despite insecurity in some areas, and three projects were completed and formally inaugurated: the Nam Ngum and Nam Dong dams in Laos and the Lam Dom Noi dam in Thailand. In addition, significant progress was reported in the planning and preparation of 15 pioneer agricultural projects in the Mekong Basin.

During 1971 resources pledged to the Mekong Committee increased by \$11 million, including \$1.66 million from the United States, to a total of approximately \$214 million by the end of the year.

## **Economic Commission for Latin America**

ECLA was established in 1948 to promote the economic development of and improve the living standards in the Latin American countries. Its members include the 24 Latin American states plus Canada, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States; British Honduras and the West Indies Associated States are associate members.

In addition to its headquarters at Santiago, Chile, the Commission maintains a regional office in Mexico City and liaison offices in Washington, Montevideo, and Rio de Janeiro. ECLA has concentrated its efforts on training government officials in planning for economic development, providing advisory groups to countries to assist in improving development planning, and carrying out research on problems

of multilateral trade and economic integration. It also had an important role in the development of the Central American Common Market and the Latin American Free Trade Association.

The Commission held its 14th biennial plenary session in Santiago from April 27 to May 8, 1971. The U.S. delegation to this session was headed by Ambassador Joseph John Jova, U.S. Permanent Representative to the Organization of American States. In considering a lengthy agenda, discussion centered principally on recent economic trends in Latin America, the region's progress with reference to the Second Development Decade, and activities of such ECLA-related bodies as the Latin American Institute for Economic and Social Planning (ILPES), the Demographic Center, and the Center for Economic and Social Documentation. The Commission approved a work program for the 1972-73 biennium designed to implement specific action projects on research previously completed by the ECLA secretariat in such fields as industrial development, transport, agriculture, and trade promotion.

The Commission, as well as such regional institutions as the Inter-American Development Bank, has noted that Latin America's expanding population and labor force may require a higher rate of economic growth than the 6% envisaged in the international development strategy for the Second Development Decade in order to ensure improving, rather than just maintaining, current living standards. One of the most important resolutions adopted concerned ECLA's role in appraising Latin American progress toward the goals of the international strategy and in coordinating the results of the work of other UN bodies in Latin America. The Commission

*inter alia* recommended that the developing countries define their individual plans for the Decade as soon as possible; requested the developed countries and international organizations concerned to announce regularly the specific measures that they adopt to give effect to the strategy; instructed the ECLA secretariat to adopt the necessary measures for carrying out appraisals at the regional level; and established a Committee of High-Level Government Experts composed of the developing country members of the Commission "to serve as a forum for analyzing the different points connected with the achievement and appraisal of the objectives of the International Development Strategy in Latin America." The United States opposed the formulation of the Committee without developed country participation, but it joined in the unanimous adoption of the resolution as a whole on the understanding that the Committee would report back to the Commission and that there would be simultaneous distribution of all documentation to all members of the Commission.

Sub-groups that met during 1971 concentrated primarily on electrical standards and rates and on problems of the human environment. A seminar on the latter subject, supported by the Preparatory Committee for the UN Conference on the Human Environment, was held in Mexico City in September for the purpose of exchanging information and making a joint examination of problems affecting the region.

## Economic Commission for Africa

The Economic Commission for Africa was established by the Economic and Social Council in 1958.

The United States is not a member, but it supports the Commission's activities by maintaining liaison with ECA headquarters in Addis Ababa, attending a number of its meetings, and providing technical and economic assistance.

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

The United States was represented by an observer delegation at the 10th ECA plenary meeting, held at Tunis February 8-13. At this meeting the Commission adopted resolutions to support the UN Conference on the Human Environment, to initiate studies on the relationship of African population levels and trends to economic development, and to define Africa's strategy for development in the 1970's.

The many meetings and conferences sponsored by ECA during 1971 included: (1) two meetings on the trans-African highway project, which resulted in initiating a pre-feasibility study of a transcontinental highway from Mombasa to Lagos; (2) a symposium on Rural Development in Africa in the 1970's; (3) the seventh session of the Conference of African Statisticians; (4) the sixth ECA/OAU Joint Meeting on Trade and Development; (5) an African population conference (the first such held); and (6) the first session of the Conference of African Demographers. In addition, the ECA hosted at Addis Ababa an African

regional seminar on the human environment in preparation for the UN Conference on the Human Environment.

In addition to participating in numerous ECA meetings, the United States supported ECA activities in 1971 (1) by financing the training of African officials in the United States; (2) by providing on a long-term basis American experts in trade, industrial development promotion, and livestock development; and (3) by supplying American consultant services to various meetings. The United States also continued to provide in 1971 the services of a special advisor to the Executive Secretary of ECA.

## UN Development Program

The UNDP is the world's largest program of multilateral technical assistance. It is the hub for all technical assistance activities in the UN system and disburses over 70% of the funds expended by the various international organizations involved. The UNDP responds to requests from member states for assistance designed to provide the necessary basis for the attraction of investment capital. All states that are members of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, or the IAEA are eligible for assistance, and UNDP projects are underway in some 130 countries and territories.

Projects of 2- to 5-year duration in such fields as agriculture, education, disease eradication, transportation, and resource exploration comprise the major part of the UNDP program. In addition, the UNDP undertakes smaller projects designed either to train nationals by means of fellowships or to provide countries with required expertise through the use of advisers. Both types of projects are ordinarily exe-

cuted for the UNDP by the United Nations or one of the other organizations of the UN system.

The UNDP has its headquarters in New York. On December 14, 1971, the 26th General Assembly, without a vote, confirmed the appointment of Rudolph A. Peterson as Administrator of the UNDP to succeed Paul Hoffman when he retired on January 15, 1972. Mr. Hoffman had headed the UNDP since its founding in 1966. Mr. Peterson, formerly President of the Bank of America, served as Chairman of the President's Task Force on International Development in 1969-70. During 1971 the UNDP's Deputy Administrator was C.V. Narasimhan of India.

### POLICY AND ADVISORY BODIES

The UNDP's policies are established by a Governing Council which meets twice each year, ordinarily at New York in January and at Geneva in June. The Council approves the program and administrative recommendations of the Administrator, and, since it is entrusted with the supervision of all UN technical cooperation activities, also reviews the program of technical assistance financed from the regular UN budget. The Governing Council, which the 26th General Assembly enlarged from 37 to 48 members in a resolution adopted on December 14, 1971, is composed of representatives of 21 developed countries and 27 developing countries. The United States has been a member of the Governing Council since the UNDP's establishment.

In addition, the UNDP receives advice from an Inter-Agency Consultative Board (IACB) and from an Advisory Panel on Program Policy. The IACB, which provides other organizations of the UN system with consultative participation



in the UNDP's decisionmaking and policymaking process, is composed of the UN Secretary General and the executive heads of the specialized agencies, IAEA, UNCTAD, and UNIDO. The IACB ordinarily meets twice each year to advise the Administrator on major issues pertaining to UNDP policy formulation and program direction and to assist in bringing about maximum coordination and integration of all UNDP-related activities of the UN system. Prior to 1971, its duties were much more circumscribed, consisting primarily of review of projects proposed by the Administrator and advice to him concerning the appropriate executing agencies.

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

#### FIELD ORGANIZATION

A key element in the UNDP field operation is the resident representative, who advises the host government on development planning and UN assistance and coordinates the operation of UNDP-financed programs within the country under his jurisdiction. Designated by the 25th General Assembly as leaders of the UN teams in their respective countries, many of the 97 resident representatives have on their staffs representatives of the FAO and UNIDO in the roles of senior agricultural

and industrial advisors. Fourteen resident representatives are U.S. citizens.

#### FINANCING

The financial resources of the UNDP come principally from voluntary contributions pledged by governments. During 1971, 124 governments pledged \$239.3 million compared with \$226.1 million pledged in 1970. In addition, assisted governments contributed about \$14.6 million for local costs. The United States—which has been the leading contributor to the UNDP since its founding—pledged \$86.3 million in 1971, subject to the condition that its contribution should not exceed 40% of the governmental contributions.

#### DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

At the end of 1971, the UNDP had underway 685 large-scale projects in a pre-operational phase. Costing an average of slightly more than \$2 million each, with funds provided jointly by the UNDP and the recipient countries, these projects may engage the services of a score of international experts and involve a substantial quantity of equipment. At its two regular sessions in 1971, the Governing Council approved 196 large scale projects expected to cost a total of \$468 million. Of this amount \$204 million was to be provided by the UNDP and \$264 million by the recipient governments in the form of counterpart contributions. The Council's action raised the number of large scale projects approved since 1959 to a net of 1,428 (the total number approved less those subsequently canceled), with financing consisting of \$1.4 billion in UNDP resources and \$2 billion in counterpart contributions.

Of the projects approved through 1971, a total of 543 are surveys of natural resources and/or feasibility studies, 511 involve technical education and training, 328 provide for applied research, and 46 consist of economic development planning.

By economic sector, the projects are as follows: agriculture, 516; industry, 368; public utilities, 211; construction and physical planning, 26; health, 22; education and science, 119; social welfare, 7; public administration and other services, 69; and multisector, 90.

By geographic region the projects are divided as follows: Africa, 528; Asia and Oceania, 347; the Americas, 329; Middle East, 113; Europe, 100; and interregional or global, 11.

Approximately 4,000 small-scale projects were also in progress during 1971. Consisting primarily of fellowships and advisory services, these projects cost an average of less than \$35,000 each and vary in duration from several months to a few years.

#### UNDP REFORM

During 1971, the UNDP began implementing the various organizational and procedural reforms called for by the Governing Council in June 1970. UNDP headquarters was reorganized along geographic lines, with four regional bureaus headed by Assistant Administrators. A Bureau for Program Analysis and Policy Planning was also established. Completing a process which began in 1966 the "Special Fund" and Technical Assistance components of the UNDP were fully amalgamated. Formulation of UNDP country programs was initiated in a number of recipient countries, and plans were made to present the first group of country programs for Governing Council approval in January 1972. A new financial system was also

instituted. Abandoning its prior practice of requiring "full funding" of projects at their inception, the UNDP began a practice of partial funding of projects at their beginning and trusting that subsequent contributions to UNDP would take care of later funding. This enabled the UNDP to reduce its unexpended reserves to an operational reserve level of \$150 million.

These and other reforms were based on the findings of "A Study of the Capacity of the United Nations Development System" prepared during 1968-69 under the direction of Sir Robert Jackson of Australia. They should enable the UNDP staff to administer more efficiently an expanding program whose expenditures grew from \$257 million in 1970 to \$308 million in 1971 and are expected to reach \$359 million in 1972.

#### UN REGULAR PROGRAM

Provision is also made annually in the UN regular, or assessed, budget for certain technical programs. Known as the "Regular Program of Technical Assistance," its funding in 1971 amounted to \$6.9 million, of which \$1.5 million was for industrial development projects that were reviewed and approved by the Industrial Development Board of UNIDO. The remaining \$5.4 million was used for projects in human rights, social development, public administration, development planning, public finance, trade promotion, population, and subregional, regional, and interregional cooperation.

General policy guidance for the UN Regular Program is provided by the Governing Council of the UNDP. At the 10th session of the Governing Council in June 1970, the UN Commissioner for Technical Cooperation (an Assistant Sec-

retary General) noted that, as a result of the Council's recommendations, the Regular Program has begun to concentrate on those areas, such as human rights and public administration, where its distinct contribution could be more readily seen, and to restrict its aid to a limited number of countries, especially the least developed. Consequently, for 1971, the Secretary General approved projects in only 83 of the more than 100 countries which requested assistance, and a further reduction to 30 was anticipated for 1972.

Although sympathetic to the UN Regular Program's efforts to assist the least developed countries, the United States has long favored the carrying out of all UN technical assistance activities for development through the UNDP. On December 14, 1971, the 26th General Assembly decided by a vote of 92 to 10 (U.S.), with 7 abstentions, to increase funding for the UN Regular Program from \$6.9 million to \$8.7 million in order to provide for a unified system of regional and sub-regional advisory services. (See also Part Five, p. 219).

#### UN VOLUNTEERS

On January 1, 1971, a long considered proposal—a corps of UN Volunteers, or international peace corps—came into being. Pursuant to a resolution approved at the 49th ECOSOC, the 25th General Assembly in 1970 adopted a resolution (1) establishing as of January 1, 1971, an international group of volunteers to be designated collectively and individually as UN Volunteers; (2) requesting the Secretary General to designate the Administrator of the UNDP as Administrator of the UN Volunteers and to appoint a coordinator within the framework of the UNDP to promote and coordinate the recruitment, selection,

training, and administrative management of the activities of the UN Volunteers; and (3) inviting member states, organizations, and individuals to “contribute to a special voluntary fund for the support of United Nations Volunteers activities.”

The program made good progress in its initial year. On February 8 the Secretary General announced the appointment of Assad K. Sadry as coordinator of the UN Volunteers program. At the time of his appointment Mr. Sadry was Iran's Deputy Permanent Representative to the United Nations.

The Coordinator subsequently contracted with the International Secretariat for Volunteer Services and with the Coordinating Committee for Volunteer Service to recruit, select, and train participants for the program. Formal requests for a total of 116 Volunteers to work on UNDP projects were received from 8 countries—Chad, Haiti, Iran, Jamaica, Niger, Pakistan, Togo, and Yemen (San'a)—and by the end of the year 41 Volunteers were in service in 5 nations and the remaining 75 were in process of recruitment. Requests for an additional 65 Volunteers were under negotiation.

The United States pledged \$200,000 to the UN Volunteers program, and by the end of the year 12 other governments, 3 nongovernmental organizations, and several private individuals had contributed an additional \$56,955 to the special voluntary fund.

On December 14, by a vote of 100 (U.S.) to 0, with 13 abstentions, the General Assembly adopted, on the recommendation of its Second Committee, a resolution that *inter alia* (1) reaffirmed that UN Volunteers should not be sent to countries without the explicit request and approval of the recipient governments concerned; (2) requested all organi-



zations in the UN system to channel all requests for volunteers in projects executed by them through the UN Volunteers program and to coordinate all volunteer activities within UN-assisted projects with the Coordinator of the UN Volunteers program; and (3) invited governments, organizations, and individuals to contribute to the special fund for the support of the activities of the UN Volunteers.

#### CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT FUND

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

In 1967 the General Assembly placed the Fund under the management of the Administrator and the Governing Council of the UNDP because the pledges to the Fund did not amount to enough to make a separate administration economic.

Cumulative resources of the Fund through December 1971 totaled \$5.4 million of which about 70% was in nonconvertible currencies. The equivalent of approximately \$2.4 million had been paid in against pledges of \$5.2 million. At the 1972 pledging conference held on November 1, 1971, 29 countries pledged \$832,600. As in the past, none of the developed countries made pledges.

In his report to the 12th session of the UNDP Governing Council in June 1971, the Administrator proposed that the approximately

\$1.6 million in U.S. dollars then held by or available to the Fund be invested in aiding the economic growth of developing countries through participation in the loans of regional development banks, the World Bank, and other financial institutions. The remaining amount held by the Fund would be utilized for followup investment or supplementary assistance in conjunction with UNDP projects.

As of November 30, 1971, the Fund had utilized \$900,000 for the purchase of two participation loans offered by the Inter-American Development Bank to finance the construction of a gas pipeline in Argentina and a hydroelectric power plant in Brazil. No projects had yet been implemented by the Fund directly, although projects were being negotiated with the Governments of Lebanon and Bolivia.

## UN Conference on Trade and Development

UNCTAD is an organ of the UN General Assembly concerned with the trade and economic development problems of developing countries. Membership in UNCTAD is open to any country that is a member of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, or the IAEA; in 1971 it had 136 members. The first plenary conference of UNCTAD was held in 1964 in Geneva and the second in 1968 in New Delhi.

UNCTAD's permanent organ is the 55-member Trade and Development Board (TDB). In addition it has four main committees—on Commodities, on Manufactures, on Invisibles and Financing Related to Trade, and on Shipping—as well as other subsidiary bodies. Members are elected to the TDB and the main committees on the basis of a specified

number of seats for each of four generally geographic groups. The United States is a member of the TDB and all four main committees.

#### TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT BOARD

At the second part of its 10th session, held in Geneva, March 1-9, the TDB accepted the Chilean offer to host UNCTAD III in Santiago in April 1972. (This acceptance was later confirmed by the 26th General Assembly.) The Chilean Government agreed to underwrite the additional cost of about \$1 million that would result from holding the conference in Santiago rather than Geneva, and provided details on the facilities that would be made available for the conference.

The TDB met again for one day on May 24 to elect members of the Intergovernmental Group on the Transfer of Technology; the United States was one of the 42 chosen. This Group subsequently held an organizational meeting June 14-22 and approved a work program covering (1) channels and mechanisms for the transfer of technology, (2) costs of the transfer, (3) access to technology, and (4) international trade and the transfer of technology.

The TDB held its 11th session in Geneva, August 24-September 21, at which time it reached preliminary understandings on the issues to be discussed at UNCTAD III, made final arrangements for the conference, and considered a variety of substantive economic problems.

The principal substantive issue concerned the international monetary situation. The developing countries generally maintained that they had no responsibility for the monetary situation and therefore should not suffer from its repercussions. A number of them specifically criticized the United States both for its surtax and its monetary policies, al-

though some of the criticisms were allayed by a frank explanation of the U.S. position by Nathaniel Samuels, Deputy Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs. The TDB subsequently adopted, by a vote of 30 to 16 (U.S.), with 2 abstentions, a resolution calling for UNCTAD participation in future discussions of monetary reform. The resolution presented a number of difficulties for most western group countries who maintained that UNCTAD was not the competent body to consider the international monetary situation.

Another financial issue of interest was the proposed "link" between the allocation of the IMF Special Drawing Rights and development requirements. This and other monetary issues will be discussed at UNCTAD III.

The so-called "Group of 77," now consisting of the 96 developing countries that take part in UNCTAD, held a ministerial level preparatory meeting for UNCTAD III in Lima, Peru, October 25-November 8. (A series of consultations by the developed countries on UNCTAD III issues took place in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in Paris.) The Group of 77 adopted a lengthy paper called "The Declaration and Principles of the Action Program of Lima" which *inter alia* again criticized the monetary policies of the United States and other developed countries and asked for greater participation in decision-making on new monetary arrangements. The same criticism was subsequently embodied in a draft resolution sponsored in the 26th General Assembly's Second Committee by 88 developing states and approved on December 7 by a roll call vote of 69 to 12 (U.S.), with 17 abstentions. None of the developed countries voted for the resolution.

The Assembly adopted the resolution in plenary session on December 14 by a vote of 82 to 11 (U.S.), with 15 abstentions.

The TDB also considered a report by an *ad hoc* group of experts on special measures that should be undertaken in favor of the least developed of the developing countries. The TDB approved "without prejudice to future consideration," a list of 25 countries<sup>1</sup> identified by the Committee for Development Planning as the "hard-core least developed," and invited the Secretary General of UNCTAD to appoint a group of experts to assist him in preparing an action-oriented program. There was a general consensus at the TDB that a major need of the least developed countries was technical assistance to improve government administration. In a related discussion, the Board noted with satisfaction the technical assistance activities that UNCTAD was carrying out, in particular its participation in the International Trade Center at Geneva. This Center, jointly sponsored by GATT and UNCTAD, (1) executes UNDP projects for training officials of developing countries in export techniques, (2) undertakes market surveys, and (3) issues trade promotional publications on items of particular interest to the developing countries. The United States is a member of the joint advisory group which meets annually to review the activities of the International Trade Center.

#### COMMITTEES

The 45-member Committee on Shipping held its fifth session in

<sup>1</sup> Afghanistan, Bhutan, Botswana, Burundi, Chad, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Guinea, Haiti, Laos, Lesotho, Maldives, Mali, Malawi, Nepal, Niger, Rwanda, Sikkim, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, Upper Volta, Western Samoa, and Yemen (San'a).

Geneva, March 22-April 3. One of the most important resolutions, adopted unanimously, invited ECOSOC to consider undertaking a thorough study of the economic implications, in particular for developing countries, of a proposed convention on the international combined transport of goods. ECOSOC subsequently, on May 10, endorsed the proposed study and requested the Secretary General to undertake it with the help of experts. In another noteworthy decision, also adopted unanimously, the Committee agreed to have its Working Group on International Shipping consider guidelines for the elaboration of a Code of Conduct for Liner Conferences.

The 45-member Committee on Manufactures held its fifth session in Geneva, May 3-14. This Committee, which discusses overall trade-policy problems, stressed the importance of liberalizing nontariff barriers to trade and eliminating restrictive business practices that affect the exports of developing countries. It also reviewed recent trends in the exports of manufactures from developing countries, studied the factors that influenced their export performance, and examined questions of tariff reclassification.

The 55-member Committee on Commodities met in Geneva July 5-16. In addition to its normal review of the market situation and status of international action on specific commodities, it provided the UNCTAD Secretariat with guidelines for further work on diversification problems and on a survey of resource and development activities concerning natural products that face competition from synthetics. The Committee gave its support to the UNCTAD Secretary General's plans to convene a consultative meeting on cocoa in September with



the "hope" of convening a negotiating conference before UNCTAD III. (See also section on Commodity Trade, p. 86.)

Finally, the 45-member Committee on Invisibles and Financing Relating to Trade met in Geneva, December 1-14, to consider further (1) the international monetary situation, (2) the proposed link between the allocation of IMF special drawing rights and development requirements, (3) various aspects of foreign private investment, and (4) proposals for a supplementary finance scheme for an interest equalization fund.

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The Second Committee considered the report of the TDB at 13 meetings between November 22 and December 7 and approved two resolutions.

The first, sponsored by 34 developing states, *inter alia*, (1) noted with satisfaction the report of the TDB; (2) urged member states to ensure the success of UNCTAD III "and, to this end, to give serious consideration to the Declaration and Principles of the Action Program adopted at Lima by the Second Ministerial Meeting of the Group of Seventy-Seven Developing Countries"; (3) urged UNCTAD (a) to adopt an action program in favor of the least developed and the landlocked developing countries and (b) to appeal to preference-giving countries to implement their offers under the generalized system of preferences in favor of developing countries; and (4) agreed that UNCTAD III should undertake "a comprehensive review of its institutional arrangements with a view to improving the efficiency of its operations." The resolution was adopted unanimously by the Committee on December 6

and by the plenary Assembly on December 16.

The second resolution, sponsored by 10 developing states, *inter alia*, (1) welcomed the adoption of a comprehensive program of work by UNCTAD's Intergovernmental Group on Transfer of Technology and requested member states to give their fullest support to the Group, and (2) recommended that UNCTAD III agree on action "to facilitate the adequate transfer of technology to developing countries on reasonable terms and conditions" which would be carried out as part of the International Development Strategy for the Second UN Development Decade. This resolution was adopted without objection by the Committee on December 7 and by the plenary Assembly on December 16.

## General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

With the accession of Romania and Zaire in 1971, 80 nations were contracting parties to the GATT as of December 31, 1971. In addition, Tunisia has acceded provisionally and 15 countries apply the General Agreement on a *de facto* basis. As a provisional agreement designed to spur the economic growth of its contracting parties by eliminating barriers to and establishing rules for world trade, the GATT continues to be the principal legal instrument by which U.S. economic interests are protected and enhanced in the field of international trade policy.

The GATT consists of (1) agreed rules designed to insure that trade among the contracting parties is conducted on a fair and equitable basis, (2) procedures for application of these rules, and (3) concessions agreed upon in trade negotiations

in the form of schedules of tariff rates extended by individual contracting parties to all other contracting parties. Almost as important, the GATT contracting parties have established forums in which general and specific trade problems and disputes may be discussed.

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

Since entering into force on January 1, 1948, the GATT has provided the framework for six multilateral rounds of tariff negotiations, culminating in the Kennedy Round, completed June 30, 1967. The tariff reductions negotiated in the Kennedy Round were effected in five yearly stages, the last of which was implemented on January 1, 1972.

The Session of the Contracting Parties is the highest forum of the GATT and, as such, provides the impetus toward future work conducted under GATT auspices.

At the 27th Session, held November 15-26, 1971, the Contracting Parties agreed to continue seeking ways (1) to make further progress toward trade liberalization, both in industrial and agricultural trade; (2) to take such opportunities as might arise to settle particular trade problems, especially those regarded as most irritating; and (3) in the longer run, to pursue in the GATT a major new initiative for dealing with trade as soon as possible.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador William D. Eberle, expressed U.S. concern about the continued proliferation of special preferential trade arrangements and the resulting

erosion of the most-favored-nation (MFN) principle, which has been the cornerstone of the GATT. He proposed a major study of the facts and their implications. As a result, a working party was established to guide the GATT Secretariat in preparing a statistical survey of trade flows at MFN and non-MFN rates for representative years in the 1955-70 period. Left open for future decision was the question of what type of analytical study, if any, would be appropriate.

The Contracting Parties also agreed at the 27th Session to establish in 1972 the terms of reference for a working party to examine the treaty enlarging the European Community to include the United Kingdom, Ireland, Norway, and Denmark.

In addition, GATT expanded its work program to include studies of several additional nontariff barriers including export subsidies, import documentation, packaging, and labeling. However, the emphasis will remain on studies already under way on licensing, standards, and customs valuation.

During 1971 a GATT working party examined the agreements of association of the European Community with Spain and Israel. The United States took the position that the agreements did not conform to the conditions set out in the GATT for establishing customs unions or free trade areas and that U.S. rights under the General Agreement were being impaired. The United States announced, therefore, that it would request consultations with the three parties involved to seek a satisfactory solution.

The United States also used the GATT as a forum to explain to its trading partners the reasons for and the nature of the actions taken in August to improve the U.S. balance-of-payments position. Discussion of

these actions in international forums such as the GATT helped to achieve the cooperation of U.S. trading partners without which the objectives of the new economic policy could not be achieved.

The GATT has made a number of efforts to promote the economic development of the developing countries that are party to the Agreement. In 1971 a special Group of Three was set up to propose specific solutions to trade problems of developing countries. In its report, issued in November, the Group recommended a number of actions that the developed countries might take in concert or individually to expand the export opportunities of the developing countries. Some of its general recommendations were (1) that import duties and internal charges on tropical products, including vegetable oils, coffee, cocoa, and tea, be eliminated or reduced; (2) that developed countries remove the remaining residual restrictions on products of interest to developing countries; (3) that a study of the textile trade be made in order to find means to expand the textile exports of developing countries; and (4) that the GATT Secretariat conduct studies of the trade problems of individual developing countries.

The Group noted that, with the enlargement of the European Community, the time was at hand to begin major negotiations on agricultural policies, industrial tariffs, commodity problems, textiles, and nontariff barriers.

The Group noted that unlike most developed countries the United States had taken no steps to implement a system of generalized tariff preferences in favor of the developing countries, and it strongly urged the United States to implement such generalized preferences soon. The United States has since reaffirmed its intention to introduce legislation toward this end.

The Group also reported that the 10% surcharge imposed by the United States on August 17, 1971, had had a harmful effect on the exports of developing countries and urged its removal by January 1, 1972. The Group added that if the surcharge were not removed by that date, then products of developing countries should be exempted. The surcharge was removed on December 20, 1971.

In another effort to assist the developing countries, the GATT sponsored a series of negotiations among 16 of its contracting parties that are developing countries in which the 16 agreed to an exchange of tariff concessions among themselves. The negotiations were completed in 1971, and at the 27th Session the countries were granted a waiver from relevant provisions of the GATT which allows them to apply the concessions.

## Commodity Trade

Most intergovernmental consideration of problems concerning trade in primary commodities takes place within the UN framework. The FAO Committee on Commodity Problems reviews developments in world agricultural production and trade, including specific products for which it has established study groups (oilseeds, oils, and fats; rice; grains; meat; tea; bananas; citrus; jute, kenaf, and allied fibers; and hard fibers).

UNCTAD's Committee on Commodities exercises general surveillance over all intergovernmental commodity activities, receiving regular reports on commodity activities from FAO, the various independent commodity councils (coffee, sugar, tin, wheat, and olive oil), the autonomous commodity study groups (lead-zinc, rubber, cotton, and wool), and the UN Committee on



Tungsten. In addition, the UNCTAD Secretary General has the authority to convene commodity negotiating conferences upon request.

The United States participates in most intergovernmental commodity activities. Although not a member of the agreements for tin, sugar, and olive oil, it cooperates, as appropriate, with the councils administering these agreements.

#### WHEAT

UNCTAD sponsored the UN Wheat Conference, held in Geneva January 18–February 20, which concluded a new International Wheat Agreement to replace the 1967 International Grains Arrangement due to expire on June 30, 1971. Like its predecessor, the new agreement consists of a Wheat Trade Convention and a Food Aid Convention. The new Wheat Trade Convention does not, however, contain price provisions, although allowance is made for their later negotiation if it should become feasible.

The major issue in the conference was whether to have an agreement along the lines of earlier ones, which established maximum and minimum prices for a single reference wheat (i.e., one variety to serve as reference point for all pricing), or to continue the innovation of the 1967 arrangement which set price ranges for 14 varieties of wheats. The International Grains Arrangement proved unworkable, partly because its price objectives were too high and partly because of its rigid differentials among wheat varieties. Accordingly, in meetings preparatory to the Conference it had been agreed to go back to the single wheat approach, as the United States desired. In the formal negotiations, however, it proved impossible to agree on a reference wheat, or even a provision for dual reference wheats. Con-

fronted by this impasse, participating governments preferred to conclude an agreement without any price provisions, rather than have no new agreement. In this way the Wheat Council was kept in being to serve as a framework for international consultation and cooperation on wheat trade.

#### COCOA

Negotiations for a cocoa agreement, which have been underway for many years, reached an impasse in 1969–70 as various basic issues on which agreement had been reached were reopened by one or more participating countries. In 1971 pressure developed to conclude an agreement along simpler and somewhat different lines. This renewed interest was attributable in part to a weakening of prices but more particularly to the desire of the UNCTAD Secretariat to have an agreement concluded by the time of UNCTAD III. UNCTAD II in 1968 had recommended early conclusion of an agreement (negotiations being at an advanced stage at that time) and the Secretariat and most producing countries came to regard UNCTAD III as a deadline for carrying out this recommendation.

At a meeting in May 1971 with consuming countries, the UNCTAD Secretary General indicated his desire to convene a new negotiating conference in December 1971, preceded by a single "preparatory meeting" in the fall to draw up a simplified draft agreement. Although reservations regarding this timetable were expressed, the consumers as a group did not oppose the proposal.

A draft agreement was prepared by the UNCTAD Secretariat during the summer of 1971, based upon proposals drawn up by the producing countries at meetings in Abidjan and

Geneva in May. UNCTAD's Cocoa Consultative Group reviewed the draft in September and October, concluding that there were many issues to be resolved before there would be basis for an agreement. It was decided that the Consultative Group would reconvene in January 1972 and that the consuming countries would meet in December in preparation for the consultations. At these meetings, a consensus was reached on only a few, relatively minor, issues and it seemed clear that the outlook for rapid conclusion of an agreement was not good. Nevertheless, the UNCTAD Secretary General scheduled a negotiating conference for March 1972.

#### RUBBER

The main forum for considering rubber problems is the International Rubber Study Group (IRSG), but UNCTAD has also assumed a measure of responsibility through its Permanent Group on Synthetics and Substitutes. UNCTAD II charged the Permanent Group, in cooperation with the IRSG, with keeping a watch on the natural rubber and synthetic rubber situation and with considering and promoting action to improve the competitiveness of natural rubber.

At the 1970 IRSG Assembly, the Study Group Secretariat tabled a report on the future of natural rubber. Although the consumer countries generally agreed with the Secretariat's findings, the producing countries rejected the projections. This created a situation in which there was no agreed basis for further international consideration of the outlook for rubber.

In view of this situation, the UNCTAD Secretariat undertook to prepare a background paper on "International Action on Rubber" for consideration at the fifth session of

UNCTAD's Permanent Group on Synthetics and Substitutes in the summer of 1971. Similar in many respects to the IRSG report, the paper was released too late for detailed consideration by the Permanent Group which recommended that the UNCTAD Secretary General, in cooperation with the Secretary General of the Study Group, convene a small expert working party to examine and improve the report. The expert working party met in November 1971. Detailed consideration of the revised recommendations will be left to the next meetings of the IRSG and the Permanent Group.

#### OTHER COMMODITIES

The FAO Consultative Committee on Tea has been attempting to maintain a short-term informal arrangement to stabilize tea prices and to develop the basis for a long-term formal agreement. Differences among the producing countries have impeded this effort from the start. Many governments, including the United States, regard the expansion of tea consumption as the best solution to the problems facing the tea producers and have encouraged the Consultative Committee to pursue this approach through establishment of a Subcommittee on Promotion of Consumption, and various technical studies.

Similar differences among producing countries have made it difficult to maintain the informal arrangement to prevent overshipment of sisal and henequen. The arrangement had operated within the framework of the FAO Study Group of Hard Fibers for a number of years, but was abandoned in 1970. Reactivated in 1971 it has not proved effective.

The FAO Study Group on Meat and Poultry held its first meeting

in June 1971. It agreed to concentrate on improved market intelligence, to examine problems of livestock development programs, and to undertake a series of studies of specific trade problems and issues.

The FAO Study Group on Rice, at its meeting in May 1971, endorsed a series of voluntary guidelines for national action in respect of rice production, trade, and food aid. These guidelines had been developed by an *Ad Hoc* Working Party. The study group requested that they be transmitted to all FAO member governments with a substantial interest in rice trade so that they can be taken into account in the formulation of national rice policies.

## UN Industrial Development Organization

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

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

At its annual pledging conference, held October 26, a total of 69 nations pledged contributions in the amount of \$1,940,000 to the organization. The United States attended the conference to demonstrate its

support for the organization; but, in keeping with its view that UNIDO's operational funds should come through the UNDP, did not make a pledge. The approved administrative and research budget for 1971 was \$12,220,000; but because of the revaluation of the Austrian schilling in relation to the U.S. dollar, the budget had to be increased in the latter half of 1971.

### PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

In 1971 the portfolio of UNDP projects for which UNIDO was designated executing agency continued to grow, as did UNIDO's field activities under the Special Industrial Services program. The total expenditure level for the year was almost \$40 million. These activities include regional and interregional meetings, seminars, training courses, and projects requested by specific countries to assist in their industrialization efforts. Since the demand for UNIDO services far exceeded its available resources, there was a tendency for UNIDO to spread itself too thin. However, continued representation by the United States for an ordering of priorities has had an appreciable effect and some concentration of effort is in evidence.

### INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT BOARD

The United States is a member of UNIDO's Industrial Development Board, the 45-state policy-formulating body which meets annually to review past activities and approve future programs. The fifth session of the Board met May 24-28 at UNIDO's headquarters in Vienna and was attended by 44 of the 45 Board members as well as by a large number of observers from other UN organizations and private groups.

The session was preceded by the third meeting of the UNIDO Work-



ing Group on Program and Coordination, May 1-21, a subordinate body of the Industrial Development Board. This group was established largely at the urging of the developed countries, including the United States, to study in detail UNIDO's work program and budget.

Like most recent Board meetings, the fifth session was generally harmonious with no serious confrontations between the industrialized and developing countries. Although the session was shorter than usual, because of the Special International Conference that was to begin immediately following the session, the Board considered ways of strengthening its coordinating role in industrial development, reviewed the financial and organizational aspects of its work, and unanimously adopted a resolution requesting the Governing Council of the UNDP to increase the resources granted to the program of Special Industrial Services to enable it to meet the increased needs of developing countries.

#### SPECIAL INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

The Board had decided unanimously in 1970 to hold a Special International Conference to appraise UNIDO's past operations and chart its future course in the light of expressed interest and needs of the developing countries for their industrialization.

The Special International Conference, held in Vienna, June 1-8, was attended by delegations from 108 countries. The work of the conference culminated in the adoption by consensus of a single, lengthy resolution. The most important portion contained a series of recommended guidelines for the long-term strategy and orientation of UNIDO's activities. The consensus resolution further recommended that the Sec-

retary General appoint a small group of high-level experts from the various geographic groups to formulate the long-range strategy for UNIDO in accordance with the guidelines. This recommendation would serve to remove the problem of industrial development from the political arena and delegate it to technically qualified experts.

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The General Assembly's Second Committee considered the reports of the Industrial Development Board and the Special International Conference at nine meetings between November 17 and December 7. On the latter day it unanimously approved a resolution that was subsequently adopted by the plenary Assembly on December 16 by a vote of 114 (U.S.) to 0, with no abstentions.

The resolution, *inter alia*, (1) endorsed the consensus resolution adopted at the Special International Conference; (2) requested the Secretary General to appoint the group of experts that would formulate the long-range strategy and report to the Industrial Development Board by its seventh session (1973); (3) requested the Board to propose, in due time, the necessary measures for convening another general conference of UNIDO in 1974 or 1975 as appropriate; and (4) decided to set up an *ad hoc* intergovernmental committee composed of the members of the bureaus of the UNDP Governing Council and the UNIDO Industrial Development Board to examine all aspects of cooperation between the two organizations.

## Population

During 1971 the United States continued its strong support for UN action in response to requests from

governments for assistance in limiting excessive population growth.

#### FUND FOR POPULATION ACTIVITIES

The UN Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) is the central funding and principal coordinating mechanism for UN agencies engaged in population activities. This Fund, under the direction of Rafael M. Salas of the Philippines, provides assistance to countries in planning, programing, and implementing population projects. It coordinates its activities closely with those of other organizations—bilateral and multilateral, public and private—working in the same field.

The UNFPA finances projects related to every aspect of population and family planning activities: demography, education, research, advisory services, and training.

The 26th General Assembly gave added support to the Fund by adopting on December 14 a resolution, recommended by its Second Committee, that invited governments to make voluntary contributions to the Fund and requested the Secretary General to improve the Fund's administrative machinery in order to accelerate the delivery of population assistance. The United States supported this resolution, which was adopted by a vote of 94 to 0, with 20 abstentions.

In February 1971 the United States pledged to match contributions by other donors up to \$15 million toward the 1971 goal of \$25 to \$30 million for the UNFPA. Forty-five other donors contributed over \$14.5 million during the year, and the Fund, with the U.S. matching contributions, thus received some \$29 million.

The UNFPA allocated and earmarked over \$30 million in 1971, its second full year of operation. This was a remarkably rapid rise from

the \$6.7 million allocated in 1970 and reflected the growing worldwide awareness of the need to act to reduce excessive rates of population growth. Most UNFPA assistance is provided through the UN system—the UN Secretariat, regional economic commissions, WHO, ILO, UNESCO, FAO, and UNICEF—and through private organizations such as the International Planned Parenthood Federation.

The UNFPA is collaborating with the IBRD on a major program in Indonesia. In addition the IBRD is giving attention to population problems in other countries by sending population missions to Jamaica, Mauritius, Tunisia, Malaysia, and Trinidad and Tobago.

#### POPULATION COMMISSION

The UN Population Commission, one of the functional commissions advising ECOSOC, held its 16th session in Geneva, November 1–12. The Commission recommended, *inter alia*, that ECOSOC approve detailed plans for the World Population Conference (scheduled for August 1974 in New York) and a program for the World Population Year (WPY) in 1974.

The WPY is intended to focus international attention on population problems, and the Conference is expected to be a highlight of the WPY. The United States considers both the WPY and the Conference of major interest to the community of nations and is urging the Secretary General and UN bodies to make the WPY the occasion for publicizing as widely as possible the consequences of continued high rates of world population growth and the urgent need for active measures to bring this growth under control. The United States is also urging that the WPY be the occasion for raising substantially the amount of resources

devoted by national governments and by nongovernmental organiza-

tions to population activities of the UN system.

## Social Issues

### Disaster Relief

#### DISASTER RELIEF COORDINATOR

The United Nations continued, throughout 1971 to be concerned with improving its ability to provide assistance in response to disaster situations.

As requested by the 25th General Assembly in a resolution of December 15, 1970, the Secretary General submitted to the 51st session of ECOSOC a comprehensive report on disaster assistance that identified four main areas to which increased assistance might be directed: (1) prevention, control, and prediction; (2) planning and preparedness; (3) more effective organization of relief action when an emergency occurs; and (4) rehabilitation and reconstruction. The report included recommendations for actions to be taken by disaster-prone countries, by prospective donor countries, and by both voluntary agencies and organizations within the UN system. The report also considered financial arrangements for carrying out the recommendations.

On July 5, in a statement to the Council at the opening of the 51st session, the Secretary General said that there was

no doubt as to the necessity for a major strengthening of existing arrangements within the United Nations system and for ensuring that international action in emergency situations measures up to the resources and technical capabilities of modern society.

In a statement on July 7 Ambassador Bush endorsed the concept of a

"Disaster Relief Coordinator" that had been put forward by the United Kingdom on March 4 as a contribution to the Secretary General's comprehensive report. Ambassador Bush proposed that the Coordinator occupy a senior post in the UN Secretariat and report directly to the Secretary General.

In addition, my Government proposes that he be authorized to mobilize, direct, and coordinate relief activities of the various organizations of the UN system in response to governmental requests. He would also receive, on behalf of the Secretary General, all contributions made to the United Nations for disaster relief assistance.

Following extensive debate, a resolution cosponsored by the United Kingdom, the United States and 11 others, was adopted by ECOSOC on July 23. It provided for assistance in cases "of natural disaster and other emergency situations" and was thus broader in application than any previous UN resolution.

The resolution was adopted by a vote of 24 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions. The Council action was a clear response to the widespread recognition of the tremendous humanitarian relief program required as a result of natural disasters of recent years, such as the earthquake in Peru and the cyclone-induced floods in East Bengal, as well as other disasters resulting from wars, revolutions, enforced migration of people, and the like.

The resolution, which was subsequently endorsed by the 26th General Assembly on December 14 by a vote of 86 (U.S.) to 0, with 10 abstentions, created a new position:



UN Disaster Relief Coordinator. The Coordinator will have the rank of an Under Secretary General; he will be appointed by the Secretary General for a term of 5 years; and he will be assisted by an adequate permanent staff, located in Geneva, and augmented as necessary by the short-term secondment of personnel for individual emergencies. The Coordinator will have powers to mobilize, direct, and coordinate relief activities in the UN system. He will receive contributions on behalf of the Secretary General; coordinate UN assistance with that given by intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations, particularly the various international and national Red Cross organizations; serve as a clearinghouse for assistance extended or planned by all sources of external aid; issue calls for assistance in the name of the Secretary General; and cooperate with governments on aspects of pre-disaster planning.

In addition, the resolution invited certain preparatory actions by potential recipient and donor governments and authorized up to \$200,000 to be drawn on from the Working Capital Fund for emergency assistance in any one year, with a normal ceiling of \$20,000 per country in the case of any one disaster.

The United Nations now has the necessary mechanism for seeking, handling, and coordinating assistance to disaster areas. It will no longer have to delay in order to establish an organizational nucleus as each emergency comes along, but will be able to act expeditiously, hopefully within hours, by mobilizing the considerable resources of the UN system when a disaster occurs.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On January 14, 1972, the Secretary General announced the appointment of Faruk N. Berkol, most recently Turkish Ambassador to Belgium, as the first UN Disaster Relief Coordinator.

#### SPECIFIC UN RELIEF OPERATIONS

In addition to strengthening its capacity to cope with disasters, the United Nations continued during 1971 to deal with disasters on an *ad hoc* basis as they arose.

In a resolution adopted unanimously on July 21, the 51st ECOSOC requested the Secretary General to ask the organizations within the UN system, particularly the UNDP and IBRD, to devote the largest possible volume of resources to meet assistance requests from the Governments of Colombia and Chile which had suffered natural disasters. And on October 11 the 26th General Assembly unanimously adopted a similar resolution with respect to relief for Afghanistan following 2 years of severe drought.

By far the largest relief effort undertaken by the UN system during 1971 was in response to the cyclone disaster and civil strife in East Pakistan. In mid-November, 1970, a cyclone and tidal wave resulted in over 300,000 deaths with an additional 3 million people affected by the disaster. The 25th General Assembly on November 20, 1970, adopted a resolution, *inter alia*, requesting the Secretary General, member states, and all organizations of the UN system to provide the largest possible volume of resources to assist the Government of Pakistan in its rehabilitation programs. In this case the United Nations participated in relief contributions and activities, but did not initially coordinate the international humanitarian relief program.

Civil strife, which erupted in East Pakistan in March 1971 caused almost 10 million people from East Pakistan to seek refuge in India, and created large numbers of displaced persons among those who remained behind. Both the refugees in India and a large proportion of the

people in East Pakistan were unable to support themselves and it became necessary for the international community to provide food, medicine, and other supplies needed to prevent starvation and disease.

In a letter of April 22 to President Yahya Khan, the Secretary General offered all possible assistance to the Government of Pakistan in providing urgently needed relief to the population of East Pakistan. On May 22, Pakistan formally requested such United Nations assistance, and on May 28 the Secretary General sent Ismat Kittani, Assistant Secretary General for Inter-Agency Affairs, as a special envoy to work out in cooperation with the Pakistani Government a framework for an international relief effort. Meanwhile, on May 19 the Secretary General had designated the UN High Commissioner for Refugees as the "focal point" for the coordination of UN assistance to the refugees from East Pakistan in India. (See p. 95 for details.)

On June 16 and again on July 16, the Secretary General appealed to all governments, intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations, and private institutions and donors to assist in alleviating the suffering of the people of East Pakistan by making contributions to the United Nations in cash and kind. Initially he called for a contribution of \$28.2 million in assistance through the UN system; later surveys indicated an even greater need for outside help. During June, the United Nations selected a small relief planning staff to coordinate relief activities in Dacca, and special teams from WHO and WFP proceeded to survey health and food requirements. At the same time UNICEF formulated a special feeding program for mothers and children in cooperation with the local authorities, WFP, WHO, and CARE.

On August 23 Paul-Marc Henry, a former Assistant Administrator of the UNDP, was named Assistant Secretary General for the UN East Pakistan Relief Operation (UNEPRO) with headquarters in New York. Mr. Henry made several survey trips to the area in the ensuing months to identify requirements and to give direction to the emerging UN relief program. His responsibility included mobilizing and expediting international assistance, directing headquarters operations, and coordinating the participation of UN agencies and Secretariat units. By mid-October, the UN system had 85 employees in East Pakistan.

Among the major problems confronting the United Nations beyond obtaining sufficient supplies of food, medicine, and equipment—were the severe shortage of coastal and river vessels, repeated disruption of rail and road facilities, port congestion, shortage of trucks and vehicles to deliver supplies inland, and shortage of tools, parts, and personnel to maintain the trucks and other vehicles.

In spite of these difficulties, by November there were indications that the UN distribution of relief supplies was moving ahead and that a maximum level of activity would occur early in 1972, providing conditions of free access and a tolerable degree of security could be achieved. It also became apparent that because of a relatively good rice harvest and the worldwide response to appeals for assistance, that famine had been averted.

By November 23, however, the United Nations advised that its relief activities were being severely hampered by military-type actions, including attacks on UNEPRO ships and trucks. On December 3, war broke out between India and Pakistan, and the UN relief program had to be suspended. At the end of the

2-week war, East Bengal declared itself independent. By that time over \$48 million in cash and kind, including about \$19 million from the United States, had been committed to UNEPRO in voluntary contributions from more than 20 governments. Many governments, including that of the United States, had provided additional disaster assistance on a bilateral basis.

The Third Committee of the 26th General Assembly devoted several sessions to the problems of the Pakistani refugees and the relief program in East Pakistan. On December 6, the plenary Assembly adopted without a vote a two-part resolution unanimously recommended by the Third Committee. The first part *inter alia* (1) endorsed the Secretary General's initiatives; (2) requested the Secretary General and the UNHCR to continue their efforts to relieve the suffering of the refugees and the people of East Pakistan; (3) appealed to governments, nongovernmental organizations, and intergovernmental organizations to intensify their efforts toward the same end; and (4) urged all member states to intensify their efforts to bring about the conditions necessary for the speedy and voluntary repatriation of the refugees to their homes.

The second part of the resolution recommended that the President of the General Assembly make a statement (1) indicating the concern of the international community with the problem of the refugees in India; (2) calling for continued voluntary participation of governments and organizations in assisting the Secretary General and the UNHCR in their action on behalf of the refugees; and (3) saying that the only solution to the refugee problem was the safe return of the refugees to their homes.

Subsequently, following East Bengal's separation from Pakistan, the

United Nations initiated a new relief effort known as the UN Relief Operation in Dacca (UNROD). Food, cash, and equipment previously pledged by the international community of donors in connection with the civil strife and on which delivery had been suspended provided the base for the new UN program.

## UN High Commissioner for Refugees

The basic tasks of the UNHCR<sup>1</sup> are to provide legal and political protection for refugees and to promote permanent solutions to refugee problems. These tasks are carried out on behalf of (1) refugees who fall within the mandate of the UNHCR, i.e. within the scope of the statute of his Office, and (2) those refugees to whom he has been called upon by General Assembly resolutions to extend his good offices. The High Commissioner has interpreted these resolutions as precluding UNHCR assistance to refugees displaced within their own countries or having the right of nationality within their countries of asylum.

### "FOCAL POINT" ACTIVITIES

1971 was a year of unprecedented activity for the UNHCR when, in addition to his established role, the Secretary General on May 19 designated him to act as the "focal point" of the international relief effort for assistance to the refugees who fled into India from East Pakistan. Between March, when the mass exodus began, and early December when war broke out between India and

<sup>1</sup> Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan (Iran) is the High Commissioner for Refugees. His current term expires December 31, 1973.



Pakistan, over 9.9 million refugees entered India (according to the Government of India's count). On May 12 the Secretary General made a worldwide appeal for assistance to these refugees and the High Commissioner set up in Geneva a Standing Inter-Agency Consultation Unit which included representatives of the UN organizations involved in the relief effort—UNESCO, UNICEF, WHO, and WFP—as well as the League of Red Cross Societies. In New Delhi the High Commissioner organized a standing consultative unit and was also represented on the Government of India's committee and subcommittees which oversaw the operations of the relief program. In addition, the UNHCR met frequently in New Delhi, on an informal basis, with representatives of the major donor countries and the various voluntary agencies operating in India.

From the outset of his efforts the High Commissioner took the position that the operational aspects of the relief program were the responsibility of the Government of India. His responsibilities were to maintain close liaison with the Government of India; mobilize and secure international support and contributions for the relief program; arrange for the procurement of supplies and their delivery to India in a coordinated manner; and coordinate activities for the use of such supplies so that he might be able to account to the donor nations.

The United States participated actively in the relief effort and channeled most of its aid to the refugees through the UNHCR. The international community responded to the appeals of the Secretary General and the High Commissioner by contributing \$315,204,198 to the relief program. The U.S. Government provided \$92,407,000 (including \$600,000 to UNICEF) of which \$56,

657,000 was in food and \$35,750,000 in cash. When hostilities ceased in December the High Commissioner began conferring with the Government of India and the newly-proclaimed Government of Bangladesh about preparations for the return of the refugees to their homes.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

An Executive Committee composed of 31 governments, including the United States, reviews and supervises the High Commissioner's activities. The Committee held its 22nd session in Geneva in October 1971. The U.S. Representative at the session, which marked the 20th anniversary of the establishment of the Office of the UNHCR, was Charles S. Rhyne, an authority on international law and past president of the American Bar Association; Frank L. Kellogg, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for Refugee and Migration Affairs served as Alternate Representative. Mr. Rhyne delivered a congratulatory anniversary message to the High Commissioner from President Nixon in which the President noted that the UNHCR "has become a symbol of concern and compassion for the homeless and persecuted."

#### LEGAL AND POLITICAL PROTECTION

International protection is the High Commissioner's most important function. Indeed, the Office was established primarily to insure continuity of this function from antecedent organizations. The first element of protection is to assure that refugees receive effective asylum and are not forcibly repatriated. The second element is to secure for the refugees specific rights within asylum countries through which they can overcome difficulties arising from lack of nationality and enjoy a legal position as close as possible to that

of a national of the asylum country. Such rights include (1) right of employment, (2) freedom of religion, (3) access to elementary education for refugee children, (4) right of self-employment, (5) access to the courts, (6) right to receive social security and welfare when appropriate or necessary, and (7) freedom of travel. Possession of such rights facilitates the refugees' reestablishment on a basis of self-support and individual dignity, thus helping them to cease being refugees, and in many cases leading to their naturalization.

The basic legal tools through which the High Commissioner exercises his protection function are the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol; both define and codify the rights and status of refugees. The Protocol widens the scope of the Convention by removing the provision limiting eligibility thereunder to persons who became refugees "as a result of events occurring before 1951." The UNHCR encourages further accession to these instruments, supervises their application in states that are parties, and promotes the development of legislative and administrative measures that would lead to a liberal application of the terms of the Convention and Protocol. By the end of 1971, 61 nations were parties to the Convention and 48, including the United States which acceded in 1968, to the Protocol.

In 1971 the UNHCR maintained a Legal Assistance Program that provided many refugees with legal advice and assisted them both in regularizing their positions and in approaching the host government authorities in order to solve problems connected with their status.

#### **MATERIAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM**

Since 1955 the UNHCR has con-

ducted a program of material assistance for refugees within his mandate. This program has four main activities all contributing to the objective of promoting permanent solutions to the problems of refugees: (1) emergency relief, (2) facilitation of voluntary repatriation, (3) promotion of resettlement, and (4) integration of refugees in their country of asylum. Since refugee assistance is primarily the responsibility of the country of asylum, the High Commissioner in allocating the limited resources at his disposal must bear in mind not only the extent and urgency of the refugee situation but the ability of the host country to handle it. In 1971 the trend of recent years continued with decreasing needs in Europe and the Far East, a steady level of assistance in Latin America, and increasing responsibilities in Africa.

At the beginning of 1971 there were about 650,000 refugees of concern to the UNHCR living in Europe. The great majority of these refugees are now socially and economically integrated and thus do not require further material assistance. The flow of refugees from Eastern Europe continued during the year. Although these refugees came under the High Commissioner's mandate, their material needs were met by local governments and social welfare agencies, with UNHCR intervention required only on a limited basis, primarily as a token of international good will. Continuing a tradition of the past few years, the High Commissioner supplied funds for supplementary assistance to Cuban refugees who entered Spain at the rate of about 1,000 per month.

There were an estimated 160,000 refugees of concern to the High Commissioner living in Asia at the beginning of 1971, mainly Chinese in Macau and Tibetans in India and Nepal. Assistance programs on

their behalf continued during the year. The High Commissioner also aided the small numbers of refugees within his competence in the Trucial States, Cambodia, and South Vietnam, and assisted the resettlement of those very few of the estimated 1,000 refugees of European origin in the People's Republic of China who were able to secure exit permits.

In Latin America there were still some 110,000 refugees who fell within the High Commissioner's mandate in 1971. Assistance was generally limited, however, to a defined group of aged and handicapped refugees. These individuals, for varying reasons, never became naturalized or fully integrated into the local society and are now unable to fend for themselves.

As in the past several years well over 60% of the resources of the material assistance program were used for the over 1 million refugees of concern to the UNHCR in Africa. The major part of the increase over the 1970 current program budget was for the resettlement of Sudanese refugees in Zaire. In some countries, for example the Central African Republic, Senegal, and Tanzania, newly arrived groups of refugees required temporary relief. Where prospects for early repatriation did not seem bright, the African program continued to concentrate on the rural resettlement of refugees within asylum countries. The phasing out or reduction of projects in Botswana and Tanzania offset to a very limited degree the increased needs which developed over the year, especially with regard to resettlement efforts in Uganda, Zambia, and Zaire.

Contributions in 1971 from 77 governments (including the United States) and from various nongovernmental sources were sufficient to fund in full the UNHCR program budget of \$7,052,000. In addition

to a direct contribution of \$1 million, the United States provided assistance through other channels to refugees of concern to the High Commissioner including \$3 million for European refugees, \$112.8 million for Cuban refugees in the United States, \$500,000 for refugees from the Chinese mainland, \$760,000 for southern African refugee students, and \$27.7 million in food for various categories of refugees. Moreover, two-thirds of the \$3 million contribution to the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration was for assistance to such refugees. At its 22d session the UNHCR Executive Committee approved a \$7,968,900 budget for 1972.

#### COOPERATION WITH OTHER UN BODIES

During 1971 the High Commissioner continued to stress the established pattern of close cooperation with other organizations in the UN system. As in the past, this cooperation was encouraged by the United States in order (1) to avoid duplication of effort, (2) to strengthen the UN system, and (3) to maximize results and minimize costs. The UNHCR continued its close association with the WFP, UNICEF, UNESCO, and the UN Educational and Training Program for Southern Africa. Where appropriate, various other UN agencies (i.e. ILO, FAO, and WHO) provided expert advice in their respective fields for UNHCR programs and in some instances the benefits of programs executed with the assistance of these agencies were extended to refugees. As the result of a 25th General Assembly resolution the pattern of cooperation between UNHCR and UNDP began to change. The resolution, *inter alia*, introduced the concept of UNDP country planning, the implementation of which could allow for the inclusion of refugee community inte-



gration programs in UNDP-assisted projects.

#### EMERGENCY FUND

The High Commissioner's Emergency Fund, authorized by a 1957 General Assembly resolution, continued to be an important instrument which is regularly replenished through repayment of refugee housing loans made under previous UNHCR programs. During the year, allocations from the Emergency Fund were used to assist refugees in Zambia, India, Viet-Nam, Senegal, and Uganda. The Fund allows the High Commissioner to act quickly and effectively to meet new refugee situations which, by their very nature, cannot be predicted.

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

On December 6 the 26th General Assembly adopted without a vote a resolution that had been sponsored in the Third Committee by 41 states, including the United States, and approved unanimously on November 17. In its preambular paragraphs the resolution, *inter alia*, noted the increasing and fruitful cooperation between the UNHCR and other UN bodies in developing countries, particularly in Africa, and commended the growing numbers of accessions to the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol on the Status of Refugees. In its operative paragraphs it requested the UNHCR to continue providing international protection and assistance to refugees who are his concern, requested the UNHCR to continue promoting permanent and speedy solutions to the problems of refugees, and urged governments to continue supporting the UNHCR.

## UNICEF

1971 marked the completion by

UNICEF of a quarter of a century of work for the world's children. As part of the 25th anniversary celebration, the Executive Board, meeting in Geneva, paid tribute to the founders for their foresight in setting the policies which have guided the Fund so successfully.

The anniversary provided an appropriate occasion for the Executive Board to review policy and program implementation over the years and to formulate long-range plans for the future.

Originally geared to emergency relief alone, the program has evolved into assistance to governments in support of their long-range plans for providing for their children. By encouraging concern that children and youth receive their due share of investment and attention within the development process of countries, UNICEF is an important factor in helping integrate social and economic policy. The population explosion emphasizes the importance of taking account of children in development planning—the number of children under 15 (who constitute almost half of the population in UNICEF-assisted countries) is expected to increase by 30% by 1980.

#### PROGRAM TRENDS

An increasing number of projects considered by UNICEF are multidisciplinary and are linked to major segments of national development plans. Greater attention is being given to projects for strengthening the ability of countries to assume full responsibility for the supported activities within the foreseeable future. Increased efforts are being made to mobilize additional sources of financial support from multilateral and bilateral sources wherever possible, and more attention is being given to ensuring community participation in the projects.

In 1971, approximately 46.4% of UNICEF's expenditures were for health services, 28.3% for education, 12.8% for nutrition, 4.5% for family and child welfare, and smaller amounts for several other areas. This illustrates another change in focus. UNICEF was originally concerned almost entirely with health and nutrition, but has broadened its scope to deal with all aspects of child life, providing aid on the basis of a country's priorities. As a result, aid to education continues to grow, although aid for health services remains UNICEF's largest investment.

Within the health field a number of changes are under way. After extensively reviewing its role in malaria eradication, especially in light of the many other demands on its resources, UNICEF decided to decrease its aid in this area. In accordance with recommendations made in 1970 by the UNICEF/WHO Joint Committee on Health Policy, assistance will be phased out to those countries where experts have found no evidence that eradication can be assured in a reasonable period of time.

At the same time, aid for family planning received increased UNICEF support as it was requested by countries as part of their maternal and child health programs. UNICEF also sought to strengthen its program, in cooperation with WHO, to prevent blindness in young children through the use of large doses of vitamin A.

#### CHILDREN IN SPECIAL NEED

"Children and Adolescents in Slums and Shanty-Towns in Developing Countries," a report prepared by a consultant and the UNICEF secretariat, was given major attention by the Board in 1971. In the past UNICEF concentrated on rural areas, but this report, depicting the plight of children as a result of

worldwide migration from country to city, motivated the staff to find ways in which UNICEF can help combat slum problems. Increasing assistance along these lines is planned. In cooperation with the Committee on Housing, Building, and Planning, UNICEF began in 1971 to seek solutions for some of the problems found in shanty towns.

#### EMERGENCY AID

Throughout 1971 UNICEF carried a heavy load of emergency aid. Nigerian relief and rehabilitation continued and UNICEF acted as administrator for a trust fund made up of U.S. and Canadian contributions. Relief needs following the East Pakistan cyclone and tidal wave in late 1970 and the similar, though smaller, disaster in Orissa, India, in late 1971 received prompt and effective assistance from UNICEF.

The needs resulting from the India-Pakistan conflict were the most grave. UNICEF operated in both East Pakistan and in the refugee camps in India. A number of UNICEF staff remained in Dacca throughout the hostilities and thus were able to mobilize quickly and utilize supplies and equipment which had been delivered or were on the way.

In view of the many emergency demands upon UNICEF, the Board increased to \$1 million the emergency fund which the Director can use at his discretion without waiting for Board approval.

#### FINANCIAL SITUATION

For 1971 UNICEF's income, excluding contributions designated as funds-in-trust, was \$60.8 million, of which \$42.8 million was contributed by 138 governments. The U.S. Government contributed \$13 million to the regular budget in 1971, as well

as \$828,000 for India-Pakistan relief and \$4.894 million in P.L. 480 commodities for continuing nutrition programs. Contributions from non-governmental sources were \$10.4 million. The profits from the sale of greeting cards and related items was \$4.7 million, and \$2.9 million came from other sources. Expenditures in 1971 amounted to \$56.9 million. Total commitments approved by the Executive Board amounted to \$77,467,000.

In addition the backlog of approved potential projects for which no funds were available continued to increase. When the Board made its commitments in April 1971, there were 18 "noted projects" totaling \$10.7 million. Some of these projects may be implemented as the result of special contributions from private organizations such as UNICEF National Committees.

#### **U.S. COMMITTEE FOR UNICEF**

The U.S. Committee continued to be a force for increasing public awareness of the needs of the world's children and of UNICEF's role in meeting these needs. In addition the Committee was a major financial contributor to UNICEF through the Halloween Trick-or-Treat program and the sale of greeting cards. In 1971 the U.S. Committee turned over to UNICEF a check for \$8.7 million, representing the net profits from these sources.

In addition the U.S. Committee has undertaken to raise \$250,000 for a "noted project" of assistance to Peru for long-term rehabilitation following the 1970 earthquake.

## **Drug Abuse Control**

President Nixon in a June 17, 1971, message to the Congress declared that the problem of drug abuse had assumed the dimensions

of a national emergency, and called for augmented national and international efforts to combat it. Among the U.S. initiatives looking toward concerted international action were several involving the United Nations.

#### **FUND FOR DRUG ABUSE CONTROL**

Following action by the ECOSOC and the General Assembly in 1970, the Secretary General on April 1, 1971, formally established the UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control and appointed Ambassador Carl W. A. Schurmann of the Netherlands as his Personal Representative in charge of the Fund.

In establishing the Fund it was generally recognized that to carry out a worldwide program, financial resources far in excess of those available in the regular budgets of the United Nations and the specialized agencies would be required. Consequently the Secretary General called upon governments and private sources to make voluntary contributions. The Fund was launched with an initial pledge of \$2 million from the United States. By the end of 1971, contributions and pledges to the Fund totaled over \$2,800,000. In addition to money, assistance in the form of personnel and facilities will also be accepted.

#### **PLAN FOR CONCERTED ACTION**

The UN Fund will be used to finance a Plan for Concerted Action Against Drug Abuse carried out by the competent UN bodies. The Plan has the following objectives: (1) to expand the research and information facilities of the UN drug control bodies; (2) to enlarge the capabilities and extend the operations of existing UN drug control bodies; (3) to limit the supply of drugs to legitimate requirements by ending illegal production and substituting other agricultural crops;



(4) to promote facilities for treatment, rehabilitation, and social reintegration of drug addicts; and (5) to develop educational material and programs against drug abuse in high-risk populations.

On December 7, 1971, an agreement was signed between Thailand and the United Nations for a program of drug abuse control. This program will include projects to replace opium poppy cultivation with other economic activities, expand facilities for the treatment and rehabilitation of drug addicts, strengthen law enforcement, and create drug education and information programs. The UN Fund is expected to contribute over \$2 million to the program over a 5-year period. This agreement complements a similar bilateral one between the United States and Thailand.

#### **CONVENTION ON PSYCHOTROPIC SUBSTANCES**

In Vienna on February 21, 1971, the United States joined 22 other nations in signing a Convention on Psychotropic Substances designed to bring under international control those dangerous drugs which include the amphetamines, barbiturates, hallucinogens (such as LSD), and tranquilizers.

The Convention requires (1) licensing of the manufacture and trade in psychotropic substances, (2) medical prescriptions for their sale, (3) keeping of records by manufacturers and distributors, (4) periodic inspections, and (5) reporting. Both import and export authorizations will be required for the more dangerous substances. The Convention calls for (1) coordinated action against illicit traffic; (2) punishment of violators; (3) extradition of offenders; (4) treatment, rehabilitation, and social reintegration of addicts; and (5) measures of prevention and educa-

tion. The International Narcotics Control Board (INCB) will have reporting and supervisory functions and the Commission on Narcotic Drugs will have decision-making, reviewing, and recommending authority. The Convention will come into force 3 months after 40 nations have ratified it.

On May 20 the 50th ECOSOC adopted by a vote of 23 (U.S.) to 0, with 3 abstentions, a resolution sponsored by New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States, that (1) invited states to give urgent consideration to becoming parties to the Convention on Psychotropic Substances, (2) strongly endorsed the Conference's invitation to states to apply the Convention provisionally pending its entry into force, and (3) accepted the functions assigned by the Convention to the United Nations in regard to its execution.

On June 29 President Nixon submitted the Convention to the Senate for its advice and consent to ratification.

#### **COMMISSION ON NARCOTIC DRUGS**

The 24th regular session of the 24-member UN Commission on Narcotic Drugs was held in Geneva from September 27 to October 21, 1971. Observers attended from 27 countries. The U.S. Representative on the Commission was John E. Ingersoll, Director of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs (BNDD) of the Department of Justice. The U.S. delegation also included representatives from the Departments of State; Justice; Treasury; and Health, Education, and Welfare; and the Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention.

At this session the Commission thoroughly reviewed the UN Plan for Concerted Action Against Drug Abuse and the United States and

other members made strong pleas for contributions to the UN Fund. The United States also confirmed its intention, subject to Congressional appropriations, to support the Fund on a continuing basis.

An important U.S. objective at the Commission was to lay a solid basis for the plenipotentiary conference to be held in March 1972 to amend and strengthen the 1961 Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs. By a vote of 20 (U.S.) to 0, with 3 abstentions, the Commission approved a resolution confirming that treaty review was warranted to provide for increased international control to eliminate illegal narcotics production and traffic.

The Commission also unanimously adopted a resolution urging governments which had not already done so to ratify or accede to the Convention on Psychotropic Substances. In a move to improve regional cooperation and mutual assistance, the Commission, by a vote of 21 (U.S.) to 1, with 1 abstention, decided to establish an *Ad Hoc* Committee on Illicit Traffic in the Near and Middle East. Three countries in the region—Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan—agreed to work with UN support to promote more effective cooperation and to increase mutual assistance in efforts to eliminate the illicit production and traffic in narcotics in the region. Afghanistan was also invited to participate, and a fifth member from outside the region was sought to work with the Committee. According to its initial work plan the Committee will estimate production and illicit diversion of opium in each of the three countries and Afghanistan, and identify the pattern and routing of illicit traffic and the likely effects of the cessation of Turkish production of opium. It will also consider possi-

ble methods of curbing illicit production of opium in Afghanistan and Pakistan and ways of improving law enforcement and of promoting interregional cooperation.

#### AMENDMENT OF THE SINGLE CONVENTION

The Single Convention is a comprehensive international agreement which consolidated a series of previous treaties on narcotic drugs. It entrusts to the Commission on Narcotic Drugs and the INCB certain functions aimed at limiting narcotic drugs to medical and scientific uses, and provides for continuous international cooperation and control for the achievement of those aims. As the result of a U.S. initiative, ECOSOC on May 20 adopted by a vote of 22 (U.S.) to 2, with 1 abstention, a resolution deciding to convene a plenipotentiary conference "as early as feasible in 1972" to consider amendments to the Convention. The conference was subsequently set for March in Geneva. The U.S. objective in calling forward several amendments was to give the INCB increased authority to take the action necessary to identify and eradicate illicit traffic. France, Sweden, and Peru also submitted amendments and the United States undertook worldwide diplomatic consultations to achieve support for its objectives and for the widest possible consensus at the plenipotentiary conference.

The proposed U.S. amendments, which provided a basis for developing such a consensus, would (1) increase the amount of information available to the INCB—particularly by requiring detailed reports on opium poppy cultivation and opium production; (2) authorize the INCB with the consent of the state concerned to carry out on-the-spot studies of drug-related activities;

(3) give the INCB authority within prescribed limits to modify estimates furnished by states on licit narcotic activities, particularly opium cultivation and production; and (4) authorize the INCB in cases of non-compliance by a state with its obligations under the Single Convention to bring the situation to the attention of appropriate UN organs, including the General Assembly.

At the end of the year the United States was seeking broad cosponsorship of a package of amendments incorporating its own proposals, those of France and Sweden, and suggestions received from many other countries during the U.S. diplomatic consultations.

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

The Third Committee of the 26th General Assembly briefly considered the drug problem as part of its consideration of the report of ECOSOC. On December 10 it approved, by a vote of 88 (U.S.) to 0, with 7 abstentions, a draft resolution sponsored by Iceland that, *inter alia*, (1) urged states to give wide support to the UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control and in particular to involve youth in activities aimed at controlling drug abuse, and (2) urged that steps be taken by governments to inform youth about the dangers of drug abuse and to promote community-based drug treatment and rehabilitation facilities, particularly for young drug users. The General Assembly adopted the resolution in plenary session on December 20 by a vote of 122 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention.

## Crime Prevention and Control

The Fourth UN Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders, held in Kyoto,

Japan in August 1970, *inter alia*, urged the United Nations and other international organizations to give high priority to the strengthening of international cooperation in crime prevention.

At its 22nd session, in March 1971, the Commission for Social Development considered the conclusions and recommendations of the Congress along with a note by the UN Secretary General highlighting the main issues and problems concerned with "criminality and social change"—which the U.S. delegation described as the most significant document on social defense in more than 20 years—and the report of the Advisory Committee of Experts on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders.

The Commission's debate revealed that both developed and developing countries recognized the need to solve the problems of crime control. There was general agreement that the United Nations should assume a more vigorous and creative role in the field of crime prevention, and there was further agreement that "transnational crime," e.g., aerial hijacking, political kidnapping, and drug abuse, was an area in which international collaboration could be especially fruitful.

On March 19, by a vote of 19 (U.S.) to 0, with 3 abstentions, the Commission approved a resolution for adoption by ECOSOC that, *inter alia*, (1) endorsed the Declaration, conclusions, and recommendations of the Congress; (2) requested the UN Secretary General to implement to the fullest those conclusions and recommendations applicable to the United Nations, especially by (a) direct aid to governments, including technical assistance, (b) development and extension of regional institutes, (c) promotion of research of an action-



oriented character, (d) organization of seminars, training courses, workshops, and expert meetings, and (e) wider dissemination of information; (3) invited member states to give more immediate consideration to ways of strengthening national and international action for crime prevention; and (4) decided (a) to enlarge the Advisory Committee on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders from 10 to 15 members, to be appointed by ECOSOC, in order to provide the variety of professional expertise needed on social defense questions spread over a wider geographical area, (b) to change its name to Committee on Crime Prevention and Control, and (c) to have it report to the Commission for Social Development and, as appropriate, to the Commission on Human Rights and the Commission on Narcotic Drugs. The draft resolution also requested the Secretary General to include in the provisional agenda of the 26th General Assembly an item entitled "Criminality and Social Change."

On May 21, during its 50th session, ECOSOC adopted the proposed resolution by a vote of 21 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions, and on December 20, during its resumed 51st session, it appointed 13 individuals, including Norman A. Carlson, Director, U.S. Bureau of Prisons, to 3-year terms on the Committee beginning January 1, 1972. (The appointment of the remaining two members was deferred until the 52nd session of ECOSOC.)

The Advisory Committee of Experts on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders held its fifth and final session in New York July 19-26.<sup>1</sup> Its main

task was to make practical suggestions for the implementation of the projects related to social defense contained in the work program for 1971-75 that had been adopted by the Commission on Social Development (see p. 111). Among other things, the Advisory Committee stressed the central importance of adequate planning for crime prevention at every level and the need for better communication between the various levels and between social defense planners and social defense experts. It recommended that this problem become a subject of study by its successor, the Committee on Crime Prevention, which might wish to consider either devoting a special session to a study in depth of the issues involved, or the establishment of a standing subcommittee to give the matter continuing attention.

For the first time in 21 years, the subject of crime prevention appeared on the agenda of the General Assembly. The Third Committee considered the item on December 10 and adopted, by a vote of 73 (U.S.) to 0, with no abstentions, a draft resolution sponsored by the United States and 14 others that (1) welcomed the ECOSOC resolution of May 21 and the action taken to implement the conclusions of the fourth UN Congress, and (2) decided to consider the question of crime prevention and control in depth at its 27th session. The General Assembly adopted the resolution in plenary session on December 18 by a vote of 113 to 0, with no abstentions.

## Advisory Social Welfare Services

The United States in 1971 continued to participate in the UN program of Advisory Social Welfare

<sup>1</sup> Professor H. G. Moeller, Coordinator of Correctional Services, East Carolina University, Greenville, N.C., was one of the experts.

Services. Financed from the UN assessed budget as part of the so-called regular program of technical assistance, it provides technical advisers, fellowships, professional literature, and assistance for demonstration projects.

The Social and Rehabilitation Service (SRS) of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare was the primary host agency for 44 UN Fellows from 17 countries in 1971. It planned programs in such disciplines as social policy and planning, urban and rural community development, the social aspects of family planning, vocational rehabilitation, and family therapy. The programs encompassed a variety of work-study-consultation arrangements and included academic programs at such schools as the University of Southern California, the University of Missouri, Florida State University, Case-Western Reserve University, the University of Michigan, and the University of Chicago.

A new project during the year placed 13 faculty members from the Community Development Institute in the Republic of China in academic programs at U.S. universities—Brandeis, Cornell, Missouri, North Carolina, Maryland, Tennessee, and the U.S. International University in San Diego. The participants' fields of concentration included social planning, social services, population affairs, and manpower training.

In addition to university programs, SRS's regional social welfare research institutes provided short-term training programs for senior personnel from various countries interested in research; and national voluntary agencies continued to cooperate by providing special programming to complement other training experiences.

The 1968 UN International Conference of Ministers Responsible for

Social Welfare had stressed the need for better advanced social welfare training and more social welfare research. It had recommended that regional and worldwide meetings be convened for the exchange of ideas and experience in order to further social welfare progress throughout the world. In implementation of this recommendation, SRS and the Brookings Institution cosponsored a 3-week Symposium on Social Welfare Policy and Research in June. The 30 participants from 18 countries—including a number of UN Fellows—represented all geographic areas and included social welfare researchers and officials from social welfare departments or planning ministries. It is expected that this broad range of participation will enhance the symposium's long-range value.

The Philippine Government also took an important step to follow through on recommendations of the Ministers' Conference when it established a regional center for training and research in social welfare that will be available to all countries of Asia and the Far East. Planning is underway for a similar center in the Middle East, and the Austrian Government has offered support for a training and research center in social welfare for the European area.

UN technical advisers were provided for a number of projects for youth, including development projects and leadership training. As a new undertaking, the United Nations began providing interregional advisers on the prevention of crime and juvenile delinquency. The fact that over 30 governments have asked for this service emphasizes the severity and volume of the problem and the growing recognition of the need to modernize both policy and legislation.

The greatest volume of requests for advisers continued to be in the fields of social development plan-

ning and community development. In addition the number of multi-country technical assistance projects in prosthetics, with special attention to training courses and provision of equipment, expanded in 1971.

The United States regularly participates in the European Social Development Program, another phase of the UN Advisory Welfare Services. In November, a member of SRS's Administration on Aging participated with representatives from 20 European countries in a UN Seminar in the Federal Republic of Germany on Local Participation of the Elderly.

Several U.S. social workers served as UN advisers to governments and UN bodies in all regions of the world. Their programs included *inter alia* public assistance, youth training, social welfare, social work and community development training, social welfare aspects of family planning, and women's activities in social development. A U.S. adviser was assigned to ECAFE to assist in social work and community development training projects. And an expert on women's activities was assigned to Africa where a number of countries expressed interest in increasing the volume and scope of women's participation in social development.

## Housing, Building, and Planning

### COMMITTEE ON HOUSING, BUILDING, AND PLANNING

ECOSOC's standing Committee on Housing, Building, and Planning,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Members of the Committee are Australia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Chile, Colombia, Egypt, Finland, France, Ghana, Guatemala, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Malaysia, Netherlands, Pakistan, Panama, Tanzania, Tunisia, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, and Zaire.

which meets biennially, held its seventh session in Geneva October 18-29, 1971. Samuel C. Jackson, Assistant Secretary for Community Planning and Management, Department of Housing and Urban Development, led the U.S. delegation.

In a statement before the Committee, Assistant Secretary Jackson expressed U.S. support for the policy of integrating physical planning with economic planning in developing a total new approach to man's environment. He stressed the importance of social considerations in any comprehensive planning framework and the necessity of a strong administrative structure to implement these plans.

The Committee was particularly concerned with the question of rehabilitating "transitional urban settlements." In this connection it recommended that the UN Conference on the Human Environment in 1972 "accord a high priority to the problem of slums and squatter settlements." It also recommended that member states (1) establish immediate programs to improve conditions of the lowest income groups; (2) intensify the urban planning, community development, and physical improvement which people cannot achieve without government action; (3) extend health, education, training, and other community facilities; (4) utilize pilot programs to carry out the foregoing actions; and (5) establish long-term policies and programs extended to all levels of government and supported by the necessary legislative and administrative measures. It further recommended that member states and the Secretary General (1) formulate a strategy for coordinated action and maximum utilization of UN resources, (2) broaden the exchange of knowledge in this field, and (3) establish training programs to encourage self-reliance



and popular participation in solving the problems of the slums.

The Committee considered at some length the critical human settlement problems to be attacked by the developing countries during the Second UN Development Decade. It concluded that these problems, including poor housing, hazardous health conditions, and inadequate or nonexistent public services, resulted from the inability of governments to cope with the pace and intensity of the urbanization process.

The Committee also reviewed the progress made by the Center for Housing, Building, and Planning on its study projects on such topics as social aspects of urban development, the economics of urban development, improvement of rural settlements, urban land policies and land-use control measures, finance for housing and community facilities, industrialization of building, and economic and social development within a comprehensive planning framework.

The Committee adopted a 6-year Work Program for the Center that included technical assistance, pilot and demonstration programs, analyses of world problems and trends, research projects, and seminars. The highest priority was given to technical assistance and cooperation, and continuing emphasis was placed on the specific topic of improving slums and squatter settlements in both urban and rural areas. One of the new study projects that will be given high priority concerns possible legislative, institutional, and administrative measures for the planned development of human settlements.

Neither ECOSOC nor the General Assembly discussed housing, building, and planning during 1971.

#### **OTHER ACTIVITIES**

During 1971 the United Nations sponsored two other meetings

on housing in which the United States took part. The first, cosponsored by the Government of Puerto Rico and held August 30–September 3, was a meeting of the UN Advisory Group on Housing Policies and Programs. The Group considered the housing policies and programs in the various countries represented at the meeting; studied the urban experience of Puerto Rico; and reviewed draft guidelines on housing policy for developing countries. The guidelines will be presented in 1972 to a UN inter-regional seminar on housing policies, programing, and administration.

The second was an International Seminar on Urban Land Policies and Land Use Control Measures, held in Madrid November 1–13. Participants in the seminar, which was cosponsored by Spain, came from both developed and developing countries. The participants analyzed the effectiveness of selected urban land policies and land use control measures in different countries in order to draw up guidelines for use by developing nations.

Each of the regional economic commissions also engaged in activities concerned with housing. In 1971 ECAFE concentrated primarily on conducting research and short-term training courses concerned with building materials, standards, and construction codes, and its Subcommittee on Housing completed a study on housing and physical planning standards for the resettlement of squatters. ECLA concentrated during the year on a preliminary study by its Industrial Development Division on the use of wood in housing construction. ECA also sponsored several meetings. The United States took part in one, held in Lome, Togo June 21–26, that considered specific aspects of housing finance. But the most active of the regional commissions in this

field, and the one with which the United States worked most closely, was ECE. Some of the more important meetings during 1971 were the following.

The United States attended the fifth session of the ECE Working Party on the Building Industry which met in Geneva May 24-27 to consider (1) the application of new scientific methods and advanced technology, (2) the use of computers in construction, and (3) proposals for research into the environmental aspects of construction activity.

ECE's Working Party on Housing is sponsoring a study of housing finance, with emphasis on sources and methods for financing new construction, including subsidies and allowances. Each ECE member has been requested to prepare a monograph on the subject, and the United States took part in a June meeting of experts to review those monographs already submitted, assess the project to date, and make recommendations for the further course of the study.

The United States is a member of the ECE Committee on Housing, Building and Planning which held its 33rd session in Geneva, August 30-September 3, to consider among other topics, construction and planning policies as related to rapid industrial and urban growth; housing finance policies (a topic of special interest to the United States); and the management, maintenance, and modernization of housing.

Finally, the United States took part in the sixth session of the ECE Working Party on Urban Renewal and Planning during November. This meeting considered a number of topics important in the field, including (1) economics of urban renewal; (2) urban and regional research, including planning statistics; (3) planning and development of

rural settlements; and (4) transportation in urban planning.

## Social Development

The Commission for Social Development, a functional commission of ECOSOC, held its 22d session at UN Headquarters, March 1-19, 1971. Much of its attention was focused on a consideration of social factors as an integral part of the development process.

### WORLD SOCIAL SITUATION

The *1970 Report on the World Social Situation*, which was before the Commission, covered the period 1967 to 1969. Prepared by the Social Development Division of the UN Secretariat in cooperation with other UN bodies, the central conclusion of the report was that world social conditions had generally deteriorated in the period surveyed and there was further widening of the economic and social gap between classes within nations and between nations.

The Commission expressed its concern that economic and technological development did not by itself lead to the satisfaction of real human needs and often had the opposite effect when not guided by a clear sense of social purpose.

The U.S. Representative, Mrs. Jean Picker, pointed out that the document did "not give cause for complacency. The task of creating a better life, particularly among the people of developing countries, continues to pose as great a challenge as ever to all mankind." Noting that it was no longer sufficient to engage in academic reviews of the social situation, Mrs. Picker recommended that the report be directly related to those portions of the international development strategy pertaining to

social and human factors and that it be used as a way of appraising both the policies of governments and the work programs of UN agencies.

The Commission approved three resolutions on this topic which were subsequently combined by ECOSOC at its 50th session into one omnibus resolution. The first, proposed by the U.S.S.R., called for a study, to be based on a questionnaire sent by the Secretary General, of the experience of various countries in achieving "far reaching social and economic changes for the purpose of social progress." It was approved March 18 by a vote of 24 to 0, with 6 abstentions (U.S.), and adopted by ECOSOC on May 21 by a vote of 15 to 0, with 1 abstention (U.S.).

The second resolution, sponsored by Chile, Egypt, India, and Yugoslavia, stressed the need to eliminate disparities in the standards of living and called for the developed countries to accelerate assistance to the developing countries. The resolution also contained references to the desirability for general and complete disarmament as a means to release funds for developing countries and to the need for the transfer of science and technology to the developing countries. It was approved March 19 by a vote of 26 to 0, with 3 abstentions (U.S.), and adopted by ECOSOC May 21 by a vote of 18 to 0, with 2 abstentions (U.S.). The United States abstained because the resolution contained so many extraneous elements which were related to the International Development Strategy but not to the world social situation.

The third resolution, sponsored by the United States, focused directly on the world social situation report. In its final form, it (1) recommended ways for member states to enhance social progress and development, (2) decided that the *1970 Report* should serve as a guide for the

Second UN Development Decade and that the *1974 Report* should serve as a major assessment at mid-Decade; and (3) suggested to the Secretary General that future issues of the report (a) should be more analytical, (b) should highlight issues requiring national and international action, and (c) should contain suggestions for possible action by governments and UN agencies. The resolution was approved on March 19 by a vote of 12 (U.S.) to 9, with 5 abstentions, and adopted by ECOSOC on May 21 by a vote of 11 (U.S.) to 4, with 5 abstentions.

The Third Committee of the 26th General Assembly subsequently considered the *1970 Report on the World Social Situation* at 21 meetings between September 29 and October 21.

Speaking on October 7 the U.S. Representative, Daniel P. Moynihan, took issue with the report for numerous factual errors concerning the United States and, more importantly, for the methodology used. He said:

The nations of the world are shaded along a spectrum from those which allow no public criticism of government to those which allow and even facilitate and encourage such criticism. My nation is of the latter sort.

As a result, the writers of the *1970 Report* had apparently concluded from the published evidences of such freedom of dissent that the situation in the United States compared unfavorably with that in countries where protest does not exist. Noting that there was "not the least hope" that all the nations could agree on what constituted social harmony or what processes would abet or impede social change, he declared that it was all the more important that official UN reports on social matters confine themselves to data on which approximately uniform international definitions could be agreed. He said



that the United Nations should not engage in "efforts to explore one another's psyche on the basis of newspaper clippings." Instead it should, every 4 years, provide a world social situation report consisting primarily of standard social statistics related to the basic census facts of birth and death and modes of life in between. If that were well done, then "statistics provided by the United Nations [could] set a standard for governments of the world and a resource for scholars everywhere."

However, the Committee concluded that the Report was a useful source of information on major social trends in the latter part of the First UN Development Decade, and on October 20, by a vote of 104 to 0, with 5 abstentions (U.S.), approved a draft resolution sponsored by 24 developing countries. This resolution (1) specifically endorsed the provisions of only that portion of the ECOSOC resolution that had been sponsored in the Social Development Commission by four states; (2) reaffirmed the urgency of halting the deterioration of the world social situation and promoting social progress and development; (3) emphasized the need to reduce the disparities between developed and developing countries; (4) emphasized that a long list of conditions, including colonialism, racial discrimination, and economic exploitation by foreign monopolies, were principal obstacles to social progress and development; (5) urged developed countries to "fulfill their obligations" to implement the international development strategy; and (6) drew the attention of all states and UN bodies to certain conclusions and recommendations based on the consideration of the *1970 Report*.

The General Assembly in plenary session adopted the resolution on November 22 by a vote of 95 to 0, with 3 abstentions (U.S.).

The Secretary General had prepared the work program for the Commission. On March 17 the Commission adopted, by a vote of 22 (U.S.) to 0, with 5 abstentions, a draft resolution generally endorsing the proposed work program. In its final form, incorporating amendments proposed by the United States and by Chile, the resolution, *inter alia*, (1) approved the priority given in the work program to major questions relating to social policy; (2) requested the Secretary General to continue to place emphasis on practical action, to strengthen cooperation with the UNDP, and to ensure the availability to the UNDP of the expertise of the Social Development Division; (3) stressed the importance of an appropriate distribution of emphasis at the national, regional, and global levels in implementing the work program; (4) stressed the need for close and continuing cooperation between the United Nations and the specialized agencies; (5) decided that the Commission for Social Development should concentrate more on the major problems of social policy; and (6) requested the Secretary General to study the results of the 1972 Conference on the Human Environment that may have implications for the social aspects of development. (The references to strengthened cooperation with the UNDP and to utilizing the results of the Human Environment Conference were the U.S. additions.)

ECOSOC subsequently approved the resolution by a vote of 20 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions, on May 21.

The Commission adopted a second resolution concerned with its work program, but specifically with research and training in regional development. The Commission believed that the interdisciplinary nature of regional development programs made

them excellent tests of the unified social and economic approach to planning. On March 18 the Commission approved, by a vote of 21 (U.S.) to 2, with 2 abstentions, a resolution that (1) endorsed the conclusions of the *Ad Hoc* Advisory Committee for the Research and Training Program in Regional Development that regional development is a potential instrument for the integration and promotion of social and economic development efforts within a country; (2) called for increased multinational and national research and training centers; and (3) recommended that member states share their experience, resources, and research facilities and that the Secretary General avail himself as needed of the services of senior experts knowledgeable in regional development to advise him on further development of the program. ECOSOC adopted the resolution on May 21 by a vote of 18 (U.S.) to 1, with 1 abstention.

#### **RIGHTS OF THE MENTALLY RETARDED**

This subject had been introduced by France in 1970 at the 21st session of the Commission because it considered that the mentally retarded were an extremely vulnerable group in society and that a special declaration of their rights was justified and necessary. At that time France recommended that the Commission endorse the Declaration adopted by the International League of Societies for the Mentally Handicapped. The Commission decided, however, to request the UN Secretariat for an improved draft. The improved draft was before the Commission in 1971.

Within the United States, the draft declaration received strong support from the President's Committee on Mental Retardation, the Secretary's<sup>1</sup> Committee on Mental Retar-

dation, and the Bureau of Mental Retardation.

On March 18, by a vote of 22 (U.S.) to 0, with 5 abstentions, the Commission adopted a resolution transmitting the draft declaration through ECOSOC to the General Assembly. ECOSOC made a few revisions in the text before adopting it on May 21 by a vote of 21 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions. On December 20, the General Assembly, on the recommendation of its Third Committee, adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Mentally Retarded Persons without change by a vote of 110 (U.S.) to 0, with 9 abstentions.

The declaration says, *inter alia*, that mentally retarded persons (1) have, to the maximum degree of feasibility, the same rights as other human beings; (2) have a right to proper medical care and to such education as will enable them to develop their maximum potential; (3) have a right to economic security and a decent standard of living; (4) whenever possible should live with their own families or foster parents and participate in different forms of community life; (5) have a right to qualified guardians when this is required to protect their well-being and interests; (6) have a right to protection from exploitation, abuse, and degrading treatment; and (7) whenever unable to exercise their rights in a meaningful way because of the severity of their handicap, may have their rights restricted or denied only by a procedure that contains proper legal safeguards against every form of abuse.

#### **IMPLEMENTATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY**

In a resolution adopted December 11, 1970, the 25th General Assembly

<sup>1</sup> Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

had requested ECOSOC to "ensure the contribution of the Commission for Social Development to the aspects of the International Development Strategy directly related to matters within the Commission's competence." The Commission therefore had on its agenda an item concerning its role in the Second Development Decade. The Commission reaffirmed that it would make every effort to discharge its responsibilities, but arrived at no consensus on its organization for the technical task of review and appraisal.

The U.S. Representative emphasized that effective review required the development of adequate "social indicators," and said:

We have seen that economic indicators alone are just not enough. Indeed, poverty, disease, and social deterioration can mount at the same time that gross national product figures are showing substantial gains. Economic indicators taken by themselves make no judgments on how money is to be spent or what will be the effects on quality of life. . . .

My delegation strongly believes that there is a need for the elucidation of meaningful social indicators which will provide a means of measuring social progress.

Five states—Canada, France, India, Netherlands, and Sweden—introduced a draft resolution for adoption by ECOSOC that would have (1) requested the Commission to submit a concise report indicating the progress made toward the attainment of the objectives of the Decade and containing appropriate recommendations with a view to improving the implementation of the Strategy and defining more precisely its social objectives; and (2) invited the Secretary General to take the necessary steps to prepare an additional report on the methodology of appraisal, at all levels, based on the integrated economic and social approach, with the assistance of experts

if necessary, so that the report might be submitted to the Commission at its next session.

The Commission approved the resolution on March 19 by a vote of 30 to 0, with the United States abstaining because it had insufficient time to study the financial and substantive implications.

ECOSOC subsequently deferred consideration of the draft resolution until its 52d session in 1972.

#### RESEARCH INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

In reporting to the Commission, the Director of the UN Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) noted that the Institute was concentrating on a smaller number of larger projects. At present the two most important were on the "green revolution" and the unified social and economic approach to development analysis and planning.

The "green revolution" project, more properly, "Research on Social and Economic Implications of Large-Scale Introduction of New Varieties of Food Grains" (see also p. 137), had been approved by the Governing Council of UNDP, and the advisory board for the project included experts of international repute from all geographic areas as well as representatives of the United Nations, UNDP, ILO, FAO, and IBRD.

The "unified approach" project, of particular interest to the Commission for Social Development, was a cooperative undertaking of the Social Development Division of the UN Secretariat, ECLA, and UNRISD. The team working on the project, which included members with practical experience of governmental development planning, had prepared a draft outline covering, among other problems: (1) the evolution of inexpensive techniques for coordinated assessment of real progress in devel-



opment at the local level; (2) unified methods of project evolution; (3) harmonization of economic and social approaches to planning at different levels within a country; (4) application to problems of the human environment of a unified approach to development; (5) geographical distribution of employment; (6) the plight of marginal populations; and (7) the problems of children and youth in development.

#### QUESTION OF THE ELDERLY AND THE AGED

This topic was first included in the agenda of the 24th General Assembly on the proposal of Malta. Although the Assembly was unable to examine the question in either 1969 or 1970, it decided to give priority to the matter at its 26th session.

The Third Committee of the 26th General Assembly considered the item at two meetings, on December 3 and 9. It had before it a note by the Secretary General giving a preliminary review of major socioeconomic problems of the aged and the impact of technological and scientific advances on their well-being, as well as certain recommendations for action. The Committee's consideration of the item coincided with the White House Conference, "Toward a National Policy for the Aging," in December 1971. The Secretary General's report was supported by John B. Martin, U.S. Commissioner of the Administration on Aging and Special Assistant to the President for

Aging. Further U.S. interest was expressed in a letter to the Secretary of State from the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare that included a resolution of the Older Americans Advisory Committee urging that the United States "strongly support favorable action on the proposals" in the Secretary General's report.

On December 3 Malta introduced a resolution, sponsored by 23 states including the United States, that was unanimously approved by the Committee on December 9 and unanimously adopted by the Assembly on December 18.

The resolution (1) requested the Secretary General to continue the study of the changing socioeconomic and cultural role and status of the aged in countries of different levels of development and to prepare, within existing resources and in cooperation with the ILO, WHO, and other interested specialized agencies, a report suggesting guidelines for national policies and international action related to the needs and the role of the elderly and the aged in society in the context of overall development; (2) requested governments to disseminate, in the way they deemed most appropriate, the information in the present resolution for the benefit of the elderly and aged; and (3) requested the Secretary General to submit a report on this subject in 1973 through the Commission for Social Development to ECOSOC and to report to the General Assembly at its 28th session on the action taken on the present resolution.

# Science and Research

## Human Environment

### PREPARATORY COMMITTEE

Preparation continued throughout 1971 for the UN Conference on the Human Environment, scheduled for Stockholm, June 5-16, 1972. The 27-member Preparatory Committee,<sup>1</sup> established by the 24th General Assembly in 1969, held its second session in Geneva, February 8-19 and its third in New York, September 13-24. At these sessions, agreement was reached on the proposed conference agenda, on the setting up of intergovernmental working groups to deal with certain key topics, and on the Conference rules of procedure. In addition, both sessions considered progress reports from the Secretary General of the Conference, Maurice Strong of Canada, on the preparations of the action documentation for the conference.

The Preparatory Committee agreed at its February session that the documents to be presented to the Conference for action should include—in addition to a draft Declaration on the Human Environment—a comprehensive action plan, within whose general framework separate documents containing detailed action proposals would be presented on each of six major subject areas: (1) planning and management of human settlements for environmental quality; (2) environ-

mental aspects of natural resources management; (3) identification and control of pollutants of broad international significance; (4) educational, informational, social, and cultural aspects of environmental issues; (5) development and environment; and (6) international organizational implications of action proposals.

It was generally agreed that the last of these topics could only be dealt with after the first five had taken shape. Accordingly, action papers on subject areas (1) through (5) were drafted during the summer by the Conference secretariat and completed after thorough review by the Preparatory Committee at its September session, whereas discussion of the organizational (as well as financial) implications of these proposals was left for the final Preparatory Committee session in March 1972. Arrangements also were made for submission to the Conference of a consolidated report by the Administrative Committee on Coordination concerning existing environmental activities within the UN system of organizations. (See p. 136 for more on the ACC.)

The action papers were prepared with the frequent informal participation of consultants and experts from governments. However, a closer involvement of governments was recognized as essential for several subjects identified at the February session as lending themselves either to the early completion of international conventions or to other forms of priority international action. Accordingly, it was decided to create five intergovernmental working groups

<sup>1</sup> Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, France, Ghana, Guinea, India, Iran, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Mauritius, Mexico, Netherlands, Nigeria, Singapore, Sweden, Togo, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Yugoslavia, and Zambia.

on the Declaration on the Human Environment, marine pollution, soils, monitoring or surveillance, and conservation.

The working group on the Declaration on the Human Environment met in New York in March and May and produced a report which was considered by the Preparatory Committee in September and remanded to the working group for further negotiation in January 1972.

The working group on marine pollution met in London in June and in Ottawa in November. It made significant progress in drafting articles for a convention for prevention and control of the dumping of pollutants in the oceans, and in developing principles for preservation of the marine environment.

The working group on soils met in Rome in June and developed recommendations which would later be reflected in the Conference paper on natural resources management.

The working group on monitoring and surveillance met in Geneva in August and agreed on detailed recommendations for coordinated global monitoring of certain aspects of environmental contamination or degradation in the atmosphere, the oceans, and the terrestrial environment and in the field of environmental health.

The working group on conservation met in New York in September and considered, with a view to possible action at the Stockholm Conference, draft conventions on (1) conservation of the world heritage; (2) conservation of wetlands; (3) conservation of certain islands for science; and (4) the export, import, and transit of certain species of wild animals and plants.

Throughout the year special efforts were made to encourage governmental participation in the preparatory process, especially among

less developed countries. Member states were invited to submit "national reports" on environmental problems and policies within their countries. During the year some 70 such reports were submitted, including one from the United States, and many from developing countries. For many countries these reports constituted the first attempt at an environmental inventory ever made at the national level. In June an international panel of experts met at Founex, Switzerland and produced a report on "Development and Environment" which became the basis for four regional environmental seminars. These were held in Bangkok, August 17-23 under the auspices of ECAFE; in Addis Ababa, August 23-27 under the auspices of ECA; in Mexico, September 6-11 under the auspices of ECLA; and in Beirut, September 27-October 2 under the auspices of the UN Economic and Social Office in Beirut.

ECOSOC discussed the preparations for the Conference at its 51st session and on July 20 (1) noted with appreciation the Preparatory Committee's report on its second session and (2) decided to transmit the summary records of its discussion of the Conference to the General Assembly.

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The 26th General Assembly's Second Committee considered the Conference at 11 meetings between November 29 and December 9, and approved two resolutions.

The first resolution, on "development and environment" was sponsored by 38 developing countries and premised on the view that environment protection must not be allowed to pose a threat to development. In its preambular paragraphs, it said, among other things, that (1) en-



environmental pollution was caused primarily by the highly developed countries as a result of their own "improperly planned and inadequately coordinated industrial activities," and therefore they had the main responsibility for financing corrective measures; and (2) environmental problems in developing countries were caused by the lack of economic resources.

In its operative paragraphs, the resolution, *inter alia*, (1) stressed that the action plan to be submitted to the Conference must (a) recognize that no environmental policy should adversely affect the development possibilities of the developing countries and (b) recognize that the burden of the environmental policies of the developed countries cannot be transferred to the developing countries; and (2) detailed a number of special measures that should be taken, such as "additional financing by the developed for the developing countries for environmental purposes, beyond the resources already contemplated in the International Development Strategy." The resolution also called on those charged with Conference preparations, "in the exercise of their responsibilities," to take the resolution into "full account."

Despite efforts by the United Kingdom and others to amend the most objectionable provisions, the draft resolution remained largely intact and was approved by the Committee on December 8 by a vote of 62 to 4 (Australia, Belgium, U.K., U.S.), with 31 abstentions, and adopted by the plenary Assembly on December 20 by a vote of 82 to 2 (U.K., U.S.), with 34 abstentions. None of the developed countries voted for the resolution. The United States voted against the resolution because it introduced developmental issues extraneous to the main pur-

pose of the Conference, which was to focus world attention on the global problems of the human environment.

The second resolution, sponsored by 34 states, was procedural in nature, giving the Assembly's approval to the preparations made for the Conference, including the draft rules of procedure. The United States and 11 other countries sponsored an amendment to the draft resolution providing that states members of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, or the IAEA would be invited to participate in the Conference. This provision was adopted by a vote of 64 (U.S.) to 21, with 20 abstentions, after a subamendment to add the words "and other interested states" was rejected by a vote of 34 in favor to 53 opposed (U.S.), with 22 abstentions. The subamendment was sponsored by the U.S.S.R. and 15 others who sought, primarily, full and equal East German participation. Prior to the vote the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Zagorin, reaffirmed that adoption of the U.S. cosponsored formula would "leave open the opportunity for negotiations to find an acceptable 'modality' . . . for participants from the German Democratic Republic to attend the Stockholm Conference." The resolution as a whole was approved by the Committee on December 9 by a vote of 94 (U.S.) to 8, with 7 abstentions.

The Committee-approved draft was considered and adopted by the plenary Assembly on December 20, after two amendments were defeated. The first, sponsored by Yugoslavia and four others, would again have added the phrase "and other interested states," to the participation formula. It was defeated by a vote of 43 in favor to 57 opposed (U.S.), with 20 abstentions. The second, sponsored by the U.S.S.R.

and seven others, would have postponed the participation issue and the Conference itself for a year. It was overwhelmingly defeated by a vote of 17 to 70 (U.S.), with 29 abstentions, even though the Soviet Representative said before the vote that its defeat would cause the U.S.S.R. "to reconsider the question of its own participation" at Stockholm. The resolution itself was then adopted by a vote of 104 (U.S.) to 9, with 7 abstentions.

As the year ended, preparations were underway for further negotiations on the draft Declaration in January and for the fourth and final session of the Preparatory Committee in March.

## Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy

The fourth in the series of UN conferences on the peaceful uses of atomic energy was held in Geneva, September 6-16, 1971. Attended by nearly 4,000 delegates and observers from 79 nations, the Fourth Peaceful Uses Conference reviewed the scientific and technological progress made in the field of atomic energy since the Third Conference in 1963 and focused interest on the application of nuclear technology to the needs of developing countries. Over 500 scientific papers were presented to the Conference on the following topics: (1) world energy resources and requirements; (2) nuclear power plant operations; (3) current and future developments in power reactors; (4) advanced and special nuclear applications, including research activities; (5) nuclear fuels, cycles, and materials; (6) health, safety, and legal aspects; (7) applications of isotopes and radiation in food, agriculture, life sciences, and industry; and (8) inter-

national and administrative aspects, including safeguards, nuclear materials accounting systems, organization of national atomic energy commissions, international cooperation in nuclear projects, and exchange of information. The Conference also assessed the impact of nuclear technology on developing countries including financing of nuclear projects, education and training of scientists and technicians, and public information.

Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, then chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, served as President of the Conference, and Professor Isadore I. Rabi, Nobel Laureate and U.S. Representative on the UN Scientific Advisory Committee, served as a chairman of one of the general sessions of the Conference. Included in the U.S. delegation were 54 authors of scientific papers as well as representatives of U.S. Government agencies, the Congress, the scientific and academic communities, and industry. Several hundred Americans also attended the Conference as observers from industry, the scientific community, and nongovernmental and professional organizations. The General Assembly will consider the report of the Fourth Peaceful Uses Conference at its 27th session, in 1972, and a full record of the Conference proceedings will be published by the IAEA.

## Effects of Atomic Radiation

The UN Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation was established by the General Assembly in 1955 to provide continuous review and evaluation of the effects of ionizing radiation on man. Radiation in this context includes radioactive contamination of the environment (for example, the effects of nuclear weapons testing), doses from medi-

cal and occupational exposure, and indirect exposure (for example, from the presence of radionuclides in the food chain or inhalation of the air containing them).

The U.S. Representative on UNSCEAR is Dr. Richard H. Chamberlain, Director of the Department of Radiology of the Hospital of the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. The 15-member Committee<sup>1</sup> held its 21st session at UN Headquarters in New York, June 14–23, 1971. At this session, it considered a report prepared on its behalf by experts from Australia, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, and the U.S.S.R., with the assistance of the UN Secretariat, for presentation to the UN Conference on the Human Environment in June 1972. The report is a brief review of the problem of radioactive contamination of the environment, including radiation doses, biological radiation damage, transfer of radioactivity, dose commitment and harm commitment, and various aspects of the control of radioactive contamination. The report also discussed monitoring and surveillance for radioactive contamination and their relationship to other types of environmental monitoring.

UNSCEAR also reviewed progress on the report it will make to the 27th General Assembly in 1972. This report will cover the following subjects: (1) population doses from medical and occupational exposure; (2) effects of radiation on the immune response; (3) genetic effects of ionizing radiation; (4) experimental induction of neoplasms by radiation; (5) radiation carcinogenesis in man; and (6) environmental radioactivity.

The United States cosponsored,

<sup>1</sup> Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, France, India, Japan, Mexico, Sweden, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and United States.

with 18 others, a draft resolution which was unanimously approved by the Special Political Committee on October 15 and unanimously adopted by the plenary Assembly on November 29. The resolution, *inter alia*, (1) commended UNSCEAR for its contributions to knowledge in the field of atomic radiation and for its paper prepared for the Stockholm Conference; (2) welcomed the continuing collaboration between UNSCEAR and the IAEA, the UN specialized agencies, and nongovernmental organizations active in this field; and (3) requested UNSCEAR to continue its work to increase knowledge of levels and effects of atomic radiation from all sources.

## Application of Science and Technology to Development

Established by ECOSOC in 1963, the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development is composed of 24 experts from all geographic regions, who serve in their individual capacities and not as governmental representatives. The purpose of the Advisory Committee is to study and make recommendations to ECOSOC on potential applications of science and technology to development and to maintain a broad overview of the progress of the UN system in this regard. Dr. Carroll L. Wilson of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology was a member of the Advisory Committee from 1963 until his retirement at the end of 1971. Beginning in 1972 Dr. George Harrar, President of the Rockefeller Foundation, will be a member.

At its 14th session, held in New York, February 16–25, ACASTD reviewed its continuing work on the



following major activities: World Plan of Action for the Application of Science and Technology to Development, encouragement of global research projects, science and technology in relation to industrial development, transfer of technology to developing nations, the population problem, the role of science and technology in reducing the impact of natural disasters, and collaboration between scientists of developed and developing countries. Three major substantive reports that ACASTD issued in 1971 were the *World Plan of Action for the Application of Science and Technology to Development*, *Technologies Appropriate for Industrial Development*, and *Effectiveness of Industrial Research Organizations in Developing Countries*.

At its 15th session, held in Geneva, November 15–25, ACASTD added the following topics to its program of work: application of space technology; problems of the human environment; nature of the scientific community; systems approach to development; and creation of basic technology and research facilities for natural resources development.

During the year ACASTD received progress reports on the following topics: the protein problem, science education, establishment of an international university, application of computer technology to development, human rights and scientific and technological development, results of the Fourth International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, feasibility of a World Science Information System (UNISIST), the effect of science and technology on social progress and development, and future institutional arrangements for science and technology in the UN system.

#### WORLD PLAN OF ACTION

The World Plan of Action for the

Application of Science and Technology to Development is the culmination of several years work by ACASTD, the Science and Technology Office of the UN Secretariat, the specialized agencies, IAEA, and other bodies of the UN system such as UNITAR, UNCTAD, and UNIDO. The purpose of the World Plan is to identify problem areas and make specific recommendations for action on the entire spectrum of scientific and technological applications to the needs of developing countries.

Part I of the World Plan indicates priority areas for research, priority areas for the application of existing knowledge, the need for building up indigenous scientific and technological capacities in developing nations, and specific recommendations for implementing and financing activities recommended in the Plan.

Part II sets forth specific sectoral goals and forecasts future developments in the scientific and technological aspects of important economic and social problems. Some of the specific sectors analyzed were science and technology education; natural resources; food and agriculture; industry; transport and communications; housing, building, and urban development; health; population; and new technologies such as space applications, nuclear energy, and computer technology.

#### ECOSOC

At its 51st session in July 1971 ECOSOC considered ACASTD's report on its 14th session as well as its substantive reports on the World Plan of Action, industrial technology, and industrial research organizations. On July 30 ECOSOC adopted without a vote three resolutions related to the work of ACASTD.

In the first resolution the Coun-

cil, *inter alia*, (1) congratulated ACASTD on its reports on industrialization, (2) commended the reports to the attention of member states, and (3) requested ACASTD to continue its consideration of appropriate technology for other sectors of the economy, in addition to the industrial sector.

In the second resolution the Council (1) welcomed ACASTD's continuing emphasis on the importance of the transfer of technology to developing countries and its collaboration with UNCTAD, UNIDO, and other UN bodies; and (2) requested UNESCO to consider ACASTD's recommendation for a survey of research institutions and laboratories in developed countries which have been concerned with research on problems of developing countries, and to implement ACASTD's recommendations concerning the establishment of bilateral links between research institutions of developed and developing countries.

In the third resolution the Council (1) decided to defer its in-depth consideration of the World Plan of Action until its 52d and 53d sessions in 1972, (2) recommended that the General Assembly also defer its consideration until 1972, and (3) called on governments and organizations of the UN system to consider the Plan carefully.

The future role of ACASTD was also dealt with by ECOSOC in an omnibus resolution concerning future institutional arrangements, including expansion of the Council and creation of a standing committee on science and technology (see p. 134). In this resolution, *inter alia*, ECOSOC decided that ACASTD would be continued in its present form and that it would furnish expertise to the new standing committee in addition to its other responsibilities.

## Natural Resources

The first session of the ECOSOC Committee on Natural Resources was held in New York, February 22–March 10, 1971. Although not a member, the United States was represented by an observer delegation. ECOSOC established the standing committee in July 1970, during its 49th session. Among other things, the Committee was authorized to (1) advise ECOSOC on the programming and implementation of UN activities for the development of water, energy, and mineral resources; (2) establish guidelines for advisory services to member states for the development of their natural resources; (3) select and follow up on priority questions concerning long-term problems and trends; (4) examine reports on operational and research activities; (5) give appropriate attention to the exchange of technical information and experience; and (6) assist ECOSOC in coordinating the natural resources activities of various UN bodies.

At its first session, the Committee on Natural Resources considered a broad range of matters concerned with natural resources, including (1) UN operational and nonoperational activities (principally seminars, symposia, and studies) with respect to water, mineral, and energy resources; (2) proposals for assisting developing countries, such as establishing special natural resources advisory services and creating a revolving fund for natural resources exploration; (3) natural resources information and documentation; (4) permanent sovereignty over natural resources; (5) cartography; and (6) the environmental aspects of natural resources development. The Committee began work on a set of comprehensive guidelines for actions to be undertaken by both

member states and the organizations of the UN system.

In its report to ECOSOC the Committee recommended, *inter alia*, (1) convening an International Water Conference in 1975, (2) establishing a pool of experts to advise developing countries in the field of natural resources, and (3) establishing a 15-member intergovernmental working group to consider further a proposed fund for natural resources exploration. The Committee decided to hold its second session in early 1972 in Nairobi at the invitation of the Government of Kenya.

ECOSOC reviewed the Committee's report at its 50th session in the spring of 1971. After hearing the views of the UNDP Administrator, who pointed out that UNDP-financed experts were already providing advisory services in developing countries, the Council on May 18, by a vote of 21 to 0, with 6 abstentions (Brazil, Greece, Hungary, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.), adopted a seven-part resolution on the report of the Committee. The resolution, *inter alia*, (1) agreed that the Committee should meet at least once every other year and that its second session should be in the early part of 1972; (2) approved the establishment of special natural resources advisory services; (3) endorsed the creation of an intergovernmental working group to consider the "detailed administrative, institutional and financial aspects" of the proposed revolving fund for natural resources exploration; and (4) noting that the Committee had not been able to formulate an integrated work program during its first session, recommended that it give priority at its second session to the formulation of a short- and medium-term work program that would be subjected to a continuous process of review.

After a series of separate votes on the different parts of the resolution

the United States abstained on the resolution as a whole because, among other things, it believed that the Committee should not meet more often than every 2 years and that the proposed advisory services conflicted with UNDP activities already under way.

The Intergovernmental Working Group on the UN Revolving Fund for Natural Resources Exploration, composed of Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Chile, France, Gabon, India, Iran, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Mali, Turkey, and Yugoslavia, met during the fall of 1971 and submitted its report to the Committee on Natural Resources for consideration at its second session, in 1972.

## Statistical Activities

Continued progress was made during the year toward improving the quality and comparability of statistical information from various countries on demographic and social characteristics, industrial production, education, science and technology, and other important economic and social subjects. The UN Statistical Commission did not meet in 1971, but the United States continued, through participation in UN regional conferences and working groups and collaboration in the work of the UN Statistical Office, to seek better coordination in the statistical work of international organizations.

### DEMOGRAPHIC, MANPOWER, AND SOCIAL STATISTICS

The UN Statistical Office, with the collaboration of the Conference of European Statisticians, made substantial progress in developing a system of demographic, manpower, and social statistics. This included (1) development of international draft guidelines on the objectives,



scope, and character of the system for countries to use in developing statistics needed for their national purposes; (2) consideration of the indicators (including collection and classification of data) for assessing progress toward the social goals of the Second UN Development Decade; (3) circulation of a draft system of demographic, manpower, and social statistics to national statistical offices and interested international organizations for their comments; and (4) consideration of the proposed parts of this statistical system—distribution of income, consumption, and wealth, and statistics on education.

At various meetings the United States stressed that the UN system should provide information on changing conditions of the population and of organized social services in such fields as education and health. The United States also favored the change in work emphasis from rather complicated large social accounting systems to more readily implemented indicators of social change. The United States considered the task a long-run effort to improve coordination between economic and social data in order to clarify the problems and show the complexities of economic and social change.

#### INTERNATIONAL STATISTICAL COORDINATION

The Working Group on International Statistical Programs and Coordination, which serves as the executive body of the Statistical Commission between sessions, met in Geneva September 6–8. Julius Shiskin, Chief Statistician of the Office of Management and Budget, was the U.S. Representative.

The emphasis of the meeting was on a special project on development statistics. Agreeing on the need for a major program to compile and

publish the statistical data required for the implementation of the Second Development Decade, the Group decided that the Statistical Commission should review the project in detail when it met in 1972.

The Working Group also considered the problem of availability and coordination of data banks in the statistical services of various organizations in the UN system. The data bank of the UN Statistical Office now includes statistics on external trade, national accounts, industrial activity, the supply and consumption of energy, and population. It is proposed to extend the bank to encompass data in the *Statistical Yearbook*, the *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, and the indicators required for measuring progress during the Second Development Decade. Approving a plan to build and maintain an inventory of international data banks of economic and social statistics, the Working Group stressed that the concepts, classification, and format used in the various international banks had to be consistent and coordinated if data were to be interchanged or jointly used.

#### ELECTRONIC DATA PROCESSING

The Working Group on International Statistical Programs and Coordination also considered problems involved in the electronic data processing of economic and social statistics in the United Nations. The International Computer Center (ICC) in Geneva is now in operation with the United Nations, the UNDP, and WHO as participants. The UN Statistical Office has transferred to the ICC the electronic data processing of statistics requiring a large-scale computer, and the Working Group welcomed a proposal to move almost all the electronic data processing of external trade and demo-

graphic statistics to the ICC by 1973.

The United States also took part, through both regional and bilateral consultations, in reviewing the progress toward developing an Integrated Statistical Information System and considering the utility of such a system for national statistical offices. As this work parallels in many ways work already under way in the United States, the exchange of views was useful to both this country and the United Nations. On the basis of a standard UN questionnaire completed by a number of national statistical offices, including the U.S., a working party of the Commission reviewed selected aspects of the utilization of computer equipment for statistical purposes.

#### OTHER SUBJECTS

U.S. statistical experts also worked during the year in a variety of other specialized fields. Health statistics were examined within the framework of both the system of national accounts and balances and the developing system of demographic and social statistics. With respect to housing, building, and planning statistics, a working party of the Commission agreed on the items to be reported to the ECE and to the UN Statistical Office. Work continued on the development of a unified system of UN commodity classification linked to the International Standard Industrial Classification.

## UN Institute for Training and Research

On October 13, 1971, Chief S.O. Adebo of Nigeria, the Executive Director of UNITAR, reported to the Second Committee of the 26th General Assembly on the activities of the Institute and on plans for the

future which the Board of Trustees had adopted the previous month.

With respect to research, he noted that UNITAR had supported preparations for the Stockholm Conference with a study on environmental quality control at the international level, and, at the request of the Special Committee on the Rationalization of the Procedures and Organization of the General Assembly (see Part One, p. 66), it had prepared a study on the genesis and potential of the General Committee, which steers the Assembly proceedings. Other studies, still under way and designed to improve the efficiency of UN organs, concern the "good offices" function of the Secretary General, the consensus practices of the Security Council, and organizational reforms of ECOSOC. Also completed during the year were a 50-country study of the use by the media of news about the United Nations, eight papers on the transfer of technology to developing countries through enterprise-to-enterprise arrangements, and a comparative study on financing of international waterway systems.

With respect to training, UNITAR organized for the first time in 1971 seminars for new delegates to the General Assembly, dealing with the Assembly's functions, procedures, and methods of work. It also held an intensive course on the operations of ECOSOC. In 1972 it planned to conduct regional seminars on international procurement in relation to development aid, in order to train officials of developing countries in techniques and guidelines for procurement as laid down by international financial institutions.

On plans for establishing a UN staff college, which the Board had approved in principle in 1970, the Executive Director stated that a feasibility study made during 1971 had found substantial agreement

that a training institution for the entire UN system, providing instruction in development assistance, administration, and modern management techniques, would be desirable. The college might initially hold courses on a decentralized basis, using existing institutions, and later acquire its own premises. He cautioned, however, that the contingency planning could not be carried out until there was firm agreement on the nature, scope, and operations of the college and until the requisite financial support was forthcoming from the United Nations, the UNDP, and other agencies in the UN system.

Subsequently the Fifth Committee discussed a proposal by the Secretary General that the United Nations contribute \$200,000 from its 1972 budget toward the initial costs of the staff college. On December 15 the Committee, by a vote of 33 (U.S.) to 31, with 11 abstentions, endorsed an ACABQ recommendation that the grant be deferred pending clarification of organizational and financial plans for the college. However, the Committee did approve in principle, by a vote of 52 (U.S.) to 2, with 20 abstentions, the idea of establishing such an institution.

Chief Adebo reported on two other important plans adopted by the Board of Trustees in 1971: (1) the establishment under UNITAR auspices of a Commission on the Future to serve as a kind of "lookout tower" for the UN system, and (2) the reorganization of UNITAR for better execution of its mission.

The Commission on the Future would observe, analyze, and report on medium- and long-range political, social, and economic trends and on scientific and technological developments that might have to be taken into account when devising UN policy. UNITAR would develop

contacts with a network of institutions and individuals carrying out "futures studies" in various geographic and disciplinary fields and would bring to the attention of UN members major world trends and developments that might require responses from the UN system. Stressing that the project would not be undertaken until financial support was available, Chief Adebo said he was seeking funds from private foundations and other sources.

On the reorganization, the Executive Director recalled that UNITAR had been divided into a Training Department, a Research Department, and an administrative section. Under the new plan approved by the Board of Trustees, the major units would be a Department of Studies, with divisions responsible for both training and research in specified substantive fields, and a Department of Administration to handle the arrangements for conferences and seminars in addition to providing the usual administrative support.

During the Second Committee debate, several developing countries urged that greater stress be placed on the contributions that UNITAR could make to the goals of the Second Development Decade. Others questioned the practical relevance of some of UNITAR's research efforts. Numerous comments were made on the limitations imposed by UNITAR's restricted budget; France and Uruguay for the first time announced that they would contribute, and three countries announced increases in contributions.

On behalf of the United States, Congressman Derwinski endorsed UNITAR's projects aimed at improving UN procedures and functioning, its work in human environment, and its study on control of marine pollution. He affirmed the U.S. belief that high quality opera-



tionally oriented research could improve the effectiveness of both the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

With respect to the proposed staff college, he acknowledged that many agencies in the UN system might wish to retain functions previously regarded as theirs, but that in the U.S. view, "UNITAR must, on the basis of demonstrated capability, establish its continuing role as the central training and research organ of the UN system." The staff college could make a valuable contribution by improving the capabilities of UNDP resident representatives and other staff throughout the UN system concerned with development. Mr. Derwinski also expressed approval of the proposed Commission on the Future and of the reorganization of UNITAR.

Noting that the United States has provided about one-third of UNITAR's financial resources since its inception and expected to contribute \$400,000 in 1972, he expressed the hope that other governments would recognize UNITAR's need for greater resources by increasing their financial support. UNITAR now receives annually for its general purposes about \$1.1 million in contributions from governments and for specific activities another \$200,000 from governmental and private sources.

On October 14 the Second Committee approved without objection a resolution noting with satisfaction the increasing effectiveness of UNITAR and expressing the hope that it would have greater and wider financial support. The resolution was adopted by the General Assembly without objection on November 18.

## Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms

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Continuing a trend that began in the wake of major increases in UN membership, the focus of UN human rights activity in 1971 continued to shift from the drafting of instruments and the discussion of human rights principles, reports, and studies to the consideration of charges of human rights violations in specific instances and areas. This trend reflected the special interest of the African states, supported by the Asians, in racial discrimination, with particular attention to southern Africa. In both the Commission on Human Rights and the General Assembly the influence of this group of states has led to a heavy emphasis on racial issues, and the related issue

of self-determination, with a consequent lessening of attention to other matters. Many other human rights questions year after year continue to crowd the agendas of both bodies, but only a few receive close attention; most are either treated summarily or postponed.

The Commission on Human Rights held its 27th session in Geneva from February 22 through March 26, 1971.

### Racial Discrimination

The Commission's agenda contained a number of items relating to racism and racial discrimination.

The Commission decided to consider these items together and give them priority attention.

One focus of the debate was the *Special Study on Racial Discrimination in the Political, Economic, Social and Cultural Spheres*, prepared by a Special Rapporteur, Hernán Santa Cruz of Chile. Mr. Santa Cruz pointed out in the foreword that this study had "the distinction of being the first comprehensive study on racial discrimination on a worldwide scale prepared by the United Nations on the recommendation of the General Assembly." Begun in 1965, the study was discussed in detail by the Subcommittee on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities at its 1970 session and forwarded to the Commission.

To cap its consideration of the Santa Cruz study and the related parts of the Subcommittee's report the Commission adopted two principal resolutions. The first, of a general nature, called for increased efforts on the part of the United Nations, its related organizations, and other intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations to combat the evils of racism. It was adopted unanimously. The second, dealing with the policies of apartheid and racial discrimination, was largely repetitious of many previous resolutions on this subject. The United States, while supporting condemnation of the doctrine of apartheid, once again was unable to support many of the more extreme provisions of the resolution, such as those tending toward a complete rupture in all relations with South Africa and involving the UN specialized agencies in activities designed to accomplish the political goals of General Assembly resolutions. The Commission adopted this resolution by a vote of 24 to 0, with 4 abstentions (U.S.).

Another focus of discussion was the report submitted to the Commission during the course of the 27th session by its *Ad Hoc* Working Group of Experts. This six-man group had been established by the Commission in 1967 and since that time had submitted three reports on the treatment of political prisoners and on other questions related to human rights in southern Africa. Its fourth report, completed in February 1971, contained a large number of recommendations and conclusions relating to the conditions it had investigated in South Africa, Namibia, Southern Rhodesia, and the Portuguese territories in Africa.

This comprehensive, 200-page report could receive only cursory treatment by the Commission. Since it had been submitted almost at the last minute, none of the governments represented on the Commission could give it the thorough study it deserved and formulate their positions regarding the far-reaching and in many cases controversial conclusions and recommendations it contained. Nevertheless, the Commission pressed forward with a resolution, sponsored by India, Senegal, Tanzania, and Yugoslavia, endorsing the conclusions and recommendations and continuing the mandate of the *Ad Hoc* Working Group of Experts for at least 2 more years. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 25 to 0, with 3 abstentions (France, U.K., U.S.).

The United States abstained because there was inadequate time for it to take a position on the substance of the report. The United States also believed that the *Ad Hoc* Group of Experts had, in its four reports, thoroughly canvassed the problems in southern Africa covered by the group's mandate and that the time had come to wind up its work. This view was strengthened by a concern

for the relatively high cost of the group's activities.

The subject of racial discrimination again occupied a major portion of the time of the General Assembly's Third Committee during its 26th session. The debate followed the lines of previous sessions, with primary attention on conditions in southern Africa and the evils of apartheid. Four resolutions were adopted.

A lengthy and wide-ranging resolution was proposed by 35 states, mostly from Africa and Asia. It set forth the usual condemnations and contained in an annex a message from the President of the General Assembly to heads of state designed to ensure the continuation of the world campaign against racial discrimination. The resolution and annexed message repeated a number of provisions found in previous General Assembly resolutions that had been unacceptable to the United States, such as a call for termination of all relations with South Africa and for use of force by the United Kingdom to overthrow the Southern Rhodesian regime. After a long series of separate votes on various paragraphs the United States voted against this resolution which was approved in committee on November 10 by a vote of 93 to 6 (U.S.), with 11 abstentions, and adopted by the plenary Assembly on December 6 by a vote of 93 to 5 (U.S.), with 15 abstentions.

A more moderate resolution, sponsored by 11 states from various geographic areas, summed up the activities that had been carried on in observance of 1971 as the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and recommended continuing these activities. It was approved in committee on November 11 by a vote of 76 (U.S.) to 6, with 31 abstentions, and adopted by the plenary on

December 6 by a vote of 87 (U.S.) to 2, with 23 abstentions.

A third resolution concerned the status of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. This committee, established in 1970 shortly after the Convention's entry into force, is unique in the United Nations because it is the only such organ set up specifically to oversee the implementation of a human rights convention. The 18-member committee, chosen from among the states parties to the convention, reports annually to the General Assembly on its activities, which consist mainly of the examination of reports and information received from states on the measures they have adopted to give effect to the provisions of the Convention. On November 10 the Third Committee approved, by a vote of 108 to 1, with 4 abstentions (U.S.), a resolution sponsored by Finland commending the work of the committee and urging all states to become parties to the convention. The Assembly adopted the resolution on December 6 by a vote of 101 to 0, with 5 abstentions (U.S.). The United States is not a party to the convention.

The fourth resolution, sponsored by Bulgaria, Syria, and the Ukrainian S.S.R., recommended that the Commission on Human Rights and ECOSOC consider "as a matter of priority" at their sessions in 1972 the preparation of a draft convention on the suppression and punishment of the crime of apartheid, and submit such a text to the 27th Assembly. (Guinea and the U.S.S.R. had submitted a proposed text for such a convention on November 5.) The resolution was approved by the Third Committee on November 11 by a vote of 79 to 5 (U.S.), with 27 abstentions, and adopted by the



Assembly on December 6 by a vote of 86 to 5 (U.S.), with 23 abstentions. The United States voted against the resolution because crimes against humanity have not yet been precisely defined, and it did not believe that apartheid constituted such a crime in the strictly legal sense.

## Human Rights in Armed Conflicts

### PROTECTION OF JOURNALISTS

From the U.S. point of view, one of the principal human rights items considered by the 26th General Assembly was "respect for human rights in armed conflicts." In 1970 the 25th Assembly had adopted several resolutions on this subject, including one which requested the Commission on Human Rights to consider a draft international agreement on the protection of journalists engaged in dangerous missions in areas of armed conflict. The subject had been raised by France which believed that the United Nations should promptly agree to take measures to afford greater protection to journalists in war areas.

At the 27th session of the Commission, France put forward the text of a draft convention which was briefly debated toward the end of the session. Although the United States agreed that the United Nations might usefully explore this subject, it urged that final decisions not be taken too hastily. In particular, the principal feature of the proposed French text, which would empower a special committee of journalists to issue identification cards, was greeted with skepticism on the part of the United States and a number of other delegations. The United States doubted that such an important function—the designation of the persons to be covered by the convention—should

be assigned to a private, professional group. Nevertheless, the Commission decided to forward the draft treaty to the Assembly as a basis for its discussion in 1971.

During the Third Committee's consideration of the draft convention, the United States introduced a working paper illustrating a different approach whereby the identification cards would be issued by governments and no committee of journalists would be established. A third competing draft was submitted by Australia. On December 7 the Committee approved by a vote of 79 (U.S.) to 1, with 19 abstentions, a resolution sponsored by France and eight other states that referred all the texts back to the Commission on Human Rights with the request that the Commission report on the matter both to the ICRC Conference of Government Experts and to the 27th General Assembly. The resolution was adopted by the plenary Assembly on December 20 by a vote of 96 (U.S.) to 2, with 20 abstentions.

### STRENGTHENING HUMANITARIAN LAW

Since the question of human rights in armed conflicts was first taken up in 1968, the United States has regularly expressed its support for the exploration of measures to strengthen the rules relating to the applicable humanitarian law. American concern has centered in particular on the plight of prisoners of war and the failure of parties to implement fully the 1949 Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War.

During the Third Committee debate, the U.S. Representative, Admiral Shepard, called for support by the United Nations of the efforts begun by the ICRC to develop new rules for situations not now adequately covered by the 1949 Geneva Conventions. He referred again to the plight of U.S. prisoners of war

in Indochina, noting the failure of the North Vietnamese and other communist authorities in Southeast Asia to take the elementary humanitarian actions required by the Geneva Conventions. He expressed satisfaction with the accomplishments of the Conference of Government Experts which had met in the spring of 1971 under the auspices of the ICRC and noted the U.S. hope that the 1972 session of the expert conference would achieve positive results, especially in improving the implementation by governments of international obligations already accepted. He said:

In light of this recent experience, it will be understood that my government is concerned, not just with the revision and improvement of international law but also with the question of better implementation of existing international obligations. We are glad to note that the Secretary General, the ICRC, and the Conference of Government Experts have focused attention on this aspect of the problem, recognizing that no amount of legal draftsmanship, however skillfully accomplished and however widely accepted, can be a substitute for implementation by governments of international obligations already accepted.

The Assembly adopted two resolutions that were very similar in content. One was proposed by the United Kingdom, Japan, and New Zealand and the other by Sweden and 11 other cosponsors. Both resolutions strongly endorsed the work being carried on by the ICRC Conference of Government Experts. The principal point of difference lay in the provision of the 12-power draft suggesting the involvement of the ICRC in measures of control of certain methods of warfare and weapons. This resolution also requested the Secretary General to prepare a report on napalm and other incendiary weapons and all aspects of their possible use.

The three-power resolution was approved by the Third Committee

on December 7 by a vote of 54 (U.S.) to 18, with 26 abstentions, and adopted by the Assembly on December 20 by a vote of 83 (U.S.) to 15, with 14 abstentions.

The 12-power resolution was approved in committee on December 7 by a vote of 88 to 1, with 5 abstentions (U.S.), and adopted by the Assembly on December 20 by a vote of 110 to 1, with 5 abstentions (U.S.). The United States abstained because of its position that proposals for weapons control should be considered as a part of disarmament measures rather than in the context of the development of international humanitarian law.

## Human Rights in Occupied Middle East Territories

At each session since 1968 the Commission on Human Rights has considered the question of alleged violations of human rights in territories occupied by Israel as the result of the 1967 war. However, the special six-member expert working group established by the Commission in 1969 to investigate the allegations did not submit a report in 1971. Instead, the Commission used as its basis for discussion the report of the special investigatory committee composed of Ceylon, Somalia, and Yugoslavia that had been established by the General Assembly in 1968. (See Part One, p. 51 for the General Assembly's consideration of the report.)

The Commission's debate followed the pattern set at previous sessions, with the Arab and Eastern European members heavily attacking the policies of Israel in the occupied territories.

The U.S. position, presented by Mrs. Rita E. Hauser on March 12, was that the Commission should concern itself with the protection of

the human rights of all peoples in the Middle East. She urged in particular that all parties to the conflict should adhere scrupulously to the terms of the 1949 Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. She expressed strong support for the peace mission being carried out by Ambassador Jarring and called upon all governments to support the search for a just and lasting peace in the area.

A resolution proposed by India, Mauritania, Pakistan, Tanzania, and Yugoslavia contained a long list of condemnations of specific policies and practices alleged to have been carried out by Israel and declared that Israel's continued human rights violations indicated the necessity of collective action on the part of the international community to insure respect for the human rights of the population of the occupied territories. Less than a majority of the 32-member Commission voted for the resolution, which was, nevertheless, adopted by a vote of 14 to 2 (Guatemala, U.S.), with 14 abstentions.

The United States voted negatively because the resolution's list of condemnations derived from the findings of the General Assembly's special committee whose composition was not evenly balanced. The U.S. Representative explained that the adoption of such a resolution was not likely to achieve practical results and would only make more difficult the search for peace in the Middle East.

## **Human Rights and Scientific and Technological Developments**

For the first time since this question had been placed on the General

Assembly's agenda in 1968 a substantive discussion of the issues took place in the Commission on Human Rights.

Pursuant to the Assembly's 1968 request, the Secretary General had prepared a report summarizing pertinent studies already made or in progress related to respect for the right of privacy in light of new recording and electronic techniques and protection of the human personality in light of advances in biology, medicine, and biochemistry. The report gave evidence of the primacy of U.S. sources in the summary account of the writing and thinking that has taken place in this new area of human rights concern.

The Commission's debate revealed a high degree of interest on the part of all Commission members. At the same time it demonstrated a rather sharp difference in approach between the western and the communist states. The western states emphasized their concern for the effects of scientific and technological developments upon a person's individual rights, while the communist countries laid heavy stress upon the effects of such developments upon the economic well-being of people and the need to use them for society as a whole.

Eight states (Austria, Finland, France, Iran, Netherlands, New Zealand, Uruguay, and Zaire) proposed a draft resolution that in its preambular paragraphs noted that scientific and technical progress had both positive and negative aspects for human rights and in its operative paragraphs urged all interested parties to continue providing information so that the Secretary General could keep the Commission informed.

The U.S.S.R. introduced an extensive series of amendments which had the effect of incorporating into both the preambular and operative



paragraphs the political-ideological approach to the subject which had characterized the comments of the U.S.S.R. Representative during the debate. After a number of separate votes all the Soviet amendments were adopted and the amended resolution as a whole was adopted by a vote of 17 to 0, with 9 abstentions. Over half the sponsors of the original draft abstained because they believed that the final text laid too much emphasis on the prerogatives of the state and society as opposed to those of the individual.

The United States, which had supported the original draft, did not take part in the vote on the amended resolution because it contained too many political implications.

The General Assembly did not consider this subject during 1971 because of lack of time.

## High Commissioner for Human Rights

Having been set back at the 25th General Assembly in 1970 in their hopes to secure a decision in favor of creating a new post of UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, the leading proponents of this idea organized a working group which, between Assembly sessions, agreed upon certain revisions in the terms of reference for the post as originally recommended by ECOSOC in 1967. A draft resolution containing this revision was introduced in the Third Committee on December 8 by Sweden, and also sponsored by Afghanistan, Canada, Costa Rica, Iran, Lesotho, Malagasy Republic, Netherlands, Philippines, and Uruguay.

Unfortunately, at the 26th Assembly, opponents of the proposal for establishing a High Commissioner

successfully repeated the delaying tactics of the previous year. Although the Third Committee's work program as adopted at the outset of its deliberations provided for full discussion of the High Commissioner item, the very slow pace followed by the Committee in considering the preceding items once again made it possible for the opponents of the measure to argue successfully the need for further postponement. The item was considered on only 2 days—December 8 and 9—and on the latter day the Committee approved a resolution postponing the item until the following General Assembly.

In the plenary Assembly on December 18 this resolution was amended to provide for longer postponement by deferring the item until the 28th General Assembly in 1973. The proponents of the longer postponement argued that the item had proved to be too controversial and was impeding the normal course of the work of the Third Committee. They urged that consultations should take place outside the General Assembly prior to the 28th session with a view to reaching a consensus. Although the United States and other proponents of the High Commissioner took issue with this approach, the amendment proposed by Sudan to postpone the item until the 28th session was adopted by a vote of 52 to 40 (U.S.), with 25 abstentions. After the adoption of the Sudanese amendment the procedural resolution deferring consideration was adopted by a vote of 78 (U.S.) to 11, with 25 abstentions.

These votes probably reflect a situation in which about 40 UN members definitely favor the establishment of the post, while at least 11 members firmly oppose the idea. In between remains an undecided group of states who are reluctant to take a substantive decision, but

rather than discarding the proposal want it held in abeyance for consideration at some future time.

## Right to Leave One's Country

Among the expert studies submitted by the Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities to the Commission on Human Rights but never acted upon, is one completed in 1963 by Special Rapporteur José D. Inglés from the Philippines on discrimination in respect of the right of everyone to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country. This right is recognized in article 13 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted December 10, 1948. On a number of occasions U.S. representatives in both the General Assembly and the Commission have spoken on the plight of Soviet Jews prevented from leaving the U.S.S.R. and have underlined the importance of the observance of this basic human right.

On U.S. initiative in 1969 this study was scheduled for priority attention at the 27th session of the Commission. The United States made a special effort to assure an adequate allotment of time for full consideration, but this was strongly resisted by the Soviet Representative who argued that the Commission should spend its time on more important things. The Commission's consideration of other items to which it attached priority importance, such as racism and the Middle East question, consumed a disproportionate amount of its time. It did, however, begin its consideration of the study and the Special Rapporteur attended the session to present his study formally to the Commission. The Commission is ex-

pected to take up this study in greater detail in 1972.

## Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities

At its 24th session, held in New York August 2-20, 1971, the Subcommittee agreed on the essential preparatory measures that will enable it to deal with private communications concerning violations of human rights pursuant to the functions authorized for it by ECOSOC in 1970. In a resolution adopted May 27, 1970, ECOSOC authorized the Subcommittee to appoint a working group to meet prior to its regular session to consider all private communications with a view to bringing to the attention of the Subcommittee, for possible referral to the Commission on Human Rights, those particular situations "which appear to reveal a consistent pattern of gross and reliably attested violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms." The Subcommittee's efforts at its previous session to take up its new tasks had been frustrated by the Soviet member.

In 1971 two key resolutions were finally agreed upon. The first laid down procedures for dealing with the question of admissibility of the private communications which are to be examined by the Subcommittee. This resolution was adopted by a vote of 21 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention. The second, adopted by a vote of 20 (U.S.) to 1, with 1 abstention, set out the guidelines for the constitution of the five-member working groups who are to meet prior to each Subcommittee ses-

sion to examine the private communications.

In the field of expert studies, which has been the focus of the Subcommittee's activities for the past several years, the Subcommittee received and transmitted to the Commission on Human Rights the report on slavery which had been prepared by its Special Rapporteur, Mohamed Awad of Egypt. Authorized by ECOSOC in 1968, this study was designed to highlight measures which

might be taken to implement the international conventions and various UN recommendations relating to slavery in all its forms. The Subcommittee also appointed Special Rapporteurs from among its membership to carry out three new studies relating to the protection of minorities, the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide, and discrimination against indigenous populations.

## Coordination and Organization

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### ECOSOC Enlargement and Reform

The Economic and Social Council undertook in 1971 a major reform designed to reassert its primacy as the principal organ concerned with the direction and coordination of all UN activities in the economic and social fields.

The first step in this direction was taken at the 50th session of ECOSOC when, on April 26, Ambassador Bush said:

My Government believes in the work of ECOSOC and it knows what it wants ECOSOC to be: a hard-driving, forward-looking body in which the industrialized countries and the less developed countries can work together—not against each other—to improve the lot of people everywhere.

He then outlined the three components of what later became known as the "package."

First, ECOSOC should be enlarged by 12 to 15 members in order to enable more UN members to participate in its work and, thus, facilitate its being entrusted by the mem-

bers with a more effective role. ECOSOC's limited size had precluded the frequent participation of many of the smaller developed and larger developing countries and had blocked participation of many of the smaller developing countries for periods as long as 15 years.

Second, a committee should be established for the review and appraisal of the Second UN Development Decade. This committee could be larger than ECOSOC itself. The purpose of the proposed committee would be to put increased emphasis on the definition of priorities and on the resolution of conflicts of interest within the UN system—a function that only ECOSOC can perform as the Charter-mandated coordinator of the activities of the UN system in the economic and social fields.

Third, another committee, of similar size, should be established to deal with questions of science and technology, including the better planning of their use in UN programs and the coordination of interdisciplinary efforts. The committee would be concerned with such matters as global monitoring systems and the adjustment of computer techniques to economic, social, en-



vironmental, and other problems of concern to UN members and to the organizations of the UN system.

The 50th ECOSOC came close to accepting the "package" but failed in the last moments because of the opposition of some members who, rather than strengthen ECOSOC, preferred to rely upon the General Assembly, UNCTAD, and other bodies. Consideration of the matter was postponed until the 51st session.

The United States renewed its initiative to revitalize ECOSOC early at the 51st session. Ambassador Bush on July 7 noted that the Council at its previous session had discussed the question of its organization and work seriously and constructively, and said:

We now have the elements of agreement on a major improvement in the United Nations capacity to serve the needs of the peoples of the world. The United States Government earnestly hopes the Economic and Social Council, at this session, will seize the opportunity to act.

This was followed by the formation of a group of nations, ultimately numbering 15 that were sympathetic to the aims of the "package." Through a complicated series of parliamentary maneuvers, the 15 co-sponsors of the proposals were able to preserve intact the joint consideration of the three elements of the "package" and to obtain its adoption over continued opposition from the same members who had opposed it at the 50th session. However, in the course of negotiations, the proposed expansion of the Council was raised to 27 new members, and the scope of the Committee on Science and Technology was restricted to "matters relating to the application of science and technology to development." On July 30 ECOSOC adopted the "package" by a vote of 17 to 7 (Brazil, Ceylon, Hungary, Peru, U.S.S.R., Uruguay, Yugo-

slavia), with 3 abstentions (France, Greece, U.K.).

The 26th General Assembly took up that portion of the "package" which required its action, i.e., the adoption of a charter amendment enlarging ECOSOC. The principal difficulty which developed during the debate in the Second Committee was the desire of both the African and Asian states to increase their proportional representation on the expanded Council. A compromise, providing an additional seat for the Asian group to assure continuous representation of both Japan and the People's Republic of China, was possible because of the general desire of the members to see the Council strengthened without a major shift in the geographic distribution. Once this problem was resolved, the proposed Charter amendment was approved by the Second Committee on December 15 by a vote of 93 (U.S.) to 4, with 17 abstentions, and adopted by the General Assembly on December 20 by a vote of 105 (U.S.) to 2 (France, U.K.), with 15 abstentions (U.S.S.R.). The People's Republic of China was absent during the vote.

The final step for full implementation of the "package" is the ratification of the Charter amendment by two-thirds of the UN membership, including all five permanent members of the Security Council.

Although the proposed Charter amendment does not specify the geographic allocation of seats on the enlarged ECOSOC, the resolution incorporating the amendment decided that the 54 members would be elected according to the following pattern: 14 from African states, 11 from Asian states, 10 from Latin American states, 13 from Western European and other states, and 6 from Eastern European states.

Another effort to increase the cap-

ability of ECOSOC to exercise its role as the principal UN coordinating mechanism in the economic and social fields was initiated during the 50th session of the Council by Greece and New Zealand. It was supported throughout the debates by the United States. The draft resolution, in its final form, was designed to (1) improve the organization of ECOSOC's workload, (2) eliminate debates on subjects not pertinent to ECOSOC's function as a principal organ of the United Nations, (3) streamline ECOSOC consideration of the reports of subsidiary committees and commissions, (4) urge the Secretary General to prepare concise action-oriented documents for ECOSOC consideration, and (5) improve the form of ECOSOC's report to the General Assembly so that the latter's debates can be focused on the issues on which its action is required. Because of the extended debate during the 50th session on the "package" proposals, action on the Greek-New Zealand draft was deferred until the 51st session, when it was adopted on July 30 by a vote of 26 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention.

## Inter-Agency Coordination

During the year, the previously established coordinating policies and mechanisms continued to improve. The International Computer Center (ICC) in Geneva became operational in March 1971, with the participation of the United Nations, UNDP, and WHO. By the end of the year, the Center was well on the way to demonstrating its effectiveness and economy over the individually-managed facilities of the various agencies. As the ICC began to prove itself, other agencies also cooperated. The FAO in Rome is using the fa-

cilities on a limited basis, although it has not been possible to establish electrical interconnections. UNESCO participation is still precluded by technological problems of linkage between Geneva and Paris and by the incompatible data processing system at UNESCO headquarters. Although the ITU had been reluctant to cooperate with the ICC, it began conducting joint test programs to ascertain whether the Center could meet its requirements. The ILO, whose computer capacity is approaching saturation, has also been studying means of working with the ICC to meet its future needs.

The director of the secretariat of the Inter-Organization Board for information systems and related activities (IOB), which concerns itself with the compatibility of systems between agencies, was appointed by the Administrative Committee on Coordination (ACC)<sup>1</sup> and took up his duties in October 1971. The IOB reached agreement in May 1971 to focus attention initially on systems for (1) documentation storage and retrieval; (2) network analysis for project management; (3) financial and personnel management; and (4) the treatment of economic and social statistics. It formed work parties in each of these fields and all, except that on economic and social statistics, were scheduled to complete their work by the end of the year.

In the governing bodies of the various agencies, the United States has consistently pressed for continuing and closer cooperation with the ICC and the IOB in order to enhance the agencies' overall managerial effectiveness and to establish a common UN informational base for planning and coordination.

<sup>1</sup> The ACC is composed of the UN Secretary General and the executive heads of the specialized agencies and IAEA. The heads of other UN bodies participate as appropriate.

ECOSOC had before it, at its 51st session, a special report by the ACC on the implications of the "green revolution." In introducing the report, the UN Assistant Secretary General for Inter-Agency Affairs noted that its preparation was a manifestation of the ACC's interest in assisting ECOSOC by developing procedures to meet the need for interagency planning and development problems calling for concerted action. The study dealt with the consequences of the use of high-yield varieties of grain, including problems of processing, storage, transportation, training and education, economic impact, and social displacement. The United States, which has long urged such interagency cooperative analysis and planning, cosponsored with Indonesia a resolution that in its final form, *inter alia*, (1) endorsed "the broad lines for interagency planning and concerted action-oriented programming" indicated in the report; (2) recommended that member states, specialized agencies, and other organizations in the UN system give careful attention to the report; (3) further recommended that close attention be given to the impact of the new technology on socio-economic development, taking into account, among other things, the findings of the study on the social implications of the new agricultural technology being undertaken by the UN Research Institute for Social Development; and (4) decided that a review and appraisal of progress in the application of this new technology should be made at the mid-term of the Second UN Development Decade. The resolution was adopted on July 30 by a vote of 25 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions.

A move which the United States viewed as damaging to closer coordination was defeated in ECOSOC, but, unfortunately, partially restored by the 26th General

Assembly. Based on a resolution of the 25th General Assembly, the UN Secretary General convened an independent expert panel in May 1971 to make recommendations on resolving the "protein crisis" in the developing countries, a nutritional problem with serious long-term consequences. The panel developed a strategy statement, calling for action on national and multilateral levels, which the United States and other members found generally acceptable. However, the panel also recommended the establishment of a special fund within the United Nations and an intergovernmental committee at the highest level (i.e., cabinet ministers) to mobilize international action on the problem. Neither of these proposals was acceptable to the United States.

In the U.S. view, the basic way to close the "protein gap" is to redirect the priorities in individual country development plans. This, in turn, requires greater awareness of the problem by officials involved in drawing up these priorities. Because sufficient funds are available through the usual UN development sources, there is no need for a special fund. Establishment of either the fund or the high-level committee would tend to undermine the role of the already established FAO/WHO/UNICEF Protein Advisory Group, which the United States believes should be expanded and reinforced as the central UN system advisory body on the problem. A resolution reflecting the U.S. approach was cosponsored at the 51st session of ECOSOC by Kenya, Ghana, U.S.S.R., and the United States. This resolution, with minor textual modifications, was adopted unanimously on July 30.

The 26th General Assembly, however, did not just note the ECOSOC resolution but, on the initiative of Canada, Denmark, Indonesia, Kenya, and New Zealand (later joined



by Nicaragua, Philippines, and Costa Rica), considered a new resolution containing three paragraphs on which the United States had reservations.

In the U.S. view they would have (1) prejudged the yet-to-be-drafted terms of reference of the ECOSOC Committee on Science and Technology; (2) provided for travel to developing countries by members of the Secretary General's expert panel, which would be both duplicative of and detrimental to the role of the FAO/WHO/UNICEF Protein Advisory Group; and (3) proved tantamount to the establishment of a special protein fund under the UNDP by requesting the Secretary General to make a feasibility study of such a fund.

Because the United States was not able to obtain changes in these paragraphs, it was unable to vote for the resolution, which was approved by the Second Committee on December 15 by a vote of 68 to 0, with 9 abstentions (U.S.), and adopted by the plenary Assembly on December 20 by a vote of 109 to 0, with 10 abstentions (U.S.).

The role and competence of the ACC was reviewed in 1971, first by ECOSOC's Committee for Program and Coordination (CPC) and later by ECOSOC during its 51st session. Brazil and the U.S.S.R. sought to limit ACC activities to coordination within a strict interpretation of prior intergovernmental decision. The United States, joined by the United Kingdom, Norway, New Zealand, and others, sought to preserve and reinforce the ACC's role in (1) initiating inquiries into new areas for joint UN system action and (2) making policy recommendations to intergovernmental bodies, for their decisions, as, for example, in the special report on the "green revolution."

The ninth session of the CPC in

June 1971 became deadlocked on the issue and referred it to ECOSOC. Eventually a generally acceptable compromise was reached and the Council on July 30 unanimously adopted a resolution that, *inter alia*, (1) invited the ACC to maintain under constant review measures to be suggested to ECOSOC in order to ensure the fullest and most effective implementation of the agreements between the United Nations, specialized agencies, and IAEA; (2) requested the ACC to give priority to studying uniform and coordinated methods for achieving greater productivity and efficiency in the UN system; and (3) called upon the ACC to present annually to ECOSOC a list of possible topics for in-depth consideration, with a system-wide coverage, and, once the list has been approved in principle, to present to ECOSOC, and as appropriate, the competent bodies of the specialized agencies separate reports on each topic showing how the system as a whole operates and "pointing out in particular any shortfalls or duplication and also the practical difficulties arising from the implementation of policies and programs of work related to the topic in question."

Implementation of other coordinating measures continued to gain momentum in 1971, primarily through the mechanism of the ACC. The ACC developed standardized financial regulations which will be considered in forthcoming meetings of the governing bodies of the United Nations and the specialized agencies. The ACC also prepared a useful document on UN system expenditures on programs incorporating funds from all sources disbursed by all agencies. The United States believes this to be an important early step in developing the necessary information base for effective system-wide program coordination.

## Joint Inspection Unit

The life of the JIU<sup>1</sup> was extended by the 25th General Assembly through 1973. In the interim, the United States has been studying methods of strengthening inspections and evaluations within the UN system. The U.S. recommendations were introduced in the Fifth Committee of the 26th General Assembly by Congressman Derwinski. Subsequently, a U.S. paper was circu-

<sup>1</sup>The Joint Inspection Unit consists of eight inspectors with a broad mandate to investigate and evaluate all matters bearing on the efficiency of the UN system of organizations and to propose reforms. Robert Macey of the United States was one of the inspectors in 1971.

lated by the UN Secretariat to members for consideration by governments prior to the scheduled 27th General Assembly review of the extension and revision of the JIU mandate. In brief, the United States has recommended (1) continuation of the Joint Inspection Unit, (2) improved direction and leadership for the JIU, (3) establishment of better criteria for the selection of inspectors, (4) improved organization of the JIU's work and implementation of its findings, (5) methods to avoid duplication of efforts with the ACABQ and the Administrative Management Service, and (6) provision of a small staff to facilitate the JIU's work. (See Part V, pp. 217 and 223 for additional information on the JIU activities.)

## Specialized Agencies and the IAEA

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### International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and International Development Association

The IBRD approved 78 loans totaling \$1.9 billion in 41 countries in fiscal year 1971, and the IDA extended 53 credits totaling \$584 million to 34 countries. For the first time, the Bank's disbursements approached \$1 billion for a single year, an increase of 24% over 1970. IDA disbursed \$235 million in fiscal 1971.

The World Bank Group's steady expansion in lending should assure attainment of its goal for the 1968-

73 period: doubling the level of its operations over the average for the previous 5 years. It has also shifted the distribution of its lending operations by broadening the scope of its development assistance. Lending has increased for education, urban water supply, and sewerage improvements, and in 1971 the first loan was made specifically for a pollution control project. Loan and credit agreements now prescribe antipollution measures that should be carried out.

In line with its more flexible approach toward loan operations, the Bank's Executive Directors clarified policy toward nonproject lending and approved a large program loan to help Nigeria in its post-war rehabilitation. Rehabilitation assistance was also provided to Peru following the 1970 earthquake and to Pakistan following the 1970 cyclone.

The IBRD took a number of ac-

tions in 1971 to improve the quality of its research and economic analysis, thus providing a stronger base for advice and technical assistance to the developing countries. It also gave special attention to problems of employment and income distribution, and in its country studies it placed emphasis on these and other problems as well as on in-depth sector studies. The Bank also undertook a study of the debt burden and debt-servicing problems confronting developing countries. This past year the Bank set up an operations unit to evaluate the Bank Group's contribution to the development of its member countries.

The Bank's membership rose to 117 in 1971 with the addition of Fiji and Oman, while IDA's membership remained at 107. The Bank's Board authorized a \$2.2 billion increase in capital subscriptions. The United States continues to be the largest donor; it has subscribed \$6.35 billion or 26.6% of the Bank's total subscription. The United States is also the largest contributor to IDA: its subscription, including supplementary resources, amounts to \$1.1 billion, about 40% of the total provided by donor countries.

The IBRD also uses borrowings in the international capital market for its financial resources. Borrowings increased sharply in fiscal 1971, aggregating nearly \$1.4 billion equivalent compared to \$735 million in 1970, and the Bank arranged for the first public offering of its obligations in the Japanese capital market. On the other hand, IDA depends on contributions from its members and on the annual allocation of a share in the IBRD profits. In July 1970 a "third replenishment" for IDA was agreed upon, by which a total of about \$813 million per year would be provided for 3 years; this agreement, however, has not yet come into effect because the

United States has not provided its share of the proposed replenishment. IDA has been able to continue its operations with advance contributions and a grant from the Bank's net income, but in several cases it has approved new credits contingent on the availability of funds.

By the end of 1971, 62 countries, including the United States, had ratified the Convention on the Settlement of Investment Disputes Between States and Nationals of Other States. The Convention, which entered into force October 14, 1966, established at IBRD headquarters an International Center to provide the facilities for the conciliation and arbitration of such disputes. The Bank's Board of Governors also continued discussions in 1971 on the creation of an International Investment Insurance Agency to insure selected foreign private investment activities.

Development lending by the IBRD and IDA combined in fiscal year 1971 focused on the following principal areas:

	(In millions of dollars)
<i>A. Agriculture</i>	
Number	36
Amount	419.1
No. of countries	26
<i>B. Education</i>	
Number	14
Amount	107.9
No. of countries	14
<i>C. Telecommunications</i>	
Number	6
Amount	195.5
No. of countries	6
<i>D. Electric Power</i>	
Number	16
Amount	500.9
No. of countries	15
<i>E. Transportation</i>	
Number	30
Amount	651.1
No. of countries	28
<i>F. Development Finance Companies</i>	
Number	10
Amount	253.0
No. of countries	10



G. <i>Water Supply and Sewerage Systems</i>	
Number	9
Amount	188.7
No. of countries	6
H. <i>Other</i>	
<i>Industry</i>	32.0
<i>Technical Assistance</i>	4.0
<i>Tourism</i>	10.0
<i>Population</i>	7.8
<i>General Development</i>	110.4

## International Finance Corporation

An affiliate of the World Bank, the IFC encourages the development of private enterprise in the developing countries by lending to and making direct equity investment in private business activities. Since the basic thrust for economic development must come from the private sector, the IFC is an essential complement to the loan operations of the IBRD and IDA. The IFC also develops local and regional capital markets and promotes privately owned development finance corporations. These efforts help increase investment opportunities and the availability of capital in order to broaden the ownership of private enterprise.

With the accession in 1971 of Trinidad and Tobago, IFC's membership rose to 96 and its total subscriptions to \$107.2 million. The United States has subscribed \$35.2 million, 32.8% of the total. Besides capital subscriptions, the IFC obtains funds from repayments of investments, sales of equity and loan investments, net income, and borrowings. During fiscal 1971 the IFC obtained \$72.6 million from various sources of which the bulk, \$45.4 million, came from borrowings. The IBRD was the primary source of these borrowings.

IFC investment commitments totaled \$101.4 million in fiscal 1971 of which \$88.5 million and \$12.9 million were for loans and equity

investments respectively. Some of the major investments were for a cement plant in Indonesia, a synthetic fibers plant in Mexico, a development finance company in Venezuela, and an aluminum sheet and foil production plant in Turkey.

Since its establishment in 1956, the IFC has made 234 investments and commitments amounting to \$577.8 million. More than half of these have been to Latin America, but private enterprises in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East have also received significant financial assistance. Unlike its affiliates, the IBRD and IDA, the IFC operates without the host government's guarantee.

## International Monetary Fund

The IMF during 1971 continued to further its basic objectives of promoting exchange and monetary stability and providing, under appropriate conditions, financial assistance to its member countries with short-term balance-of-payments problems. It was significantly involved in the development of measures to ameliorate the several crises in the exchange markets which took place during the year.

Fiji, Oman, and Western Samoa joined during the year, and by the end of 1971 there were 120 members with total quotas of \$28.8 billion. The U.S. quota of \$6.7 billion remained unchanged.

The third allocation of the IMF's special drawing rights (SDR) in the amount of SDR 2,951.5 million<sup>1</sup> (10.6% of quota) was made on January 1, 1972, to 112 members who participate in the special drawing account. The total allocated in the first SDR basic period of 3 years has been SDR 9,314.8 million. The SDR

<sup>1</sup> An SDR equals a 1944 U.S. dollar.

facility was established July 28, 1969, when amendments to the IMF Articles of Agreement entered into force.

In prior years the IMF borrowed various members' currencies, both bilaterally and under the General Arrangements To Borrow into which it had entered in 1962 with 10 of its principal members (including the United States). During 1971 the last bilateral borrowing was repaid as was the balance of outstanding borrowings under the General Arrangements To Borrow.

At the IMF annual meeting held in Washington September 17–October 1, the Governors unanimously adopted a resolution on the international monetary system calling upon members to collaborate with the Fund and each other to establish as promptly as possible a satisfactory structure of exchange rates maintained within appropriate margins and to bring about a reversal of the tendency to maintain and extend restrictive trade and exchange practices. The resolution also requested the Executive Directors “to study all aspects of the international monetary system, including the role of reserve currencies, gold, and special drawing rights, convertibility, the provisions of the Articles with respect to exchange rates, and the problems caused by destabilizing capital movements” and to report to the Board of Governors without delay on measures to improve or reform the international monetary system.

Subsequently, the U.S. Representative in the General Assembly's Second Committee, Ambassador Zagorin, on October 11 commended the IMF resolution as “an important step” toward realization of the U.S. objectives of continued aid to developing countries and maintenance of a liberal international trade and monetary system.

## Food and Agriculture Organization

FAO's primary objective is the production, effective distribution, and utilization of more and better food. In addition, in keeping with the goals of the Second UN Development Decade, the FAO's programs in 1971 took greater account of such factors as land reform, lack of employment opportunities, the need to improve the quality of life in rural areas, and environmental pollution.

### 16TH CONFERENCE

The 16th biennial FAO Conference was held in Rome, November 6–25, 1971. The U.S. delegation included, among others, the Secretary of Agriculture, Members of Congress, and Dr. Norman E. Borlaug who won the 1970 Nobel Peace Prize for his work in developing high-yielding grain varieties.

In a plenary address on November 9 Secretary Hardin set the tone of the Conference when he said:

Almost without exception, the world's industrially developed nations have based their economic progress on a solid agricultural foundation.

It is for this reason that the United States will remain dedicated to extending technical assistance to developing nations through organizations such as the FAO.

It is my hope that other developed nations will also expand their efforts to support these programs. My appeal is that we, together, set our sights on the greater goal of expanded prosperity for all.

The Conference took a number of important actions. It admitted six new members—Bahrain, Fiji, Qatar, Maldives, Oman, and Swaziland—bringing FAO's total membership to 125. In addition, the Conference authorized the Director General to take all appropriate measures to

bring into effect the resumption of China's membership when the government of the People's Republic of China "manifests the wish to resume its place."

The Conference also (1) unanimously approved a regular program budget of almost \$86 million for the 1972-73 biennium; (2) reelected Addeke H. Boerma of the Netherlands to a second 4-year term as Director General, but changed the tenure of future Directors General to a single 6-year term; and (3) endorsed the proposal that international agricultural adjustment be a major theme of the 17th Conference in 1973.

Two new committees open to all interested members were established, one on agriculture and the other on forestry. In addition the committees on commodity problems and fisheries were expanded to permit participation by any interested member.

#### FIELD PROGRAM

FAO's field program continued to grow. UNDP-financed projects amounted to about \$84 million, and FAO also carried out a number of projects financed from other sources, including 130 under its Freedom-From-Hunger Campaign. Some 2300 technical experts—almost two-thirds of FAO's professional staff—served in 110 countries during the year to assist in implementing these projects.

In addition to the substantial field program, the following are some of the highlights of the FAO regular, or headquarters-based, program, carried out by its four operational Departments: Agriculture, Economic and Social, Forestry, and Fisheries.

#### AGRICULTURE

In 1971 the drive for higher crop yields and increased livestock production intensified the demand for

agricultural services and headquarters backup support of the expanding field program. Specific projects covered a wide range of activities. For example, the staff concerned with plant production and protection supplied backup support for some 600 plant specialists assigned to research, operational projects, cooperation with bilateral agencies, and training programs in the field. Their activities ranged from development of industrial and horticultural crops to environmental projects such as range management, agricultural meteorology, pesticide use, and conservation of plant genetic resources.

Of special interest to the United States is the FAO survey of genetic resources. Data obtained on wheat and rice were published in FAO's *Plant Genetic Resources Newsletter*; those on other commodities will follow. The organization sponsored collecting expeditions to various areas of the world, located 2 million samples in 93 countries, and sent 12,000 of the more promising samples to 60 countries for plant introduction trials. FAO also published the first of a series of catalogs of grasses and forage legumes, and began preparing a handbook on plant introduction techniques to which leading specialists have contributed.

The United States participated in a variety of FAO-sponsored agricultural meetings in 1971. One of the most important was the Intergovernmental Working Group on Soils. The Group stressed the imperative need for action on land use planning, soil conservation, water management, better disposal and recycling of waste, legislation, and education. It also called attention to the danger of land degradation caused by rapidly increasing pressure of population and technology.

FAO activities of specific interest and direct benefit to U.S. agriculture include its program on the preservation and exchange of plant and ani-



mal genetic resources; its work on control of exotic animal diseases, which is important to avoid their accidental introduction into the United States; the publication of such periodicals as the annual *The State of Food and Agriculture* and the *Animal Health Yearbook*, published jointly by FAO, WHO, and the International Office of Epizootics; and the work of the Joint FAO/IAEA Division of Atomic Energy in Food and Agriculture. The Joint Division's activities for the suppression of insect populations by the use of the male sterilization technique augments the work of U.S. entomologists.

#### ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL

Activities to improve nutrition are among the most important carried out by the Economic and Social Department. The United States has been particularly interested and active in this facet of the work. Recognition of the importance of the development of sources of protein as a component of national development has been reaffirmed and figures prominently in FAO's nutrition policy objectives. At the same time FAO recognizes the importance of energy fats and other nutrients and is taking a broader approach to eliminating malnutrition than merely increasing the supply of protein.

During 1971 FAO continued its campaign to have national development plans give more attention to meeting the nutritional needs of their populations. Emphasis was put on training courses in food policy planning for top level administrators and on the establishment of food and nutrition units within ministries responsible for planning agricultural policy. Training in human nutrition and food economics has also been introduced into the curricula of several faculties of agriculture. During

1971, for the first time, representatives of trade unions, management, and UN specialized agencies met to explore methods of improving worker's diets through group feeding projects. In addition, a regional course on food policy and planning was sponsored by FAO, WHO, and UNICEF in cooperation with the American University of Beirut. Because interest in improved nutrition is growing within the Middle East area, other activities are being planned for this region.

The Department also undertakes other activities to improve living standards. For example, surveys of rural needs are proceeding in nine African countries with a view to incorporating home economics in national plans. Financial support from the UN Fund for Population Activities enabled FAO to devote more resources to basic programs for rural populations on planning for better family living. Finally, FAO continued, in collaboration with the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the compilation of the food composition tables for East Asia.

#### FORESTRY

Greater recognition was given to forestry in the FAO structure when the 16th Conference established the Standing Committee on Forestry. The United States encouraged this development because it will provide greater opportunity to advise and guide FAO's medium- and long-term work program in this field.

In 1971, the United States chaired a meeting of an *ad hoc* Committee on Forestry that considered both the work program and the budget for forestry activities during 1973-74.

The North American Forestry Commission, of which the United States is a principal member, responded to an effort of the FAO Council to reduce the number of

FAO Statutory Bodies by redesignating its four formal working groups as informal study groups, thereby relieving FAO of the obligation to call meetings of such groups or to participate officially in them.

During 1971 the United States, represented by the Forest Service, became a member of the International Poplar Commission and participated for the first time as a member at the 14th session, which was held in Bucharest, Romania. Membership on this Commission is important because poplars grow in many places in the United States and are becoming increasingly valuable commercially for pulp and paper products.

A number of publications valuable to U.S. forestry were produced in 1971, including a summary of methods of biological control of forest pests, a manual on *Planning a Forest Inventory*, a *Handbook of Forest Utilization Contracts on Public Lands*, and a study on *Shifting Cultivation in Latin America*. In addition, the FAO Forestry Department completed a market study for forest products from East Asia and the Pacific Region and brought to the final stages its study on forest policy, law, and administration.

There was significant U.S. participation in two important meetings, the "World Consultation on the Use of Wood in Housing" hosted by Canada and the "World Consultation on Forestry Education and Training," hosted by Sweden. Each was designed to assist developing countries in forestry.

#### FISHERIES

World interest in fishery resources and the prevention of pollution continued to grow, as the scheduled UN Conference on the Law of the Sea (see Part One, p. 22) draws near. As a result, FAO's Fisheries

Department has become more active in promoting both development and management of fishery resources. In February 1971 FAO held the third session of its Group of Experts on Scientific Aspects of Marine Pollution, and in April an *ad hoc* Consultation on the Proposed Establishment of an Inland Fishery Body for Africa recommended the establishment of a committee for that purpose. The recommendation was subsequently approved by the FAO Committee on Fisheries at its sixth session in April.

At this session the Committee focused most of its discussion on an assessment of fishery field programs carried out by FAO. This was a thorough consideration of both problems and new concepts related to fisheries projects. The experts and administrators who attended also gave specific attention to the problem of managing fishery resources on an international basis and agreed to discuss the matter in greater depth at another session. In reviewing its program of work and budget for 1972-73, the Committee particularly stressed education and training, pollution, and the evaluation of resource surveys.

The United States also took part in two meetings in April and September of the Executive Committee of the Indian Ocean Fishery Commission (IOFC) that were held to consider progress on the International Indian Ocean Fishery Survey and Development Program. This project is the first to have as its goal the cooperation and participation of both developed and developing countries in the development of fishery resources in a specific ocean area. A similar draft program has been drawn up for the Eastern Central Atlantic.

Pertinent bodies of the IOFC and the Indo-Pacific Fisheries Council held a special joint session in April.

They concluded, after reviewing tuna stocks in the Indian Ocean, including catch statistics, that available information did not indicate an urgent need for management there, with the possible exception of southern bluefin tuna.

Another fisheries meeting which the United States attended in 1971 was the second session of the FAO Fishery Committee for the Eastern Central Atlantic in May. The major topics considered were the status of fish stocks off the coast of Africa, the possible means of establishing management measures, and a recommendation requesting support for fisheries development from the developed countries fishing off African coasts.

#### UN/FAO WORLD FOOD PROGRAM

The WFP, a joint undertaking of the United Nations and the FAO, was established on an experimental basis in 1962 and placed on a continuing basis in 1965. In 1971, 74 states supported this multilateral food assistance program by contributions of commodities, services, and cash.

WFP provides food at the request of governments to help carry out economic and social development projects and to meet emergency situations. Special emphasis is given to projects related to preschool and school feeding activities, and to labor intensive and rural welfare projects. The United States has played a major role in encouraging WFP to assume greater responsibility and larger program operations in the multilateral food assistance effort.

Resources available to the WFP since its inception, including pledges for 1971-72, totaled \$806 million by the end of the year 1971. This included pledges by states of \$534 million in commodities and \$210 million in cash and services, an additional \$49 million worth of food grains made available by the signa-

tures of the Food Aid Convention of the International Grains Arrangement, and \$13 million in miscellaneous income. U.S. contributions have amounted to about 50% of the total pledged by all governments.

From the beginning of the program through 1971 more than 600 economic development projects were approved in 85 countries involving commitments of \$1.2 billion. Included in this are 129 emergency operations costing \$113 million undertaken in 70 countries. More than \$13 million of this total was extended during the first 10 months of 1971 to victims of various disasters.

At its 20th session in October 1971, the Intergovernmental Committee of the WFP recommended a target figure for contributions for the 1973-74 biennium of \$340 million, an increase of \$40 million over the target for 1971-72. This new target figure was subsequently approved without objection by the UN General Assembly on December 14.

During the 20th session of the Intergovernmental Committee the United States indicated that, although it would be willing to increase its level of contribution in line with an increased pledge level, it would lower its percentage share in line with the U.S. Government's interest in enhancing the multilateral character of the WFP aid program.

## International Labor Organization

#### INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE

The International Labor Conference, which normally meets once a year, is the standard-setting body of the ILO. Each member state is represented by a tripartite delegation: one worker, one employer, and two government delegates, each with a



separate vote. The 56th session of the Conference, held in Geneva, June 2-23, 1971, was attended by delegations from 113 of the 121<sup>1</sup> member states. Pierre Waline, who for many years has represented the French employers, was elected President of the Conference, the first employer representative to hold that office.

This session of the Conference was significant for the number of issues considered that reflected a greater awareness by many member states and the ILO secretariat of the serious U.S. dissatisfaction over the weakening of tripartitism and of the autonomy of the nongovernment groups. (This dissatisfaction had led the U.S. Congress to withhold in October 1970 about one-half the funds (\$3.7 million) to pay the U.S. 1970 assessed contribution of \$7.5 million to the ILO.) The election of an employer delegate as President of the Conference was widely regarded as a strengthening of tripartitism. In addition, the Conference adopted an important resolution designed to strengthen tripartitism, and it put off until 1973 any further formal consideration of the revisions sought by the U.S.S.R. in the organization's structure. (See section below on Governing Body.) The Conference also, for the first time in 8 years, considered the failure of Eastern European states to live up to their treaty obligations to apply the provisions of those ILO conventions that they have ratified. This consideration covered violations of the Convention on Freedom of Association by the U.S.S.R., the Byelorussian S.S.R., and the Ukrainian S.S.R., and of the Convention on Discrimination in Employment by Czechoslovakia.

The Conference adopted four new international labor standards: a convention and a recommendation on

the protection of workers against benzene poisoning, and a convention and a recommendation on the protection and facilities to be afforded to workers' representatives at the plant level.

In discussing the ILO's World Employment Program, launched in 1969, the Conference (1) called on developing countries to make employment a priority goal in national development policies, (2) called on industrial countries to reduce import barriers, and (3) called on the ILO to continue to promote employment objectives and to review progress and problems in the furtherance of the Program. The Conference also adopted resolutions on apartheid and racial discrimination, equal treatment for migrant workers, social problems raised by multinational undertaking, and the relationship between international trade and employment.

The Conference adopted its second biennial budget, calling for a gross expenditure of \$71,503,000 for the 1972-73 period.

#### GOVERNING BODY

The Governing Body consists of 24 government members—14 elected and 10<sup>1</sup> who hold their seats as representing the states of chief industrial importance; 12 employer members; and 12 worker members. Twelve deputies for each group are also elected. The government, worker, and employer groups of the Conference form separate electoral colleges for the purpose of choosing the members of their respective groups on the Governing Body, but the 10 states of chief industrial importance are excluded from participation in the government electoral college. The Governing Body, which

<sup>1</sup> Lesotho subsequently withdrew from membership on July 15.

<sup>1</sup> Canada, China, France, Federal Republic of Germany, India, Italy, Japan, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States.

serves for 3 years, was last elected in 1969. The next Governing Body election will take place at the 57th Conference in 1972.

The Governing Body met three times during 1971, and on June 24 elected Ambassador Umarjadi Njotowijono, representative of the Government of Indonesia, as chairman for the 1971-72 term.

The subject of the withholding by the United States of its assessed dues was discussed at all three sessions of the Governing Body in 1971, and gradually came to cast a shadow over all other subjects as the loss of revenue cut more deeply into ILO's regular program. In March the Governing Body reviewed the budget that was later presented to the Conference. After a full debate, net reductions of \$975,500 were made in the budget proposed by the International Labor Office (the ILO secretariat).

At the same session, the Governing Body rejected a U.S.S.R. proposal to change the ILO's structure so that there would be "equitable geographic distribution" on all ILO bodies. The effect of this proposal would have been to install representatives of Eastern European countries on the worker and employer groups even though they could not win election by their respective groups. The ILO worker and employer groups have firmly resisted moves in this direction. They regard the employer and worker representatives from these countries as being subject to the instructions of their governments rather than true representatives of their groups. Although the move was overwhelmingly defeated, the Soviet government member was able to use procedural means to have the item put on the agenda of the 56th Conference which, as noted above, deferred formal consideration until the 58th Conference.

In 1971 the U.S. Congress withheld the total amount of the U.S.

contribution so that by the end of the year the United States was in arrears on its obligations to the organization by slightly over \$11.5 million.

## World Health Organization

### WORLD HEALTH ASSEMBLY

WHO held its 24th annual Assembly in Geneva May 4-20, 1971, to decide policies, programs, and budgets and to review past activities of the organization. Of the 130 members and 3 associate members, 126 sent delegations. Present also were official observers from the United Nations, other specialized agencies, and from nongovernmental health organizations having official relations with WHO. Over 500 delegates and observers attended the meeting. The Chairman of the U.S. Delegation was the Surgeon General, Dr. Jesse L. Steinfeld.

The Assembly adopted a budget for calendar year 1972 of \$82,023,000 compared with the adjusted 1971 budget of \$76,007,576. Some two-thirds of the increase was due to salary and price increases and the effects of currency revaluations.

The World Health Assembly also adopted a general program of work for the years 1973-77. This program emphasized: (1) the strengthening of health services, considered the single most important factor for the attainment of the highest possible level of health in any country; (2) the development of health manpower, the most essential element in achieving improved health services; (3) disease prevention and control; and (4) promotion of environmental health.

In reviewing the cholera pandemic the Assembly's discussion centered on the efficacy of immunization, and it generally agreed that im-

proved sanitation is far more important than immunization in controlling the disease. The Assembly decided that WHO should give high priority to long-term programs for preventing cholera.

In discussing the global smallpox eradication program, the Assembly urged nations to give priority to further improvement of case reporting and to the immediate investigation and containment of all outbreaks of smallpox. Member governments were also urged to aid those countries where the disease was still endemic.

The Assembly also discussed (1) health hazards in mining, suggesting the development of a better international information system concerning mining conditions and the organization of occupational medical services; (2) the health consequences of smoking, noting that overt and covert advertisement of tobacco was a serious obstacle to the programs to discourage smoking; and (3) the quality, safety, and efficacy of pharmaceutical drugs.

#### **PROGRAM ACTIVITIES**

WHO is concerned primarily with technical assistance to governments and with the establishment of international health standards. In 1971 WHO budgeted for over 900 projects, of which almost 700 were continued from previous years. Fellowships accounted for 179 projects. Funds from sources other than its regular budget, such as UNDP, UNICEF, and various special funds, brought the total amount administered by WHO during 1971 to over \$127 million.

#### **Malaria**

The worldwide fight against malaria continued to be a major WHO program. According to WHO records, by the end of 1971 over 74%

of the world's population was protected to some extent against malaria—40% through the maintenance phase where eradication is claimed, 17% in the consolidation phase (free from endemic malaria), 17% in the attack phase (protected through spraying operations), and a fraction of 1% in the preparatory phase. During the year major gains in eradication and consolidation were made principally in the Indian subcontinent, Greece, and North Africa.

#### **Smallpox**

In October 1971 the U.S. Surgeon General announced that the U.S. Public Health Service had recommended that routine smallpox vaccination in the United States be discontinued, at a large annual saving to this country. In the future, vaccination should only be required of persons at special risk, such as travellers to or from areas where smallpox is endemic. This recommendation was a result in great part of the massive coordinated efforts of such international organizations as WHO. During the year WHO increased its emphasis on the development of intensified smallpox surveillance and containment activities.

#### **Human Environment**

WHO's role in the environment field is (1) to establish agreed codes with respect to environmental influences on health and (2) to coordinate epidemiological health surveillance, including worldwide environmental monitoring systems. In addition WHO collects and disseminates information, stimulates research, and assists in the training of personnel.

During the year WHO took part in meetings of the UN General Assembly's Preparatory Committee for the UN Conference on the Human Environment. The WHO representatives emphasized the need to im-



prove basic environmental health and sanitation in all countries, especially developing countries, with special emphasis on adequate potable water supplies and sanitary waste disposal. A significant step toward improving these conditions in developing countries was an agreement between WHO and IBRD for a collaborative program of preinvestment planning in community water supply and waste disposal. WHO also collaborated with FAO in a study on contamination through the human food chain, and with IAEA on environmental aspects of nuclear energy and fossil fuels.

#### **Drug Control Activities**

The WHO International Project for Monitoring of Adverse Reactions to Drugs was the result of a U.S. initiative and began as a pilot project in 1967. In January 1971, it became operational as a regular program to monitor adverse reactions to new and licensed drugs. Data is provided by 10 participating nations: Australia, Canada, Czechoslovakia, West Germany, Iceland, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The drug monitoring unit in Geneva processes, records, stores, and evaluates information received from the participating national centers. In the first 9 months of its operation, WHO received 27,489 reports of suspected adverse reactions to 1,926 different drugs.

WHO recognized that drug abuse was rapidly becoming a major health problem, adversely affecting the social, cultural, political, economic, and educational fabric of the world community. Because of its expertise, WHO has been invited by ECOSOC to cooperate in the planning and execution of short- and long-term measures and programs to fight all aspects of drug abuse. Accordingly during 1971 WHO submitted prelim-

inary proposals to the UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control covering the collection and exchange of data on nonmedical uses of drugs, socio-cultural factors associated with drug use, effectiveness of various types of treatment, and development of research and training resources.

WHO recognizes the need for control over drug quality, safety and efficacy, production and distribution, and the monitoring of adverse reactions, including dependence-producing properties. To identify the problems involved in the above, a preliminary study was made which attempted to identify ways in which the current activities of WHO in this field could be expanded and new fields of possible interest identified.

WHO is considering the creation of a system of collection and dissemination of information on the safety and effectiveness of new drugs and their registration. This information would be useful to the health authorities of countries importing pharmaceutical products. The Director General began a study of the feasibility of such a system and will report the results to the WHO Executive Board and the World Health Assembly.

## **UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization**

#### **EDUCATION**

During 1971 UNESCO held three international education conferences of major importance. The first, the UNESCO-ECAFE Conference of Asian Ministers of Education and Economic Planning, met in Singapore, May 31-June 7, with 20 Asian member states participating. The United States was represented by an

observer delegation. The Conference surveyed and assessed educational developments in Asia over the past decade, noting particularly the effects of the population explosion on school enrollments and the need for improving the quality of education. Its recommendations called for increased attention to the need for regional cooperation and for acceptance of radical innovations in education, science, and technology in order to meet the massive problems of rural development, life-long education, and the reduction of illiteracy through the increased utilization of work-oriented pilot projects.

Another ministerial conference was held in La Guaira, Venezuela, December 6-15 for Latin American and Caribbean ministers of education and those responsible for the promotion of science and technology in relation to development. It was attended by official representatives from 24 Latin American countries, and the United States was again represented by an observer delegation. This conference, with a theme of emphasis on science and technology, was organized by UNESCO in cooperation with ECLA and the Organization of American States. It reviewed the progress made in education and science in the area since 1966 and made several recommendations important to UNESCO's planning of future programs for the region. These recommendations related to the need for further integration of regional activities, regional cooperation in university science research, and general broadening and strengthening of both secondary and university education, particularly with respect to science and technology.

The third major conference, organized by the International Bureau of Education (IBE), a UNESCO affiliate, was the 33rd session of the International Conference on Education, held in Geneva, September

15-23. The U.S. delegation was headed by the U.S. Commissioner of Education, Sidney P. Marland, Jr. The Conference examined the main trends in world education.

During the year, UNESCO continued to expand its educational experimentation and testing of methodologies in more than 50 programs in the 13 member states that participate in its worldwide work-oriented literacy activities. More than 5,000 instructors have already been trained to work in this field and 170,000 illiterate adults are being taught to read and write while engaged in industry or working in agriculture.

IBE, as UNESCO's world center for comparative education studies, enlarged its long-range program of work, and maintained ever closer relationships with national, regional, and international centers of educational documentation and research. IBE's Cooperative Educational Abstracting Service, developed in 1970, was systematized during 1971 with 29 member states, including the United States, cooperating to reproduce interpretative abstracts of important policy, administrative, legislative, and research documents from an increasing number of countries. This reciprocal flow of education documentation and information, disseminated on a worldwide basis, is recognized as being of vital importance to all UNESCO member states.

UNESCO's cooperation with UNRWA in educating Palestinian refugee children represents an example of an effective joint response to a critical international need. Despite the grave financial situation facing UNRWA, the UNRWA/UNESCO school education system was able to meet the increased demands resulting from the population growth. By the end of the 1970-71 academic year, there were 497 UNRWA/UNESCO primary and preparatory schools with a teaching staff of

slightly over 6,700. The total enrollment of refugee children in these schools had risen almost ten fold—from 25,000 students in 1950 to 231,000 in 1971. Due to the efforts of the Director General, about 7,000 students from the Gaza Strip were again able to sit for the Egyptian secondary school graduation examination in 1971 to qualify for admission into Egyptian universities.

Looking forward to the 1980's, UNESCO established in 1971 the International Commission for the Development of Education, which is completing a comprehensive overview and analysis of current trends in world education. The Commission, headed by Dr. Edgar Faure, former Premier and Education Minister of France, includes Dr. Champion Ward, Vice President of the Ford Foundation. The Commission's findings will guide the future development of UNESCO's education program. New strategies are being explored to meet the massive educational needs of the developed as well as developing nations and to provide for the expansion of international educational assistance needed by the world during the Second UN Development Decade.

#### NATURAL SCIENCES

UNESCO's mission in science includes the promotion and support of a broad range of programs pertaining to science policy, scientific information, fundamental research, scientific and technological education, environmental sciences, and natural resources research. The year 1971 was highlighted by international conferences on five important UNESCO areas of concern. Two examined the progress and future work of ongoing programs in oceanography and hydrology. Three focused on new programs in geology, scientific information, and the environment. The United States participated actively

in all five conferences, which are described in detail below.

UNESCO's Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission (IOC) began its second decade of activities under new statutes which substantially increase its authority and broaden its scope as the central coordinating point for marine science in the UN system. Its membership grew from 67 to 72 nations during 1971. At its seventh session, held in Paris, October 25–November 5, the IOC took a number of steps to strengthen its scientific capabilities, actions with which the United States is in accord. The Commission established a project for the global investigations of pollution in the marine environment as part of its long-term program of oceanic exploration and research and the International Decade of Ocean Exploration. The Commission also approved several new projects for the long-term program. During the year cooperative efforts between IOC and WMO moved ahead on the development of an Integrated Global Ocean Station System. Also in 1971, the United States participated in several IOC-sponsored exploration projects, including the cooperative investigations of the Caribbean and adjacent regions, of the Northeast Central Atlantic, of the Mediterranean, of the North Atlantic, of the southern (Antarctic) ocean, and of the Kuroshio Current region of the western Pacific.

The International Hydrological Decade (IHD), launched in 1965, seeks to obtain the scientific information necessary for the assessment, rational utilization, and conservation of water resources. The United States has supported this program since its inception and has developed approximately 10 national activities contributing to the aims of the Decade. In November 1971, the United States attended the seventh session of the IHD Coordinating Council,



held in Paris. While discussions of the technical aspects of IHD proceeded smoothly, substantial disagreement arose regarding UNESCO's role in a long-term program to follow the IHD upon its termination in 1974. By a vote of 22 to 1, with 2 abstentions (Australia, U.S.), the Coordinating Council adopted a resolution calling for a proposed Intergovernmental Council to implement the International Hydrological Program. However, the United States could have supported a resolution restricting the Council's implementation to the UNESCO component of the Program.

During the past 2 years UNESCO has laid the basis for launching an International Geological Correlation Program (IGCP). This program was conceived as a joint effort of the International Union of Geological Sciences and UNESCO. Its aim is to arrive at a better understanding of the geology of the earth and, therefore, to obtain a better knowledge of mineral resources through regional, interregional, and intercontinental correlations of geological formations and phenomena. In October 1971, the United States participated in the Intergovernmental Conference of Experts for Preparing an IGCP. It is anticipated that the 1972 UNESCO General Conference will direct that the program be initiated in 1973.

After 4 years of work, UNESCO and the International Council of Scientific Unions completed a joint study on the feasibility of establishing a World Science Information System, to be known as UNISIST. The study, undertaken largely at the initiative of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences, formulated 22 recommendations to facilitate the exchange of scientific and technological information through closer cooperation among existing and future information systems and services. In

October 1971, an intergovernmental conference, attended by 83 member states and 40 intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations, was held in Paris to examine the UNISIST concept and feasibility study. The Conference developed a set of principles and objectives and an organizational and management structure for UNISIST, based on the program recommendations contained in the study. The United States supported a comprehensive resolution adopted by the Conference, which also requests the UNESCO Director General to submit proposals based on this resolution to the General Conference in 1972.

The 16th General Conference (1970) had approved the launching of an intergovernmental and interdisciplinary program on "Man and the Biosphere" (MAB), aimed at deepening man's understanding of the biosphere and of the impact of man's actions on it. In response to the Director General's request for comments from member states, the United States submitted in August 1971 a comprehensive reply containing its views on the content and scope of the program. The U.S. National Commission for UNESCO contributed significantly to the formulation of the U.S. views.

The United States is a member of MAB's 25-state International Coordinating Council for 1971-72 and is one of five states chosen to make up the Bureau at the Council's first session, held in Paris in November 1971. The United States supported the conclusions adopted by the Council that MAB should (1) concentrate on a small number of interdisciplinary projects within UNESCO's competence, (2) obtain the cooperation of other intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations, and (3) be responsive to the outcome of the 1972 UN Conference on the Human Environment.

## COMMUNICATION

A major UNESCO communication project under way is the "Draft Declaration of Guiding Principles on the Use of Space Broadcasting for the Free Flow of Information, the Spread of Education and Greater Cultural Exchange." This document was the subject of several meetings during 1971 which were attended by U.S. experts. A final version will be presented to the 1972 General Conference for enactment.

In preparation for International Book Year (IBY), a worldwide UNESCO project set for 1972, a U.S. IBY Committee and Secretariat began preparatory work to involve U.S. private and public groups in the program. American nongovernmental organizations played a major role in preparing an international "Charter of the Book" for IBY. Booksellers, authors, librarians, translators, and publishers joined through their professional associations in a statement concerning the importance of books in development and international understanding.

## COPYRIGHT

In the international copyright field, both the Universal Copyright Convention (UCC) and the Berne Convention were simultaneously revised by their respective members in Paris in July 1971. The revisions provide more flexible arrangements for the developing nations, while still protecting basic copyright interests. This accords with the U.S. policy of helping the developing countries advance through the facilities of the multilateral agencies. The United States played a key role in preparing the UCC revision, which it has signed, but not yet ratified. The United States is not a party to the Berne Convention.

In 1971, UNESCO established an International Copyright Information Center in Paris, to assist publishers

in developing countries in making arrangements with copyright proprietors in developed countries. The Center will also provide information services to expedite publishing and thus stimulate economic development.

UNESCO enacted an International Convention for the Protection of Phonograms in Geneva in October 1971. The United States signed the new agreement but had not ratified it by the end of the year.

## CULTURE

In 1971, UNESCO's major cultural accomplishment was the preparation and circulation among its members of a draft convention on the protection of cultural and historical sites of universal value. The United States responded with a proposal to join the UNESCO approach to the World Heritage Trust concept which was first outlined by President Nixon in his February 8, 1971, message to the Congress on International Aspects of the 1971 Environmental Program. In this message he said that 1972, the centennial of the establishment of the world's first national park (Yellowstone), would be an appropriate occasion "for the nations of the world to agree to the principle that there are certain areas of such unique worldwide value that they should be treated as part of the heritage of all mankind and accorded special recognition as part of a World Heritage Trust."

## DRUG ABUSE

In conjunction with the efforts being made to deal with the control and enforcement aspects of the international problems of drug abuse, UNESCO pushed forward with its program of education and information. It called a meeting in May to formulate a long-term drug abuse education program. With experts from eight countries, including the

United States, in attendance, the meeting identified areas in which UNESCO might most usefully act. These include (1) gathering and disseminating drug abuse information, (2) training teachers on the drug abuse problem, (3) developing the role of the mass media in preventing drug abuse, (4) encouraging social science research on drug abuse, and (5) using educational materials to combat drug abuse.

#### EXECUTIVE BOARD

There was no General Conference of UNESCO in 1971. The organization's business was therefore conducted at two meetings of the Executive Board in Paris. The 87th session of the Executive Board was held April 28–May 14, and the 88th session October 4–November 2.

At its 88th session the Board adopted a lengthy resolution with respect to certain international nongovernmental organizations enjoying relations with UNESCO which have branches, sections, affiliates, or constituent parts in the Republic of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, or the Portuguese African territories. Under the resolution, relations were suspended effective December 31, 1971, with 21 such organizations for having failed to reply to UNESCO's request for information and thus not establishing that they "neither practice racial discrimination or segregation in their policies, their activities or in their membership, nor cooperate in any way with the Government of the Republic of South Africa in the latter's apartheid policy." Suspension of relations will be reviewed by the 89th Executive Board for those organizations that subsequently provide information to UNESCO. Relations were suspended with another 19 nongovernmental organizations on the understanding that the suspension could be rescinded should certain specified

measures be taken to remove the grounds for suspension. Relations were suspended with 2 nongovernmental organizations until such time as a more detailed inquiry can be made of the conditions in which their branches operate in the Republic of South Africa. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 22 to 2 (U.S.), with 6 abstentions. The United States voted against this resolution because it believed that such indiscriminate action would undermine the effectiveness of many international professional and technical organizations affiliated with UNESCO that maintain chapters in the areas concerned and that may, in their international activities, work against apartheid and discrimination.

The 88th Executive Board, by a vote of 22 to 6 (U.S.), with 4 abstentions, adopted a resolution commending the proposal to establish an International University under UN auspices, but calling attention to the need for further examination of a number of problems affecting the project. The United States voted against the resolution because the feasibility study did not permit the conclusion to be drawn that the concept of such a proposed institution had been fully justified or the need fully established. The UNESCO-prepared feasibility study was thereupon transmitted to the UN General Assembly for consideration at its 26th session.

After consideration by its Second Committee, the General Assembly on December 16, by a vote of 100 (U.S.) to 0, with 10 abstentions, adopted a resolution that (1) took note of the feasibility study; (2) requested the Secretary General and UNESCO to continue to study the problem and to report to ECOSOC, which in turn was requested to report to the 27th Assembly; and (3) decided to consider the matter fully at its 27th session.



The Fifth Regional Conference of UNESCO National Commissions of the Western Hemisphere was held in Ottawa, August 23–28, 1971. The U.S. National Commission for UNESCO sent a five-man delegation headed by Dr. Robert Ross, Vice President of the University of Nebraska. The conference focused on ways to strengthen the involvement of the public in the work of UNESCO. The conference also afforded the U.S. Commission members an opportunity to meet their counterparts in other countries and to explore ways of working with other national commissions on matters of common interest.

Dr. R. Miller Upton, President of Beloit College, Beloit, Wisconsin, was elected Chairman of the U.S. National Commission at its 35th annual meeting in November.

## International Civil Aviation Organization

Bahrain and Qatar adhered to the Convention on International Civil Aviation in 1971 increasing ICAO's membership to 122.

### EXTRAORDINARY ASSEMBLY

An extraordinary session of the ICAO Assembly was convened at UN Headquarters in New York, March 11–12, to consider increasing the size of the Council of ICAO. In accordance with the Council's own recommendation, the Assembly approved an amendment to the Convention on International Civil Aviation which, when ratified by 80 contracting states, will increase the membership of the Council from 27 to 30 states. The action of the Assembly was unanimous.

### GUATEMALA PROTOCOL TO WARSAW CONVENTION

A diplomatic conference, held under the auspices of ICAO at Guatemala City February 9–March 8, 1971, adopted and opened for signature a new protocol to the Warsaw Convention of 1929. The Guatemala Protocol, which was immediately signed by 21 governments including the United States, substantially increases the limit of the air carriers' liability for death or injury of passengers. The Hague Protocol of 1955 had increased the limit of liability from \$8,300 to \$16,600. The new protocol will increase the limit to \$100,000 under a new rule which will make the carrier liable in all cases of death or injury, regardless of its fault, except where the damage resulted from the negligence of the claimant or was solely due to the health of the passenger.

Another provision of the Guatemala Protocol provides that parties may establish national systems to provide compensation additional to that available to claimants under the Convention. The Protocol specifies conditions for such national systems, e.g., the system may be operated only within the territory of the government establishing it.

Conferences of governments which become parties to the Protocol will be convened at the end of the 5th and 10th years after the Protocol comes into force for the purpose of reviewing the amount of the limit. Unless these conferences decide otherwise, the limit at the end of each 5-year period is to be increased by \$12,500.

The Guatemala Protocol also revises the provisions of the Warsaw Convention relating to passenger tickets and baggage and the jurisdiction in which claims may be brought. The Protocol will enter into force when ratified by 30 states, five of which must together have carried not

less than 40% of the world's scheduled international air traffic, according to the passenger-kilometer statistics for 1970 published by ICAO. The latter requirement means the Protocol cannot enter into force unless the United States ratifies it.

#### 18TH ASSEMBLY

The 18th regular triennial session of the Assembly, held at Vienna June 15–July 7, 1971, was attended by 114 member states. Among the most important subjects dealt with at this session was the relationship of international civil aviation to the quality of the human environment. The Assembly adopted a resolution recognizing the need to achieve a balance between the benefit accruing to the worldwide community through civil aviation and the harm caused to the human environment in certain areas through the continuing advancement of civil aviation. This resolution affirmed ICAO's responsibility for work on the environmental problems of civil aviation and requested that the 1972 UN Conference on the Human Environment be informed of ICAO's continuing constructive role.

The Assembly adopted a second resolution on this subject, proposed by the United States, calling for ICAO "to continue with vigor" development of international standards, recommended practices and procedures, and guidance material relating to the quality of the human environment and urging member states to adopt these ICAO measures.

As a result of its consideration of a U.S.-proposed agenda item on problems arising out of leases, charters, and interchange of aircraft in international operations, the Assembly recognized that the chartered aircraft operator's liability and obligations for public safety must be clarified. A resolution was adopted

urging states to take appropriate action and directing the ICAO Council to examine expeditiously the Convention on International Civil Aviation with a view to its possible amendment. Meanwhile the Council will consider amendments to the standards and recommended practices which are possible under the existing Convention.

The Assembly adopted another resolution, proposed by the United States and cosponsored by four other states, concerning the technical aspects of air transportation security. The ICAO Council was requested to ensure that adequate attention is given to this subject, including the possible need for convening a special ICAO meeting on air transportation security in the next triennium.

The Assembly reduced to a low priority on the ICAO Legal Committee's work program a draft convention, proposed by the United States and Canada, calling for joint action or sanctions against states in certain situations involving international blackmail-type hijackings and other unlawful interference with aircraft. The Legal Committee had taken up consideration of this subject at the direction of the Council of ICAO pursuant to a resolution proposed by the United States and adopted by the Council on October 1, 1970. The Legal Committee established a subcommittee which met in April to give detailed consideration to the subject. The subcommittee did not finish its work in April but will not meet again until directed by the Council or the Assembly. The United States has taken the position that work by the Legal Committee on the question of joint action should be given the highest priority. However, the U.S. delegation was unable to gain acceptance of this view in the Assembly.

By a secret vote of 44 to 39, with 4 abstentions, the Assembly adopted a resolution, proposed by African

states, East European states, and India, which deprives South Africa of invitations to ICAO meetings, documents, and communications not specifically required by the Convention on International Civil Aviation. The United States opposed this action. The basis for this ICAO action was the failure of South Africa to implement UN General Assembly resolutions on apartheid and the granting of independence to colonial peoples. Again in a secret vote the Assembly rejected, by 40 in favor to 41 opposed, with 6 abstentions, a similar resolution against Portugal. The United States consistently takes the position that political questions should not be decided by technical organizations.

The Assembly reduced the U.S. contribution to ICAO to 28.75%. The maximum contribution had been set in principle at 30% in 1958, and the U.S. contribution had been gradually lowered toward this maximum to 30.8%. With the U.S.S.R. having become a member of ICAO in 1970, the United States would reach the 30% ceiling, but it took the position that all states should share proportionally in the distribution of the shares of new member states. Thus the U.S. percentage share should be reduced to 26.85%. The Assembly, however, rejected both this position and the compromise proposal of its Administrative Commission for 27.55% and ultimately decided to reduce the maximum contribution to 28.75%, which applied to the United States beginning in 1972.

#### **ADOPTION OF SABOTAGE CONVENTION**

Another diplomatic conference, convened by ICAO in September at its headquarters in Montreal, concluded an international "Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Civil Aviation." This supplements the Con-

vention concluded in December 1970 on hijacking, by covering other acts of violence against aircraft. As with the hijacking convention, which came into force on October 14, 1971, after it was ratified by the United States and nine other governments, this convention is designed to assure punishment for offenders by requiring contracting states to extradite or prosecute them regardless of where the act took place. The United States along with 30 of the 61 states attending the conference signed the convention at Montreal on September 23, 1971. It will come into force after ratification by 10 signatory states that took part in the conference.

#### **EUROPEAN-MEDITERRANEAN REGIONAL AIR NAVIGATION MEETING**

The Sixth European-Mediterranean Regional Air Navigation Meeting, held at Geneva November 2-27, 1971, revised the regional plan for air navigation facilities and services to meet operational requirements for the next 5 to 10 years and to include additional areas of Eastern Europe. The new air navigation plan, when approved by the ICAO Air Navigation Commission and the Council, will cover some 2,000 air route segments as compared with 1,650 at the time of the previous European-Mediterranean meeting in 1966. The plan will also include more airports and provide for operations by new types of aircraft including supersonic transports.

With nonscheduled and general aviation traffic comprising a larger but less predictable share of an increasing volume of air traffic, the meeting faced a difficult task. It considered a variety of new techniques, including flow control, area navigation, stored flight plans, and more effective computer applications. The need to get greater effect from limited resources prompted an exami-



nation of reduced frequency bandwidths for radio aids and provided a sense of urgency for the search for improved navigational capability so as to permit reduced separation criteria. One of the most significant recommendations of the meeting was a call to establish a European Air Navigation Board to provide continuing planning and implementation machinery between regional meetings. Another important result of the meeting was the agreement to provide a communications link to Southeast Asia through Moscow.

#### COMMITTEE ON AIRCRAFT NOISE

The second meeting of the ICAO Committee on Aircraft Noise was held at Montreal November 15-26. The Committee recommended that the Council establish noise reduction requirements for subsonic turbojet airplane types developed or produced in the future. The Committee also urged that ICAO members ensure that any manufacturer or group initiating a program to develop a supersonic transport airplane take into account the practical steps to reduce noise outlined by the meeting. Written reports on the noise of supersonic transports flying at present (Concordes and Tu-144's) are to be provided before the next meeting of the Committee. Aircraft manufacturing countries are to be requested to pursue as far as possible the development of specific noise reduction modifications for existing turbojet airplanes. Examination of ways to implement and finance an international retrofit program was deferred until the next ICAO Meeting on Aircraft Noise.

## Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization

In 1971 IMCO convened an in-

ternational conference in Brussels to draw up a Convention on the Establishment of an International Compensation Fund for Oil Pollution Damage. The Convention supplements the financial protection from damage resulting from oil spills afforded to coastal states as the result of the adoption in 1970 of the Convention on Civil Liability for Oil Pollution Damage. The United States strongly supported the concept of the compensation fund and both voted for the Convention and —along with 11 others—signed it on December 18. It will come into effect after it has been ratified by eight states having at least 750 million tons of contributing oil collectively per year. IMCO convened, in cooperation with the IAEA and the European Nuclear Energy Authority, a second international conference in Brussels that adopted new rules relating to the liability of shipowners for the carriage of nuclear materials. The United States also supported these.

Throughout the year IMCO continued to accelerate its efforts to minimize the pollution of the sea by oil and other noxious and hazardous materials. The IMCO Assembly, which meets biennially, adopted at its seventh session, in October, the goal of complete elimination of intentional discharge of oil into the sea. IMCO's objective is to achieve this goal by mid-1975, but in no case later than the end of the decade. Toward this objective IMCO will call in 1973 an international conference to adopt instruments relating to the prevention of ocean pollution. Activity of the Maritime Safety Committee and its appropriate subcommittees in 1971 were in large measure directed to preparations for this conference. The Assembly also adopted, *inter alia*, an amendment to the Oil Pollution Convention of 1954 limiting the maximum size of individual tanks in

tankers and regulations covering the manner in which these tanks are arranged in the ship. This amendment is designed to limit the amount of oil that could spill into the sea as a result of a serious collision or grounding of tankers. The United States supported this amendment.

Closely related to the prevention of pollution of the sea were the IMCO decisions with respect to more rigid standards designed to increase the competence of mariners. For this purpose IMCO established in 1971 a new subcommittee of its Maritime Safety Committee on "Standards of Training and Watch-keeping." The IMCO Assembly also made final preparations for an international conference to be called in 1972 to revise the International Collision Regulations, and adopted 14 additional Traffic Separation Schemes, including those covering the approaches to Chesapeake Bay and the approaches to Los Angeles and Long Beach.

In large measure as a result of U.S. initiatives, the IMCO Assembly adopted a "Code for the Construction and Equipment of Ships Carrying Dangerous Chemicals in Bulk." This code provides design standards for ships, including tankers, which carry chemicals that may present severe hazards to the environment as well as to the crew of the vessel. IMCO also completed during 1971 a recommended code for the fumigation of ships' holds. This code recommends international standards for the decontamination of ships which have carried pesticides and other similar products.

During 1971 IMCO enlarged its program of technical assistance. The Governing Council of the UNDP approved an IMCO project for assistance to the Government of Brazil in the training of merchant marine personnel. This project will be implemented by the establishment of a merchant marine school in Rio de

Janeiro. Also within the field of technical cooperation, the number of expert missions to assist developing countries in areas relating to shipbuilding and ship operation was doubled over the number in effect in 1970.

IMCO continued, in collaboration with ECE, preparatory work for the convening of an International Conference on Container Traffic, which will be held in 1972. General agreement on basic principles was reached in respect of two conventions which will be considered by this conference. The first deals with the safety aspects of container transportation; the second with customs matters. By the end of the year it had not yet been decided whether it would also be feasible to include in the conference a proposed convention on the liability of the different modes of carriers engaged in combined transport operations.

In October 1971 IMCO convened an international conference on Special Trade Passenger Ships. (These are ships engaged in the carriage of pilgrims in Middle and Far Eastern waters). The conference adopted a new convention that raised the safety standards for such ships.

An amendment to the 1965 Convention on Facilitation of International Maritime Traffic that will expedite the handling of cruise ships and their passengers on entering and leaving ports came into effect August 12, 1971, after it had been accepted by 15 states party to the Convention. The United States accepted the amendment on December 31, 1970.

## World Meteorological Organization

The major event in WMO affairs during 1971 was the sixth quadrennial Congress, held in Geneva April

5-30. The Congress is the supreme body of the WMO, at which all 136<sup>1</sup> members of the organization are entitled to be represented. The major decisions taken by the sixth Congress are summarized below in connection with activities of the organization of particular interest to the United States.

#### WORLD WEATHER WATCH

The World Weather Watch (WWW) was approved in principle by the fourth Congress in 1963. The fifth Congress in 1967 adopted a detailed plan for the WWW, and the period between the fifth and sixth Congresses was the first implementation period for this program. The central purpose of the WWW is to provide for additional meteorological data on a worldwide basis to improve the domestic weather forecast system of member states. By the time of the sixth Congress, the WWW had become an integral part of the activities of the WMO and had changed the role of the organization by adding global planning to the other functions of early coordination and standardization. The sixth Congress took note of the progress achieved so far in the WWW and decided that it should in the future be the focus of all WMO meteorological service activities. To implement this decision, the Congress decided to reorganize the WMO secretariat to enable it to deal more effectively with the WWW program.

The Voluntary Assistance Program, established by the fifth Congress, is directly related to the objectives of the WWW. This program, supported by voluntary contributions from member states, is designed to fill serious gaps in na-

<sup>1</sup>Yemen (San'a), Comoro Islands, and St. Pierre and Miquelon became members in 1971.

tional or other resources in the overall WWW program. During 1971, the United States contributed a total of \$1,500,000 to this program—\$150,000 in cash and the remainder in equipment, services, and 8 long-term fellowships.

#### GLOBAL ATMOSPHERIC RESEARCH PROGRAM

In 1967 the WMO, in cooperation with the International Council of Scientific Unions, established a global research program to study the hemispheric circulation of the atmosphere. This research is closely related to the objectives of the WWW. The sixth Congress endorsed continuation of the program, including the first major field project—the Atlantic tropical experiment—planned for execution in 1974. This experiment will focus on the meteorological phenomenon of the tropical areas of the world in which most of the developing countries are located.

#### HYDROLOGY

The sixth Congress took a major decision designed to establish the WMO as the international organization responsible for coordination of work in the field of operational hydrology. The decision taken by the WMO will serve greatly to clarify responsibility in the hydrological field within the UN family of organizations and should serve to eliminate jurisdictional overlaps. To give effect to its decision, the Congress also established a Commission for Hydrology and an Advisory Committee for Hydrology whose members will be drawn from the hydrology services of its member states.

#### OCEANOGRAPHY

WMO's role in oceanography has included coordination of the use of radio frequencies, development of codes, programs in ocean-atmosphere



interaction, dynamics of the ocean floor, and other related activities. All of these involve meteorology to some degree, as a science, a service activity, or both. WMO oceanographic activities are carried on in collaboration with UNESCO's Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission and the sixth Congress decided to continue WMO support of these joint activities.

#### **ATMOSPHERIC POLLUTION**

The Congress emphasized the need for the WMO to continue playing an appropriate role with respect to monitoring atmospheric pollution and assessing the effects of such pollution on weather and climate. WMO took an active part in preparing for the 1972 UN Conference on the Human Environment and will accelerate its activities in the establishment of global and regional monitoring networks for air pollution as part of the WFW.

#### **BUDGET**

The sixth Congress adopted an assessment budget for the 4 years 1972-1975 of \$17.3 million. The U.S. rate of assessment was maintained at 23.86%. Within this quadrennial budget, the WMO Executive Committee, which met immediately following the Congress, established the 1972 budget at \$3,962,400.

#### **ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS**

The sixth Congress elected Mohammed Fathi Taha, of Egypt, President of the WMO until the seventh Congress in 1975, and unanimously reappointed David A. Davies of the United Kingdom as Secretary General. The United States, represented by Robert M. White, Administrator of the U.S. National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, was reelected to the Executive Committee.

## **International Telecommunication Union**

The accession of Fiji to the ITU Convention in 1971 brought Union membership to 140. During the year the ITU continued to function as the specialized agency for maintaining and extending international cooperation for the improvement and rational use of telecommunications of all kinds. The ITU also continued to work closely with the United Nations during the year, especially in its role as a UNDP executing agency in the telecommunications field.

#### **ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL**

The United States is a member of the 29-state Administrative Council which held its 26th session in Geneva, May 1-21, 1971. The Council approved a 1972 budget of 29,718,300 Swiss francs, of which the U.S. share of the assessment on member countries is approximately 11.5%. The Council examined the preparations for several major conferences: the World Administrative Radio Conference for Space Telecommunications scheduled for later in 1971; the Plenary Assembly of the International Telegraph and Telephone Consultative Committee (CCITT) in 1972; the Plenipotentiary Conference in 1973; and the World Administrative Radio Conference for Maritime Mobile Telecommunications in 1974. In anticipation of the 1973 Plenipotentiary Conference, the Council invited governments to express their views on the ITU's future. The Council also approved the text of an agreement on the juridical status of the ITU in Switzerland, and took action on a number of other staff, organizational, operational, and financial matters, including procedures for collecting arrears. The results of

the Council's session were consistent with U.S. interests.

#### OTHER PERMANENT ORGANS

The permanent technical organs of the ITU—the International Radio Consultative Committee (CCIR), the CCITT, and the International Frequency Registration Board (IFRB)—all met during the year. The United States is a member of the first two bodies.

A special joint meeting of the CCIR Study Groups was held in Geneva during February, to prepare the technical bases for the World Administrative Radio Conference for Space Telecommunications. The United States was a major contributor to the work of the meeting, whose report provided essential support for many of the U.S. positions at the Conference.

The World Administrative Radio Conference for Space Telecommunications was held at Geneva, June 7–July 17 to revise the International Radio Regulations as they apply to space telecommunications. The Conference adopted radio frequency allocations for broadcasting satellites, and adopted technical coordination procedures for the establishment of such satellites until such time as a broadcasting satellite planning conference is held. The Conference also established provisions for other telecommunications requirements, including additional frequency allocations for communications satellites, space research, and radio astronomy; allocations for earth exploration satellites; and procedures for the coordination and use of radio frequencies in the geostationary orbit. In general, the United States achieved its objectives at the Conference, either fully or through acceptable compromises.

The CCITT's Plan Committee for Africa met in Lagos, January 18–27, and the World Plan Commit-

tee met in Venice, October 11–22. Both meetings produced useful work toward the objective of an orderly development of telecommunications on a worldwide basis. In addition, various CCITT Study Groups met during the year to amend international standards for telephone and telegraph operations, switching, and signaling systems, and to consider other technical and tariff matters.

The essential function of the IFRB is the technical examination and registration of radio frequency notifications to insure interference-free radio operations throughout the world. The IFRB and its staff continued to carry out this function fully and effectively.

#### TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

As a UNDP executing agency, the ITU assists developing nations to increase their telecommunication capabilities by the establishment and staffing of training institutes, a program of technical telecommunications seminars, and the recruitment of technical experts from developed countries, including the United States, to advise on specific telecommunications projects and to conduct studies in developing countries.

The ITU's Technical Cooperation Department began studying a proposed satellite telecommunications system for aid following natural disasters. The system anticipates the use of small earth stations which could be carried by commercial aircraft to disaster areas to restore communications. The system would be operated by an international rescue agency or similar organization.

## Universal Postal Union

The UPU Congress meets once every 5 years to consider proposals to amend its basic acts and to revise

the regulations governing the exchange of international mail. Proposals that do not obtain the necessary consensus for adoption but that merit further attention are turned over to the UPU Executive Council or to the Consultative Council for Postal Studies. UPU activity in 1971, the second year of the 5-year period between Congresses, was highlighted by disagreements between developed and developing countries over the nature of compensation for imbalance in the exchange of mail; additional emphasis on economy in carrying out UPU programs; and complications for the calculation of the UPU budget caused by the revaluation of the Swiss franc. During 1971 the admission of Fiji and Oman brought UPU membership to 145. Finally, the United States adhered to the UPU Money Order Agreement of Tokyo, when that agreement went into effect on July 1, 1971.

#### **INTERNATIONAL POSTAL COMMUNICATIONS MATTERS**

In considering the question of charges for the cost of handling incoming international mail, much debate was generated in the Executive Council by a question of principle raised by the United States. The United States argued that a fair system to compensate countries for the cost of handling incoming international surface mail should be based not merely on an imbalance in the weight of the mail exchanged, but also on the difference in services, such as the distances over which mail must be transported, that one country renders another. The committee dealing with this question could not reach a conclusion and it was decided, therefore, to put the matter before the entire membership of the UPU through a questionnaire.

A study initiated by the Executive Council in 1970 indicated that most members were opposed to any fur-

ther simplification of the rate structure in terms of reducing the number of categories of mail or giving countries more latitude in setting rates and establishing conditions under which items qualify for reduced rates. With the question of uniformity versus diversity settled in favor of maintaining uniformity in the rate structure, attention turned to the problem of rate increases. The International Bureau (secretariat) will submit a report to the 1972 Executive Council on the percentage increase favored by member countries, and on how to minimize the impact of rate increases on items in the higher weight categories.

The Executive Council continued to work on developing proposals for the 1974 Congress that would bring international postal regulations more in line with modern methods and procedures. The Council approved and distributed to all members an extensive questionnaire prepared by the United States on revising the provisions of the UPU Convention dealing with printed matter.

The United States also participated in the work of the Consultative Committee for Postal Studies and headed two working parties: one studying the use of computers in the postal service and the other studying the possibility of a UPU member country identification code for postal and other uses. The United States also took part in other working parties studying mechanization, automation, and other subjects involving an exchange of technical knowledge.

#### **ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS**

Developing countries continued to express their feeling that industrialized countries should bear a much greater share of the burden of providing for the expenses of the Union. They argued that overall economic factors, such as gross national product, should be taken into account in



deciding the contribution level of a country. The United States argued against the consideration of nonpostal criteria, pointing out that an increasing number of postal administrations are being reorganized on a basis of financial autonomy, are compelled to balance receipts and expenditures, and are not able to draw on the resources of their governments to pay their UPU contributions. The Executive Council adopted in principle a proposal to increase the number of contribution classes and the range between the highest and lowest classes, but left unsettled the question of assigning a country to the proper contribution class.

The United States chaired the Finance Committee of the Executive Council, which reviews the UPU budget. In 1971, UPU expenses were \$1,903,778. The U.S. contribution was about \$70,000. The Executive Council approved a budget of approximately \$2,042,000 for 1972, which was some 7% less than originally requested by the Director General. The cuts were made in part to bring the budgets within the statutory ceiling, which had been lowered by 6.6% as a result of the revaluation of the Swiss franc.

The emphasis on economy in the operation of the UPU International Bureau was illustrated by the Executive Council's reaction to the Director General's request to add 20 members to the Bureau staff during 1971 and 1972—seven members to fill existing vacancies and 13 members for new positions. The Council authorized the hiring of only seven additional employees during this 2-year period. Although these new staff members need not be used to fill existing vacancies, positions not filled by the close of 1972 would be considered abolished.

#### TECHNICAL COOPERATION

Postal projects approved by the

*Specialized Agencies and the IAEA*

UNDP for 1971 under its technical assistance component amounted to about \$600,000. These funds were used to finance 37 projects involving 23 experts and 122 fellowships. In addition, a new ITU-UPU joint project was started under the preinvestment component of the UNDP. This project, costing \$122,100 for the postal part, concerns the setting up of a Telecommunications and Postal Institute at Ndola, Zambia. There are now 8 multinational or national training projects being funded under the UNDP preinvestment component. These are located in Syria, Ivory Coast, Thailand, Afghanistan, Turkey, Colombia, Ethiopia, and Zambia.

#### POLITICAL MATTERS

The Director General once again placed before the Executive Council a number of resolutions of the UN General Assembly dealing with colonialism and apartheid. The Council was asked to consider, in the light of these resolutions, the question of maintaining or modifying the relations between the UPU and the governments of Portugal and South Africa. The Executive Council decided that Portugal and South Africa could not be deprived of their membership rights, and would therefore continue to receive the Union's publications and have the right to have the postal information that they communicate to the Union distributed to the other members.

A General Assembly resolution inviting specialized agencies to consider the participation of the leaders of liberation movements in the colonial territories in Africa in regional meetings called by these specialized agencies was also brought to the attention of the Executive Council. The Council decided that as this recommendation dealt with UPU activities in Africa only, and as most meetings in Africa were held under

the auspices of regional postal unions, which are independent organizations, the regional groups would be free to use their own judgment in this matter.

## International Atomic Energy Agency

The IAEA was established in 1957 as a result of President Eisenhower's atoms-for-peace proposal before the United Nations General Assembly in December 1953. The Agency continued during 1971 to pursue its broad statutory objectives of promoting the peaceful uses of atomic energy throughout the world and ensuring, so far as it is able, that assistance provided by it, or at its request, or under its supervision or control, is not used in such a way as to further any military purpose.

IAEA's work received added impetus with the entry into force of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) on March 5, 1970. By the end of 1971, 67 countries were parties to the NPT and an additional 31 had signed but not yet ratified it. The NPT gives the IAEA the responsibility for safeguarding nuclear materials intended for peaceful application in nonnuclear weapon states that are parties to the treaty.

As in past years, the United States participated in all areas of the IAEA's activities and took the initiative in many of its major programs.

### SAFEGUARDS

The safeguards committee, established by the IAEA Board of Governors to advise it on the IAEA responsibilities under the NPT, completed its report in April 1971 on "The Structure and Content of Agreements between the Agency and States Required in Connection with the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation

of Nuclear Weapons." The agreements will provide for independent IAEA verification of the data and findings of national systems of control of the use of nuclear materials. By the end of December 1971, 31 governments had entered into formal negotiation of such agreements with the IAEA, and agreements with nine governments had been signed or were awaiting signature.

The IAEA sponsored several technical working groups during the year on the further development and improvement of safeguards techniques and instrumentation for use in implementing the evolving safeguards system. Of a total of 44 safeguards agreements that the IAEA Board has approved, 22 concern the transfer to the IAEA of the safeguards responsibilities provided for in U.S. bilateral Agreements for Cooperation with individual member states of the Agency.

### NUCLEAR POWER AND REACTORS

The number and capacity of nuclear power plants on order or being built throughout the world continued to grow in 1971 and, consequently, the IAEA continued to emphasize the provision of practical services to member states during the early stages of a nuclear power project, including economic studies, siting surveys, and safety evaluations.

The IAEA proceeded with its studies of the financing of nuclear power, and in particular of the technical and economic characteristics of nuclear reactors that could be used in the smaller electrical grids of developing countries. Recognizing that by 1985 there might be a considerable market for small and medium-sized nuclear reactors in these countries, the IAEA initiated a market survey in selected interested developing countries to determine the future demand for reactors below 500 megawatts of electrical output. The sur-

vey will define the nature, size, and timing of the likely market for reactors of this smaller size and could assist the nuclear manufacturers in standardizing and reducing the costs of nuclear plants. The survey will provide financial institutions with a clearer picture of the financing requirements for nuclear power projects in the countries concerned.

With future requirements for electrical power in mind, the IAEA promoted the exchange of information on advanced converter and breeder reactors and on new experimental means of power generation. The Agency's International Working Group on Fast Reactors studied ways in which the Agency's activities in this area might be expanded.

In view of the broad interest in using nuclear power for merchant ship propulsion, the IAEA cosponsored a symposium on this subject in Hamburg, Germany. Numerous technical papers at the meeting reviewed the problems of safe design and of operation of nuclear ships, as well as their economic potential.

The IAEA remained a focal point for international cooperation in the field of combined nuclear power and desalting applications. The United States was particularly active in the Agency's study groups and panel meetings on nuclear desalting and the use of desalted water in agriculture and industry.

The IAEA supported continuing reviews of the procedures it should employ in carrying out its responsibility under the Non-Proliferation Treaty for promoting the exchange of information on the peaceful uses of nuclear explosions, and the United States provided useful input to the Agency's studies in this area.

#### ISOTOPES AND RADIATION SOURCES

The IAEA continued its work in the fields of soil fertility and irriga-

tion, radiation entomology, pesticide residues and food protection, plant breeding and genetics, animal production and disease control, and food irradiation. Its program on nuclear medicine and radiation biology concentrated on the physical aspects of nuclear medicine and, in coordination with WHO, supported research on diseases such as parasitic infections, deficiency diseases, and tropical anemias which affect, particularly, the tropical and subtropical areas. IAEA cooperated with UNESCO within the program of the International Hydrological Decade to measure the discharge of tritium from the continents to the oceans and to help developing countries to use isotope hydrology on water development projects. The work of the Agency's Monaco Laboratory focused on standardizing research on the effects of radioactivity on marine life and the management of radioactive waste.

#### ATOMIC ENERGY AND THE ENVIRONMENT

The IAEA has been actively concerned since its establishment with environment-related activities, and has developed and issued some 35 health and safety standards, regulations, codes of practice, manuals, and reports, governing every type of activity in which atomic energy is used for peaceful purposes, including the management of radioactive wastes. The United States has taken part in all aspects of this program, which in 1971 included work on the third revision of the Agency's regulations for the safe transport of radioactive materials, a 25-nation seminar on test requirements for packaging radioactive materials for transport, an Asian regional advanced training course on radiological health and safety measures, and continuing support of research and dissemination of information.

Nuclear energy offers a source of energy that has the potential to lessen



environmental pollution, while providing the increased power needed for a wide variety of industries and facilities, including pollution abatement.

The United States supported additional Agency efforts in 1971 in this field, such as the preparation of an expanded layman's version of the IAEA booklet, "Nuclear Energy and the Environment." A group of consultants, including U.S. experts, convened by the Agency recommended that (1) a register should be established jointly by IAEA and WHO to collect information on radioactive releases to the environment from peaceful uses activities in the nuclear field and (2) the United Nations should develop an international register of releases of environmental pollutants, of which the register of radioactive releases would become a part. In addition, the United States endorsed the Agency's plan to review in 1972 the possible establishment of an international waste storage site for high level radioactive wastes.

#### **NUCLEAR INFORMATION**

The International Nuclear Information System (INIS), which the IAEA launched in 1970 with strong U.S. support, continued to operate on the basis of a limited subject scope. Under INIS, the Agency receives reports of new nuclear literature from members, prepares bibliographic indexes, assigns keywords, and makes them available to members in both published and computer format. One component of INIS supplies member states with microfiche copies of all reports received by the Agency. By the end of the year, 40 countries and 11 international organizations were participating in INIS. These participants publish more than 90% of the world's literature on nuclear science.

The INIS Advisory Committee, consisting of experts from the United

States, Algeria, Australia, the Federal Republic of Germany, India, Mexico, and the U.S.S.R., held its first meeting in November 1971. The Committee unanimously recommended that INIS extend its operations to a full subject scope as quickly as possible and that the IAEA Secretariat be prepared to receive full scope input from those members capable of providing it in 1972. It also recommended that the Secretariat study ways of coordinating with other discipline-oriented information systems and services to prevent duplication.

#### **TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE**

During 1971 IAEA made expert services, equipment, and fellowships available to 69 countries—21 in Africa, 6 in the Middle East, 13 in Asia and the Far East, 17 in Latin America, and 12 in Europe. The Agency organized 18 interregional training courses, 2 seminars, and 2 study tours for participants from developing countries. One tour went to France, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, the U.S.S.R., and Czechoslovakia to study standardization of radiation dosimetry, and the other tour went to the Soviet Union to study the use of isotopes and radiation in agricultural research. Three Agency training courses were held in the United States in 1971. These were (1) "Use of Radioisotopes and Radiation in Entomology," held at the University of Florida; (2) "Use of Radioisotopes and Radiation in Animal Science and Veterinary Medicine," held at Colorado State University; and (3) "Use of Radiotracer Techniques in Industry and Environmental Pollution Studies," held at North Carolina State University.

The United States has been a strong supporter of the IAEA technical assistance program, and for many years has furnished fellowships,

experts' services, training courses, and items of equipment, as well as cash contributions. In 1971 the cash contribution was \$786,250 and the value of the contributions-in-kind was \$763,750. In addition, the United States urged upon all members the obligation to devote an increasing amount of resources and constructive attention to this aspect of the IAEA program.

#### ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS

The IAEA is financed by means of a regular—or administrative—budget, supported largely by assessments levied on the member states according to a scale based on the UN scale of assessments, and an operational budget, supported mainly by voluntary contributions from member states. The operational budget covers all technical assistance activities other than those carried out by the IAEA on behalf of the UNDP.

The 15th General Conference of the IAEA, September 21–27, 1971, adopted an assessed budget for 1972

of \$15,392,000, an increase of 17.9% over 1971, and a total regular budget of \$16,561,000. It also approved a scale of assessments under which the United States will pay 31.716%, compared to its 1971 rate of 31.45%. The General Conference further adopted an operational budget for 1972 of \$3,375,000, of which \$3,000,000—an increase of \$500,000 over 1971—was the target for voluntary contributions, with the remainder to be funded from special contributions and other sources.

The IAEA and its member states gave considerable attention to the question of financing future safeguards operations in order that other programs would not suffer. The 15th General Conference approved principles whereby the costs that the Agency incurs in applying safeguards in member states should continue to be met from its regular budget, but that the method of assessing members for contributions thereto should be adjusted to limit the share of those costs borne by members having low per capita net national income.





**Part III**

*Trusteeship  
and Dependent Areas*



# Trusteeship System

The Trusteeship Council held its 38th session in New York May 25—June 18, 1971. The Council was comprised of two administering states—Australia and the United States—and four nonadministering states—China, France, the United Kingdom, and the U.S.S.R.—all of them automatically members under the UN Charter. David N. Lane of the United Kingdom and W. Tapley Bennett of the United States were elected President and Vice President, respectively.

The Council examined conditions in the two territories remaining under the international trusteeship system: the Pacific Islands (administered by the United States) and New Guinea (administered by Australia).

In accordance with the UN Charter, the Council submitted its report on the strategic Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands to the Security Council and its report on New Guinea to the General Assembly. The Security Council, which had in 1949 requested the Trusteeship Council to perform on its behalf the functions of the United Nations under the trusteeship system relating to the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of strategic areas, did not discuss the report on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. The 26th General Assembly adopted a resolution concerning New Guinea on December 20 (see below).

## Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands

The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands is composed of over 2,000

islands and atolls, having a combined land area of approximately 700 square miles. The islands are located in the western Pacific Ocean just north of the Equator, ranging from about 1° to 22° north latitude and 130° to 172° east longitude, and are divided into three large groups: the Marianas (with the exception of Guam) in the northwest, the Carolines to the south running from west to center, and the Marshalls in the east. The total population is estimated at 107,054.

Prior to World War II, Japan administered the islands under a League of Nations mandate; during the war they passed under U.S. administration. On July 18, 1947, the United States and the Security Council concluded an agreement making the islands a strategic trust. It is the only strategic trust territory, and it has been administered by the U.S. Department of the Interior since July 1, 1951.

During the Trusteeship Council's consideration of the Pacific Islands from May 26 to June 4, first Ambassador Christopher H. Phillips and then Ambassador W. Tapley Bennett served as U.S. Representative and Edward E. Johnston, the High Commissioner of the Trust Territory, was the Special Representative. Petrus Tun and Sasauo Haruo, members of the territory's legislature, the Congress of Micronesia, were special advisers.

### U.S. REPORT

In reporting on the future political status of the territory, the U.S. Representative brought the Council up to date on the May 1970 meeting with representatives of the Congress of Micronesia to discuss a mutually



satisfactory agreement on continued association and on subsequent events. The U.S. Representative recalled that in 1970 the United States had deferred a full discussion of the meeting because the Micronesians had wished to present the first public report to their Congress later that summer. Both the U.S. and Micronesian delegations had prepared statements of principle for the 1970 discussions. The Micronesian version was more general and philosophical while that of the United States dealt with practical implementation and included a commonwealth proposal to indicate how the principles might be put into effect. While the discussions did not produce significant progress toward an agreement in principle and were largely an exchange of written position papers analyzing the respective positions, they did serve to identify those issues essential to any settlement and set forth their relative importance.

The U.S. Representative also stated that, following the submission of the Micronesian delegation's report to the Congress of Micronesia, the Congress endorsed the four principles which the delegation considered essential to any status of association with the United States (that sovereignty resides in the people of Micronesia; that the people possess the right to self-determination; that the people have the right to formulate Micronesia's constitution; and that either party has the right unilaterally to terminate the association). The Micronesian Congress also declared the U.S. Commonwealth proposal unacceptable in its present form and authorized the creation of a Joint Political Status Committee to resume discussions with the United States. For its part, the U.S. executive branch kept key committees of the U.S. Congress informed on developments and actively considered the respective positions.

In an effort to move the negotiations forward, the President appointed Dr. Franklin Haydn Williams as his personal representative to negotiate a future political status for Micronesia. Dr. Williams had already begun examination of the discussions to date and the issues involved and had reached tentative agreement with the Micronesians to resume discussions later that summer.

Regarding the sentiment expressed in the Marianas for a separate status settlement and reunification with Guam, the U.S. Representative said that although his government had always regarded Micronesia as an administrative entity it did not necessarily rule out any choice that might be offered to the people at the time of self-determination. Such decisions would depend primarily on the views of the Micronesian peoples. Also, the Marianas leadership was being encouraged to work within the system and to avoid precipitate actions which would make more difficult the attainment of a satisfactory agreement and which were unnecessary to ensure self-determination.

In summary, the U.S. Representative stated that the United States was not attempting to impose any particular solution on the Micronesian people but was working to achieve a mutually agreed status of self-government in association with the United States, which was the first preference of the Micronesians. The United States looked forward to a continuation of the discussions and remained confident that agreement would be reached after full, unhurried consideration, and that such an agreement would satisfy the obligations of the United States under the Trusteeship Agreement and the UN Charter.

The Special Representative focused his presentation on administrative measures taken in response to

recommendations of the Council and the visiting mission in 1970. With respect to the powers and involvement of elective Micronesian bodies in the administration of the territory, he reported that both the district legislatures and the Congress of Micronesia were more intimately involved in the budget process and in setting development priorities, with the end result that the territory's budget was a Micronesian product in every respect. With respect to Micronesians in the executive branch of the territorial government, the training and placement of qualified Micronesians in positions of responsibility were being accelerated and the Congress of Micronesia had recently passed legislation establishing a merit pay plan for all employees. Other steps taken in response to recommendations of the visiting mission included measures to broaden the territory's own tax base and to impose firearms restrictions.

In the field of economic development, the administration was continuing across-the-board improvements in transportation and communications and was devoting greater resources to fisheries development. He reported that in agriculture, where emphasis was being placed on improved production rather than study, the value of many crops had increased dramatically.

Improvements in and expansion of vocational education and the implementation of a relevant Micronesian curriculum indicated continued advances in the field of education. He also called attention to steady progress in other areas—the land cadastre program, the release of more military retention and other public lands for private development, and the settlement of Micronesian war and postwar claims.

The Special Advisers stressed the steps that they believed must be taken to solve the social and economic problems of Micronesia and to ensure that the people of Micronesia will exercise true political self-determination. Specifically, Micronesia had to achieve the maximum utilization of available human and capital resources if it were to move toward a self-sufficient and self-governing island community. The goal of the Congress of Micronesia to participate meaningfully in setting policy and budget priorities had not yet been fully realized. The Special Advisers suggested, as specific measures that the United States should implement to ensure greater Micronesian self-government and economic self-support, the granting to the Congress of Micronesia of "advise and consent" powers over major appointments, the actual appropriation of U.S. grants by the Congress, and a relaxation of the policy of excluding all non-U.S. foreign investments.

With regard to the future political status question, the Congress of Micronesia had instructed its delegation to identify the major political, legal, and administrative questions which would have to be decided if Micronesia chose to enter into free association with the United States or to become independent. To clarify its position on the meaning of free associated status, the Micronesian delegation had set forth the four basic propositions or principles which it considered to be essential components of free association (see above). The Special Advisers were encouraged by the remarks of the U.S. Representative on the forthcoming discussions and hoped that the way was now clear for the two delegations to reach agreement on a mutually acceptable status of free association.

## COUNCIL REPORT

In its report to the Security Council, the Trusteeship Council generally commended the United States for steps being taken to meet its obligations under the trusteeship agreement. The report also contained a number of conclusions and recommendations on how the administration of the territory might be improved.

In the area of political advancement, the Council expressed the hope that the financial responsibility of the Congress of Micronesia would be progressively extended to include appropriation of U.S. grants and that certain executive branch positions would become elective. The Council took note of the fact that recent legislation had established a single merit pay plan for all employees and expressed the hope that it would be in line with the general wage level of the territory and not have an inflationary effect on the economy.

In the area of economic advancement, the Council recommended that the Economic Development Loan Fund should be expanded and that its administration be improved. The Council also recommended that the land cadastre program be completed as quickly as possible and that additional measures be taken to increase local revenues and decrease the import of foodstuffs that could be locally produced.

To continue both social and educational advancement, the Council recommended that additional steps be taken to improve services for the outer islands in order to bring them more in line with the district centers, and that increased emphasis be placed on vocational education and the development of a relevant Micronesian curriculum.

With respect to future political status, the Council took note of the

U.S. and Micronesian statements on the May 1970 talks and their aftermath. The Council believed that these statements, while not committing the United States to any particular status for the territory, indicated an "open-minded, flexible approach" which augured well for the forthcoming talks.

On the question of Marianas separatism, the Council believed that a solution must be found that represented the interests of Micronesia as a whole, as well as of the Marianas, and expressed the hope that separatism would not be considered until all possibilities for association had been explored. The Council also urged the Marianas to cooperate with the United States and the Congress of Micronesia to achieve a mutually acceptable solution.

The Council reaffirmed its conviction that "it would be desirable for the people of Micronesia to determine their future status sooner rather than later."

## POLITICAL STATUS NEGOTIATIONS

In October the third round of discussions between the United States and Micronesian delegations were held in Hawaii. The October discussions centered on those issues of concern identified in May 1970 rather than on any detailed or comprehensive plans proposed by either side. At the conclusion of the discussions both delegations agreed that the open exchange and exploration of each other's views were highly useful and that substantial progress was made in narrowing differences, and in reaching preliminary agreement in some important areas. It was also agreed that further discussions would have to be held before agreement could be reached on a basis for terminating the trusteeship agreement.



The Committee on Colonialism again considered the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands during 1971. The U.S. position is that the Committee lacks competence to consider the trust territory because Article 83 of the UN Charter clearly provides that all UN functions relating to this territory should be exercised by the Security Council which in turn had delegated responsibility to the Trusteeship Council. The United States did not, therefore, take part in the Committee's discussion. However, the co-chairmen of the Joint Committee on the Future Political Status of Micronesia, at the invitation of the Committee on Colonialism, addressed it on June 4 and replied to questions put to them concerning the negotiations between the United States and Micronesia.

On the recommendation of its Subcommittee on Pacific Territories the Committee on November 5 adopted a report whose conclusions and recommendations *inter alia* (1) reaffirmed the right of the people of the territory to self-determination in conformity with the Declaration on Colonialism, (2) expressed its serious concern that a U.S. representative was not present during the consideration of the territory and urged the United States to reconsider its position and cooperate with the Committee, (3) urged the United States to cease pursuing a policy which tends to keep the territory dependent on it, (4) and again urged the United States to reconsider its negative position regarding a visiting mission from the Committee to the territory.

<sup>1</sup> Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

## Trust Territory of New Guinea

The Trust Territory of New Guinea comprises the northeastern part of New Guinea, north of the Papuan and east of the West Irian borders, and the arc of islands stretching from the Admiralties to the northern Solomons (Buka and Bougainville). The total land area is some 92,160 square miles.

As of June 30, 1970, the indigenous population consisted of an enumerated population of 1,763,429. At the census of June 1966, the nonindigenous population numbered 20,265.

The trust territory, which Australia administers in union with the neighboring Australian non-self-governing territory of Papua, presents formidable problems of administration. More than 700 different dialects are spoken in the territory which includes some of the world's most primitive people.

A visiting mission composed of representatives of France, the United Kingdom, Iraq, and Sierra Leone (the latter two countries proposed by the Chairman of the Committee on Colonialism), had visited the trust territory from January 24 to March 6. The Council considered both the report of the visiting mission and the report of Australia. The Australian Permanent Representative had invited the Council to dispatch a visiting mission to observe and report on the 1972 Papua New Guinea House of Assembly elections and suggested that the mission be composed in a manner similar to that of 1971 (two non-Council members). On June 10 the Council decided to dispatch such a visiting mission, composed of members nominated by the United States, the United Kingdom, and by two other

states to be designated by the President of the Council after consultations with the Chairman of the Committee on Colonialism and the Government of Australia. Afghanistan and Yugoslavia were named to the visiting mission in August.

The Australian Representative discussed the report of the Papua New Guinea House of Assembly's Select Committee on Constitutional Development and the actions resulting from it and commented on the report of the 1971 visiting mission. He reaffirmed that it was the policy of his government to advance Papua and New Guinea toward self-government and independence as a unified country. In the area of political development, Australia was seeking the best way to turn over more powers of self-government to elected leaders in a systematic and flexible manner. He also stated that his government, having accepted the report of the Select Committee on Constitutional Development, had already undertaken measures to put into effect the Committee's recommendations dealing with the House of Assembly elections. With respect to the Committee's recommendation that the development of the territory be geared to the achievement of self-government during the 1972-76 House of Assembly, his government was prepared to deal with any group of Ministers emerging from the 1972 elections with majority backing as constituting a government, and to have the authority of the appointed Administrator gradually be confined to matters remaining within the responsibility of Australia. The current 5-year economic development plan was being kept under review and the power of locally elected leaders to set development priorities was being greatly increased.

Taking note of the conclusion of the visiting mission that it would be "prudent and realistic" to as-

sume for planning purposes that independence would be achieved during the 1976-80 House of Assembly, the Australian Representative stated that his government had made it clear on a number of occasions that it would be for the elected leaders of a self-governing Papua New Guinea to decide when independence should be achieved.

#### COUNCIL REPORT

The Council's report drew heavily on the report of the 1971 visiting mission and generally commended Australia for the manner in which it was carrying out its trusteeship obligations.

The report also contained a number of conclusions and recommendations on the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the territory as it moves toward internal self-government. With regard to the future political status of the territory, the Council welcomed the recent declaration of Australia that the approximate timetable for self-government set by the House of Assembly had been accepted and that further movement toward internal self-government would require consultations with the territory's leadership after the 1972 elections. The Council agreed with the stated policy of Australia that the elected leaders of a self-governing Papua New Guinea should determine when independence was to be achieved. In this regard the Council took note of the statement of Mr. Lokoloko, a member of the House of Assembly and special adviser to the Australian delegation, that the visiting mission's recommendations on achieving independence were not the wishes of the people and that neither Australia nor the people of the territory would set a target date until the people them-

selves were sure that they could stand on their own feet.

#### COMMITTEE ON COLONIALISM

The General Assembly's Committee on Colonialism considered New Guinea together with Papua. On October 21 it adopted a report whose conclusions and recommendations reiterated the Committee's request that Australia, in consultation with the elected leaders of the territory, set a specific timetable for self-government and independence. It also recommended that future visiting missions should submit their reports simultaneously to both the Trusteeship Council and the Committee on Colonialism.

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The Assembly's Fourth Committee (Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories), after considering

both the Trusteeship Council and Committee on Colonialism reports, on December 14 adopted without objection a resolution which *inter alia* called upon Australia to establish, in consultation with the freely elected representatives of the people, a specific timetable for self-determination and independence.

The Australian Representative stated that when a new House of Assembly and government were formed following the 1972 elections, they would have to determine the appropriate time to take over the remaining functions of self-government and to initiate discussions with his government on this question. That process was, in his opinion, consistent with the above cited provision of the resolution.

The General Assembly in plenary session adopted the resolution on December 20 by a vote of 119 (Australia, U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention (France).

## U.S. Territories

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In a letter dated January 11, 1971, the United States informed the Secretary General of its decision to withdraw from the Committee on Colonialism, but said that it would continue, in accordance with its obligations under article 73(e) of the Charter, to submit information to the United Nations on non-self-governing territories under its jurisdiction. Further, it would participate in discussions of the Committee when such information was being considered. At the present time, the United States submits information on the U.S. Virgin Islands, American Samoa, and Guam.

## U.S. Virgin Islands

In considering the U.S. Virgin Islands, the Committee and its Subcommittee on Caribbean and Atlantic Territories had available both a working paper prepared by the UN Secretariat on the basis of information submitted by the United States and an oral presentation by the U.S. Representative, Ernest Grigg, on recent developments. The statement of the U.S. Representative highlighted recent political developments in the territory, particularly the 1970 election for Governor and Lieutenant



Governor and the greatly increased powers of those positions pursuant to the 1968 Elective Governor Act. The Committee was also informed of steps being taken to establish a stable work force, and to prevent the unregulated influx of temporary alien workers from impeding improvements in the social, educational, and housing situation for all residents of the territory. The U.S. Representative explained that the purposes of recent changes in the certification of nonimmigrant workers and in vocational education programs were (1) to establish a free labor market for nonimmigrant workers, (2) to upgrade wages and working conditions for all workers, and (3) to ensure that local workers were fully and efficiently utilized.

On August 13 the Committee adopted a report recommended by its Subcommittee which *inter alia*: (1) regretted that the United States had failed to implement the Declaration on Colonialism adopted by the General Assembly in 1960; (2) reiterated its view that size, isolation, and limited resources should in no way delay implementation of the declaration; (3) regretted that no significant constitutional developments had taken place; (4) viewed with concern the recent disturbances caused by the condition of alien workers; and (5) urged the United States to take steps to solve immediately the housing, welfare, and educational problems of the alien population.

The U.S. Representative expressed a general reservation on the Committee's report. With regard to self-determination, he stated that the report implied that the United States had placed restraints on open and free public discussion of the constitutional alternatives open to the people, whereas in fact there had been a number of constitutional conventions in which freely elected

representatives of the people had participated. He also took issue with the conclusion that no significant constitutional progress had taken place, citing the fact that the territory had a popularly elected governor and legislature. On the question of alien workers, the report gave an erroneous impression that the problem had not been confronted. He also noted that the economic progress of the territory, commented on by several members of the Committee, was not mentioned in the report.

## Guam and American Samoa

These U.S. territories were considered together by the Subcommittee on Pacific Territories and the Committee as a whole. The Committee again had available the working papers prepared by the Secretariat on the basis of information submitted by the United States and an oral presentation by the U.S. Representative on recent developments.

The U.S. statement stressed political developments in the territories, particularly the election in 1970 of a Governor and Lieutenant Governor in Guam and the constitutional conventions held in both territories, which had considered the full range of political alternatives open to them. In the case of Guam, the constitutional convention had recommended that the legislature consider adopting an updated and revised Organic Act and had adopted a resolution calling for eventual statehood. The American Samoan constitutional convention recommended that the territory continue as an unincorporated territory, but with both houses of the legislature popularly elected (the upper house is presently selected on the basis of the clan or *matai* system) and with a popularly elected governor by 1976.

On October 21 the Committee

adopted a report in which it, *inter alia*: (1) reiterated the view that size, isolation, and limited resources should in no way delay implementation of the Declaration on Colonialism; (2) expressed its continuing opinion that the economy of Guam continued to revolve around the existence of military bases, which impeded decolonization; (3) reiterated its view that this dependence should be brought to an end; (4) although noting that all political options had been considered by the constitutional convention, it reiterated its view that all options, including independence, should be left open and urged the United States to allow the peoples of the territories to exercise their right to self-determination in accordance with the Declaration on Colonialism; and (5) reiterated its concern at the increased presence and activities of U.S. citizens which could affect the political processes and future of the territories.

The U.S. Representative again expressed a general reservation on the report and made a number of specific observations. On the question of military bases, he said the U.S. Government had already made abundantly clear that it did not agree that existence of these bases impeded political developments. It was also clear from the working paper prepared by the Secretariat that steps were being taken to diversify the economy of Guam. With regard to the allegation that U.S. citizens were affecting the political process of the territories, he pointed out that Guamanians were U.S. citizens and it was therefore difficult to determine how many eligible voters were "statesiders," and that in both Guam and American Samoa voting qualifications were set by the popularly elected legislatures which were almost totally composed of locally born inhabitants.

## General Assembly Action

The General Assembly's Fourth Committee on December 16, 1971, adopted a resolution on 17 small territories<sup>1</sup> including American Samoa, Guam, and the U.S. Virgin Islands.

In its operative paragraphs the resolution *inter alia*: (1) called upon the administering states to ensure the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration on Colonialism; (2) reaffirmed the conviction that size, isolation, and limited resources should in no way delay implementation of the Declaration; (3) deprecated the establishment of military bases in these territories as being incompatible with the purposes of the Charter and the Declaration; and (4) decided that the United Nations should render all help to the peoples of the territories in their efforts freely to decide their future status.

The draft resolution was adopted by a vote of 73 to 0, with 18 abstentions (U.S.). The General Assembly in plenary session adopted the resolution on December 20 by a vote of 98 to 1, with 19 abstentions (U.S.).

As in previous years, the United States found a number of the provisions in the resolution unacceptable, including its failure to take into account the special problems of small territories and its sweeping, unsubstantiated allegations about military bases in the territories. The United States therefore abstained.

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<sup>1</sup> American Samoa, Bahamas, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Brunei, Cayman Islands, Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Guam, Montserrat, New Hebrides, Pitcairn, St. Helena, Seychelles, Solomon Islands, Turks and Caicos Islands, and the U.S. Virgin Islands.

# Namibia

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The June 21, 1971, advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice reaffirming that South Africa's mandate over Namibia had been validly terminated by the General Assembly (see Part Four, p. 197 for details of the Court's opinion) led to considerable discussion on Namibia in both the Security Council and the General Assembly.

## Ad Hoc Subcommittee

The Security Council's *Ad Hoc* Subcommittee on Namibia, composed of all Security Council members and established in 1970 specifically to study the question of Namibia, held several meetings in 1971. On July 9 it heard the Foreign Minister of Sudan present the OAU position on the Court's advisory opinion. He told the subcommittee that a special OAU delegation headed by Mauritanian and OAU President Ould Daddah wished to express the OAU's views on Namibia to the Security Council and requested that a special Council meeting be held in September for this purpose. The date was later set for September 27.

In preparation for the special meeting, the subcommittee began a series of meetings on August 17 to formulate recommendations for action by the Council following the Court's opinion. The various recommendations, not all of which were acceptable to the United States, were brought together in a report of September 23.

There was a large measure of agreement on 12 proposals which *inter alia* (1) reaffirmed that Namibia is the direct responsibility of the

United Nations; (2) declared that "South Africa's continued illegal presence in Namibia constitutes an internationally wrongful act and a breach of international obligations and that South Africa remains accountable to the international community for any violations of its international obligations or rights of the people of the territory of Namibia"; (3) noted the conclusions of the Court's advisory opinion; (4) called on states to discharge their specific responsibilities toward the people of Namibia; (5) requested the *Ad Hoc* Subcommittee to "study appropriate machinery for the fulfillment of the responsibility of the United Nations towards Namibia"; and (6) declared that franchises, rights, titles or contracts relating to Namibia granted to individuals or companies by South Africa since the adoption of the General Assembly resolution in 1966 that terminated the mandate "are not subject to protection or espousal by their states against claims of a future lawful Government of Namibia."

No agreement was reached on nine proposals submitted by Burundi, Sierra Leone, Somalia, and Syria. These *inter alia* (1) recognized that the United Nations has sole legal responsibility for the administration of Namibia, and therefore "all relations with or involving Namibia in order to have legal effect can only be entered into or maintained through the United Nations"; (2) declared that "any further refusal of the South African Government to withdraw from Namibia would constitute an act of aggression against the Territory of Namibia, an usurpation of the lawful responsibilities



and authority of the United Nations, a denial of the political sovereignty of Namibia and a threat to international peace and security within the context of Chapter VII of the Charter"; and (3) called on South Africa to withdraw from Namibia and "to this end to enter into immediate discussions with the Secretary General or any other appropriate United Nations medium on the arrangements for its withdrawal from Namibia so as to facilitate the speedy and effective transfer of administration to the people of Namibia."

No agreement was reached on a single proposal, submitted by Italy and the United States, that invited South Africa to "enter into immediate discussions with the Secretary General or an appropriate United Nations organ with a view to ensuring that the people of the Territory are able to exercise their right of self-determination."

## Security Council

The Security Council met on September 27 to hear President Ould Daddah state the OAU's position on Namibia. He said that since 1960 South Africa had continually violated UN resolutions on Namibia and he requested on behalf of the OAU that the Security Council apply the pertinent provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter against South Africa, including economic, political, and military sanctions. He emphasized that such concrete action should be taken by the Council against South Africa because of the latter's persistent refusal to withdraw from Namibia.

After almost 3 weeks of intermittent discussion the Security Council on October 20, by a vote of 13 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions, adopted a resolution sponsored by Burundi, Sierra Leone, Somalia, and

Syria based in large part on the subcommittee's report. It noted with appreciation the June 21 advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, and agreed with the Court's conclusions on the legal consequences for states of South Africa's presence in Namibia. In other paragraphs the resolution called on all states to discharge their responsibilities toward the people of Namibia, requested the *Ad Hoc* Subcommittee (1) "to study appropriate measures for the fulfillment of the responsibility of the United Nations towards Namibia," (2) declared that South Africa's continued illegal presence in Namibia constituted "an internationally wrongful act and a breach of international obligations," and (3) called once again on South Africa to withdraw from the territory.

In a statement before the vote Ambassador Bennett recalled that the United States had supported both the Assembly's 1966 resolution terminating the mandate and the Council's 1970 resolution requesting the advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice. He noted that Secretary of State Rogers, during an address to the General Assembly on October 4, 1971, had stated U.S. acceptance of the Court's conclusions and had observed that this was consistent with U.S. support of practical and peaceful means to achieve self-determination and end racial discrimination. Ambassador Bennett went on to say that U.S. acceptance of the Court's conclusions did not necessarily imply approval of all the Court's reasoning. (This referred particularly to certain interpretations of the Court regarding the legally binding nature of Security Council decisions not taken under the Charter provisions for mandatory action.) In conclusion he said that the United States wished to see no doors closed in

dealing with the future of Namibia, and he expressed the hope that South Africa's participation in the Council's discussions indicated a willingness to enter into further talks.

In connection with possible talks between South Africa and representatives of the United Nations, the Council also considered a draft resolution, put forward by Argentina, that would have invited the Secretary General on behalf of the United Nations to initiate contacts with all parties concerned with a view to establishing the necessary conditions to enable the people of Namibia to exercise their right to self-determination. However, because of continued disagreement among Council members over the exact formulation of this proposed approach, the Argentine Representative did not bring his proposal to a vote by the end of the year.

## Council for Namibia

The Council for Namibia,<sup>1</sup> established by the General Assembly in 1967 to administer the territory until independence, continued its deliberations on Namibia during the year and submitted its sixth report on October 28. Of principal interest were the Council's recommendations that it represent the territory in all conferences or meetings which might affect the interests of Namibia and in the negotiation, signature, and ratification of all conventions which are universal in application or which affect Namibia. In other recommendations the Council called for increased assistance to Namibian refugees, requested intensified publicity for the Namibian question, and

<sup>1</sup> Members of the Council are Chile, Colombia, Egypt, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Turkey, Yugoslavia, and Zambia.

called on states not to enter into or invoke any treaties with South Africa that included Namibia.

The Council also indicated that it would explore the possibilities, *inter alia*, of membership for itself on behalf of Namibia in the specialized agencies and other organizations in the UN system; of levying taxes on all persons and corporations doing business in Namibia; and of drafting interim laws governing corporations, taxation, and concessions in Namibia.

## General Assembly

The Fourth Committee considered Namibia at 34 meetings between October 7 and December 14. The documentation before it included the report of the Committee on Colonialism which had considered Namibia at 16 meetings between March 4 and September 9 and adopted a consensus very similar to its resolutions of previous years. On December 10 Yugoslavia introduced a draft resolution, finally sponsored by 34 states, that *inter alia* (1) reaffirmed the right of the Namibian people to independence "and the legitimacy of their struggle by all means against the illegal occupation of their territory by South Africa"; (2) condemned South Africa for its continued refusal to withdraw from Namibia and its extension of the policies of apartheid to the territory; (3) deplored and called for the termination of any support given South Africa by any state and by any financial, economic, and other interests operating in Namibia, which enabled South Africa to pursue "its repressive policies in the territory"; (4) invited the Security Council to take effective measures to secure the withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia; (5) requested

all states, the specialized agencies, and other organizations in the UN system to render the Namibian people "all moral and material assistance necessary to continue their struggle" for independence and to work out concrete programs of assistance to Namibia; (5) invited the specialized agencies to give full publicity to the question of Namibia; (6) reaffirmed the direct UN responsibility for Namibia; (7) called on all states to cooperate fully with the Council for Namibia; (8) requested the Secretary General to undertake consultations with the permanent members of the Security Council and with the regional groups not represented on the Council for Namibia with a view to enlarging that Council; and (9) urged the Secretary General to nominate as soon as possible a full time UN Commissioner for Namibia.

The Committee adopted the resolution on December 14 by a vote of 88 to 2, with 8 abstentions (U.S.). The United States explained that although it had been able to support many UN efforts seeking a solution to the problem of Namibia, it found several aspects of this resolution unacceptable. In particular, the United States could not support the implied approval of the use of force to solve the problem, the strictures against those having economic dealings with South Africa, and the request for the specialized agencies to become more deeply involved in providing assistance to the people of Namibia.

The General Assembly in plenary

session adopted the resolution on December 20 by a vote of 111 to 2, with 10 abstentions (U.S.).

A second resolution, introduced on December 10 by Finland and Mexico and finally sponsored by 12 states, *inter alia* (1) reaffirmed the Assembly's 1970 decision to establish a UN Fund for Namibia; (2) decided "as a transitional measure" to allocate \$50,000 to the Fund from the regular UN budget for 1972; (3) authorized the Secretary General to appeal to Governments for voluntary contributions to the Fund; (4) authorized the Secretary General to implement measures on refugee relief, legal aid, and education and training as soon as the necessary funds were available; and (5) requested the Secretary General to undertake a study of Namibia's economic, social, and cultural needs with a view to preparing a plan of coordinated international and technical assistance to be implemented in Namibia after South Africa's withdrawal.

Although the U.S. understanding of the Fund is that it is to be supported by voluntary contributions, it agreed to the second year of transitional funding at the same level as in 1971.

The resolution was approved by the Fourth Committee on December 14 by a vote of 90 (U.S.) to 2, with 7 abstentions, and adopted by the Assembly on December 20 by a vote of 113 (U.S.) to 2, with 7 abstentions.

## Portuguese Territories

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In addition to the Security Council's consideration of two complaints against Portugal (See Part One, p. 26) both the Committee on Col-

onialism and the General Assembly again discussed at some length Portugal's African territories.

The Committee on Colonialism



considered the question at 19 meetings between March 4 and September 14. Its report was before the General Assembly's Fourth Committee which considered the question at 28 meetings between October 11 and December 3.

On December 1 Ghana and India introduced a draft resolution that was finally sponsored by 37 African and Asian states and Yugoslavia. Similar to others adopted in recent years, the resolution *inter alia* (1) reaffirmed the right of the peoples to independence and the legitimacy of their struggle to achieve that right; (2) condemned Portugal's refusal to implement previous resolutions of the Assembly and Security Council; (3) condemned Portugal's colonial war and its violations "of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of neighboring independent African states, thereby seriously disturbing international peace and security"; (4) appealed to all states, particularly the members of NATO, to withdraw any assistance that enabled Portugal "to prosecute the colonial war in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau)"; (5) called on Portugal for, among other things, (a) immediate recognition of the right of the peoples under its administration to self-determination and independence, (b) immediate cessation of its colonial wars and withdrawal of military and other forces, and (c) the proclamation of an unconditional political amnesty; (6) requested all states, specialized agencies, and other organizations in the UN system to

render all the moral and material assistance necessary to continue their struggle to the peoples in the "territories under Portuguese domination, in particular the population in the liberated areas of those territories"; (7) drew the attention of the Security Council to the urgent necessity to consider taking all effective steps to secure "the full and speedy implementation by Portugal" of the Declaration on Colonialism and the Council's decisions concerning the territories; and (8) approved the arrangements established by ECOSOC whereby the three African territories would be represented as associate members of the ECA.

The resolution was approved by the Fourth Committee on December 3 by a vote of 99 to 6 (U.S.), with 6 abstentions, and adopted by the Assembly in plenary session on December 10 by a vote of 105 to 8 (U.S.), with 5 abstentions.

Although the United States has consistently maintained that the peoples of the Portuguese territories, like others, have the right to self-determination, it voted against the resolution because of its generally extreme nature. In particular the United States objected to the paragraph described in point (3) above. Under the UN Charter the finding of a threat to "international peace and security" is not a function of the General Assembly, but of the Security Council and is a basis on which mandatory enforcement action may be taken.

## Southern Rhodesia

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The situation in Southern Rhodesia was considered by both the Security Council and the General

Assembly in 1971. The policies of both the United Kingdom and the United States received much atten-

tion, the former because of its efforts to achieve a Rhodesian settlement and the latter because of its exemption of certain commodities from sanctions enforcement.

## Security Council

The Security Council's Committee Established in Pursuance of Security Council Resolution 253 (1968), otherwise known as the Sanctions Committee, submitted its fourth report to the Security Council on June 16, 1971. The report continued the practice of reporting suspected violations of Rhodesian sanctions and provided available trade data concerning Rhodesia. The report was most notable for the Committee's inability to agree on a concluding section containing observations and recommendations. One group (including the United States) believed that the Committee should study ways and means to improve the enforcement of existing sanctions and make recommendations for future activities to this end. Another group (including the U.S.S.R. and African states) wanted the Committee to recommend new Security Council actions, including such steps as the extension of sanctions to South Africa and Portugal. Efforts to reconcile the differences between the two groups did not succeed.

An expected Security Council meeting to consider the Committee's report did not materialize. Instead, interest shifted to the British-Rhodesian settlement proposals agreed on in Salisbury on November 24. At the request of the United Kingdom the Council met on November 25 to hear an explanation by the U.K. Representative of the settlement proposals. He noted that his government's "five principles" still applied.<sup>1</sup>

On December 29 Somalia introduced a draft resolution, also sponsored by Burundi, Sierra Leone, and Syria, which would, in its key paragraphs, have had the Council (1) decide that the proposals would not enable the people of Southern Rhodesia to exercise their right of self-determination, (2) reject the proposals for a settlement because they did not recognize the rights of the majority, and (3) call on the United Kingdom to facilitate the participation of a UN observer team during any exercise to determine the wishes of the people on their political future. On December 30 the draft failed to win adoption by a vote of 9 to 1 (U.K.), with 5 abstentions (U.S.), the U.K. negative vote constituting a veto.

In explaining the U.S. abstention, Ambassador Bennett noted that as the U.K. Representative had pointed out in November, the proposals for settlement were complicated and detailed, covering many elements of the question and including the test of acceptability. Therefore, although the United States strongly supported the right of the people of Southern Rhodesia to self-determination, it had abstained because it believed it inappropriate for the Security Council to make a judgement opposing the proposals for settlement before the test of acceptability had run its course.

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<sup>1</sup> The five principles were set forth in British-Rhodesian talks looking toward independence prior to the Unilateral Declaration of Independence on Nov. 11, 1965. They were (1) unimpeded progress to majority rule; (2) guarantees against retrogressive amendment of the 1961 constitution; (3) immediate improvement in the political status of the African population; (4) progress toward ending racial discrimination; and (5) need to satisfy the British Government that any basis proposed for independence was acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

In a separate development, the Security Council also considered the effects of an item of U.S. legislation—section 503 of the Military Procurement Authorization Act, which amended the Strategic and Critical Materials Stockpiling Act (60 Stat. 596; 50 U.S.C. §98-98h). The effect of this amendment was to preclude the application of sanctions to the import of strategic materials from Rhodesia after January 1, 1972. Although the Administration opposed the amendment, the President signed the Military Procurement Authorization Act, because of other considerations, on November 17.

The Sanctions Committee met twice in late November at the request of Somalia to consider reports that as of January 1, 1972, it would be permissible to import Rhodesian chrome ore into the United States. At the first meeting, on November 22, several members expressed their concern about the reported U.S. action which could put the government of a member state in violation of the Security Council-imposed sanctions. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Schaufele, reaffirmed the commitment of the United States to enforcing sanctions, and stated he did not think the new law would mean a serious breach in the observance of sanctions, particularly as the quantities that would be imported into the United States would be insignificant compared to the contraband quantities being imported by other states.

At the second meeting, on November 29, Sierra Leone, Somalia, and Syria submitted a working paper suggesting a course of action for the Committee, including recommendations that might be considered for submission to the Security Council. In the Interim Report, adopted December 3, the Committee recommended that the Security Council

should state that any legislation passed by a member allowing the import of an embargoed commodity would weaken the effectiveness of the sanctions, and that the Council should call on all states not to pass or implement such legislation. The Council took no action on the Sanctions Committee's interim report.

## General Assembly

The report of the Committee on Colonialism, which had considered Southern Rhodesia at 20 meetings between March 4 and September 9, formed the basis for the General Assembly's consideration of the question. The Assembly's Fourth Committee discussed the territory at 37 meetings between October 11 and December 16.

The question of U.S. importation of Rhodesian chrome ore was the first aspect of the problem considered by the General Assembly. On November 10 India and Upper Volta introduced in the Fourth Committee a draft resolution that was finally sponsored by 22 African and Asian states and Yugoslavia. It called upon the United States to comply with relevant Security Council resolutions and not import chrome from Southern Rhodesia.

In a statement on November 11 Ambassador Schaufele said that the United States would continue to adhere to the broad, overall sanctions program. He also noted that although the United States had not imported Rhodesian chrome since the sanctions were imposed, Rhodesian ore was selling at higher levels than in 1965 which could only have resulted from violations of the sanctions by other countries.

The resolution was approved in the Committee on November 11 by a vote of 93 to 2, with 12 abstentions, and adopted by the Assembly



in plenary session on November 16 by a vote of 106 to 2, with 13 abstentions. The United States did not participate in either vote because the matter was still under consideration in the U.S. Congress.

The Assembly adopted two resolutions concerning the U.K.-Rhodesian settlement proposals. The first was introduced by Zambia and Pakistan in the Fourth Committee on November 18 and finally sponsored by 22 states. This draft resolution noted in a preambular paragraph that talks were currently under way in Salisbury, and in operative paragraphs it reaffirmed "the principle that there should be no independence before majority rule in Southern Rhodesia," and affirmed that any settlement relating to the future of the territory "must be worked out with the fullest participation of all nationalist leaders representing the majority of the people of Zimbabwe [Southern Rhodesia] and must be endorsed freely by the people."

The resolution was approved by the Committee on November 19 by a vote of 99 to 3, with 10 abstentions (U.S.) and adopted in plenary on November 22 by a vote of 102 to 3, with 9 abstentions (U.S.). At the time the resolution was considered and adopted the talks were still under way in Salisbury and the United States abstained on the basis that the General Assembly should not pre-judge the outcome of the talks.

After the agreement had been signed in Salisbury, Tanzania on December 15 introduced a draft resolution, finally sponsored by 34 states, that rejected the settlement proposals agreed upon, again reaffirmed that there should be no independence in Rhodesia before majority rule, and invited the Security Council "to consider taking appropriate measures" in order to enable the people of the territory to exer-

cise freely their right to independence without further delay. The resolution was approved by the Fourth Committee on December 16 by a vote of 78 to 8, with 21 abstentions (U.S.), and adopted by the Assembly on December 20 by a vote of 94 to 8, with 22 abstentions (U.S.). The United States abstained because it believed that the announced test of acceptability should be allowed to run its course and that the suitability of the settlement proposals was a matter to be decided in Rhodesia.

A more general and comprehensive draft resolution was introduced on November 22 by Indonesia and finally sponsored by 33 states. In its operative paragraphs it, *inter alia*, (1) reaffirmed the right of the people of "Zimbabwe" to independence; (2) strongly deplored the U.K. refusal "to take effective measures" to bring down the regime in Southern Rhodesia; (3) condemned the policies of governments, particularly South Africa and Portugal, that continued to maintain relations with the regime; (4) reaffirmed the conviction that the sanctions would not work unless they were "comprehensive, mandatory, effectively supervised, enforced and complied with by all states, particularly by South Africa and Portugal"; (5) strongly urged all states to take more stringent measures to enforce the sanctions program; (6) called on all states and organizations in the UN system "to extend all moral and material assistance" to the people of the territory; and (7) drew the attention of the Security Council to the need "to widen the scope of the sanctions against the illegal racist minority regime and to impose sanctions against South Africa and Portugal, whose governments persist in their refusal to carry out the mandatory decisions of the Security Council."

The resolution was approved by the Fourth Committee on November 24 by a vote of 89 to 10 (U.S.), with 13 abstentions, and adopted by the Assembly on December 10 by a vote of 91 to 9 (U.S.), with 12 abstentions.

The resolution was basically similar to one adopted by the 25th Assembly in 1970 which the United States had also opposed. While the

United States was able to support the resolution's general aim of achieving self-determination for all people in Southern Rhodesia, it was unable to support the use of force advocated by the resolution to achieve the goal. Neither was the United States able to accept the resolution's provision suggesting that the Security Council expand its Rhodesian sanctions program to include South Africa and Portugal.

## Other Questions

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### General Resolutions

In addition to the resolutions noted in previous sections on specific territories, the 26th General Assembly adopted a number of other resolutions generally related to decolonization.

The first of these, proposed by the Third Committee, was titled "Importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights." The resolution, *inter alia*, (1) confirmed the legality of the peoples' struggle for liberation from colonial and foreign domination, singling out for particular mention the peoples of Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, the Portuguese territories in Africa, and Palestine; (2) condemned "the colonial and usurping powers that are suppressing the right of peoples to self-determination and hampering the liquidation of the last hotbeds of colonialism and racism"; (3) con-

demned the policies of certain NATO members that contributed to the "creation in southern Africa of a military-industrial complex" aimed at suppressing liberation movements and interfering in the affairs of independent African states; and (4) urged the Security Council to ensure the implementation of UN resolutions on the elimination of colonialism and racism. The resolution was approved in the Committee on November 25 by a vote of 74 to 12 (U.S.), with 27 abstentions, and adopted by the Assembly on December 6 by a vote of 76 to 10 (U.S.), with 33 abstentions.

The United States voted against the resolution because of its sweeping condemnations and generally extreme recommendations, although in explaining its vote it reemphasized its support for the principle of self-determination and all legitimate practices thereof.

Four resolutions proposed by the Fourth Committee were virtually the same as resolutions adopted in previous years.

A resolution on the "Activities of

foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the . . . [Declaration on Colonialism] in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid, and racial discrimination in southern Africa" was sponsored by 18 states and based on the Committee on Colonialism's continuing study of this topic. The resolution, *inter alia*, (1) approved the report of the Committee on Colonialism; (2) condemned the present activities and operating methods of those foreign economic and other interests in colonial territories which are designed to perpetuate the subjugation of dependent peoples; (3) called on the states concerned to take legislative, administrative and other measures with respect to their nationals who own and operate enterprises in colonial territories "in order to put an end to such enterprises and to prevent new investments which run counter to the interests of the inhabitants"; and (4) requested the Committee on Colonialism to continue studying this question. The resolution was approved in the Committee on December 14 by a vote of 86 to 7 (U.S.), with 13 abstentions, and adopted by the Assembly on December 20 by a vote of 103 to 8 (U.S.), with 13 abstentions. The United States voted against the resolution because it objected to its underlying assumption that foreign economic interests are an impediment to self-determination.

The Assembly also continued its efforts to involve the specialized agencies and other organizations in the UN system in the process of decolonization. A resolution sponsored by 25 states *inter alia* (1) reaffirmed that UN recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial

peoples entailed "as a corollary, the extension by the United Nations system of organizations of all necessary moral and material assistance to the national liberation movements in those territories, including especially the liberated areas of the colonial territories"; (2) urged the specialized agencies and other UN organizations to discontinue all collaboration with Portugal and South Africa; and (3) invited the specialized agencies to examine, in consultation with the OAU, procedures for the participation "where necessary and appropriate" in meetings and seminars convened by the agencies of representatives of the national liberation movements "in an appropriate capacity." The resolution was approved by the Fourth Committee on December 15 by a vote of 73 to 4 (U.S.), with 23 abstentions, and adopted by the Assembly on December 20 by a vote of 93 to 4 (U.S.), with 27 abstentions.

The United States voted against the resolution because it was concerned at the trend among specialized agencies—encouraged by the resolution—to deal with political matters. The United States believed that **politicizing the specialized agencies** would prevent them from carrying out the tasks entrusted to them in their statutes. Additionally, by urging the agencies to undertake activities beyond their mandates and to become involved in the internal affairs of member states, the resolution would put the agencies in violation of article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter.

In a resolution sponsored by 17 states, the Assembly (1) expressed its appreciation to all who had contributed to the UN Educational and Training Program for Southern Africa since its inception in 1967; (2) urgently appealed for generous contributions to the program; and (3) decided that "as a further tran-



sitional measure" \$100,000 should be made available to the program from the regular UN budget pending receipt of adequate voluntary contributions. The resolution was approved by the Committee on December 14 by a vote of 90 (U.S.) to 2, with no abstentions, and adopted by the Assembly on December 20 by a vote of 121 (U.S.) to 2, with no abstentions.

The United States supported the resolution but placed on record its view that in the future the program should be financed entirely from voluntary contributions and that the system of "transitional funding" from the regular budget should cease.

The Assembly adopted without objection, both in the Committee on December 10 and in plenary on December 20, a resolution inviting all states to make generous offers of study and training facilities to inhabitants of non-self-governing territories and requesting the states administering such territories to provide all the necessary facilities to enable students to avail themselves of such offers.

Three additional resolutions were considered and adopted in plenary without reference to a main committee. As in previous years, the Assembly adopted a lengthy resolution on the "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" which approved the Committee on Colonialism's overall report for 1971 and work program for 1972; reaffirmed that the continuation of colonialism "in all its forms and manifestations—including racism, apartheid and activities of foreign economic and other interests which exploit colonial peoples, as well as the waging of colonial wars to suppress national liberation movements in southern Africa—is incompatible with the Charter"; and gen-

erally repeated many of the points made in other resolutions concerned with various facets of the colonialism question. The United States voted against the resolution, which was adopted on December 20 by a vote of 96 to 5, with 18 abstentions, because of the resolution's generally extreme approach to decolonization.

In a resolution adopted on December 20 by a vote of 110 to 2, with 8 abstentions (U.S.), the Assembly *inter alia* (1) affirmed "the vital importance of urgently effecting the widest possible dissemination of information on the evils and dangers of colonialism"; (2) requested the Secretary General to continue taking concrete measures through all the media at his disposal, including publications, radio, and television, to give widespread and continuous publicity to the UN work in the field of decolonization; and (3) invited all states, the organizations in the UN system, and nongovernmental organizations to undertake in cooperation with the Secretary General and within their respective spheres of competence the large-scale dissemination of information referred to in point (1) above.

The United States abstained because it had reservations on both the effectiveness and the cost of such widespread and continuous publicity.

Finally, the Assembly adopted on December 20, by a vote of 113 (U.S.) to 2, with no abstentions, a resolution urging closer cooperation between the organizations of the UN system and the OAU and inviting the Security Council to consider the request of the OAU that the Council hold in an African capital meetings "devoted solely to the measures to be taken with a view to implementing the various resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly on decolonization, the

struggle against apartheid, and racial discrimination in Africa.”

## Puerto Rico

In an August 17, 1971, letter to the Secretary General, the Permanent Representative of Cuba requested the inclusion of a supplemental item entitled “The colonial case of Puerto Rico” on the agenda of the 26th General Assembly. The explanatory note accompanying the letter and Cuban statements before the Assembly’s General Committee alleged that the 1952 plebiscite on Commonwealth status had not been a free act of self-determination and that Puerto Rico remained a colonial territory. Cuba, therefore, called upon the United Nations to ensure that the people of Puerto Rico would achieve independence in accordance with the General Assembly’s 1969 Declaration on Colonialism.

On September 23 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Bush, told the General Committee that while his government had traditionally refrained from objecting to the inclusion of items on the agenda, it could not follow that tradition in the present case. The Cuban item

was frivolous, totally prejudicial, and constituted an act of interference in the internal affairs of the United States and Puerto Rico. The people of Puerto Rico had fully exercised their right of self-determination in 1952 in a free plebiscite when, by an overwhelming majority, they had approved the terms of the Commonwealth relationship. This was recognized by the General Assembly in 1953 when it adopted a resolution acknowledging that Puerto Rico had achieved a full measure of self-government in compliance with article 73 of the Charter. The U.S. Representative declared that it would be entirely inappropriate for any organ of the United Nations to accept a unilateral attempt to rewrite or redefine the Charter and that the General Committee should, therefore, reject the Cuban item.

The General Committee on September 23 decided, by a vote of 10 (U.S.) to 5, with 8 abstentions, to recommend to the General Assembly that the Cuban item not be included on the agenda. The General Assembly in plenary session on September 24 accepted the recommendation of the General Committee by a rollcall vote of 57 (U.S.) to 26, with 38 abstentions.





**Part IV**

*Legal Developments*



# International Court of Justice

During 1971 Austria accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice under article 36 of the Court's Statute. At the end of the year 47 states had accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court, but a number of countries, including the United States, continued to maintain significant reservations to their acceptances.

## Cases

During 1971 the Court delivered its advisory opinion in the Namibia case and began consideration of a case on appeal from the Council of ICAO concerning Pakistani overflight of Indian territory. In addition, five of the judges were appointed to act as a court of arbitration on behalf of the United Kingdom in the Beagle Channel dispute between Chile and Argentina.

LEGAL CONSEQUENCES FOR STATES OF THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICA IN NAMIBIA (SOUTH-WEST AFRICA) NOTWITHSTANDING SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 276 (1970)

On July 29, 1970, the Security Council requested the International Court of Justice to give an advisory opinion on the following question:

What are the legal consequences for states of the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia, notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970)?

The United States participated in both the written and oral phases of the argument of the case. The U.S. position was that the United Nations had succeeded to the supervisory powers of the League of Nations

over the mandate granted South Africa to administer Namibia, and that therefore the Assembly had validly terminated that mandate by its resolution 2145 of October 27, 1966. The United Nations had assumed direct responsibility for the territory and South Africa was under an obligation to withdraw its administration. Until it did so, however, its responsibilities to the people of Namibia continued.

On June 21, 1971, the Court handed down its advisory opinion, the conclusions of which were consonant with the U.S. position. After disposing of preliminary objections and briefly reviewing the history of the mandate system, the Court turned to the key substantive issues. It found that the Assembly had validly terminated the mandate, but because it lacked the power to implement its resolution it had enlisted the aid of the Security Council. In affirming the termination of the mandate, the Security Council acted under its powers defined in articles 24 and 25 of the UN Charter. The Security Council resolution therefore created a binding obligation on states.

The Court listed three legal consequences for states.

By 13 votes to 2, it advised:

(1) that, the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia being illegal, South Africa is under obligation to withdraw its administration from Namibia and thus put an end to its occupation of the territory.

By 11 votes to 4, it concluded:

(2) that States Members of the United Nations are under obligation to recognize the illegality of South Africa's presence in Namibia and the invalidity of its acts on behalf of or concerning Namibia, and to refrain from any acts and in particular any dealings with the



Government of South Africa implying recognition of the legality of, or lending support or assistance to, such presence and administration;

(3) that it is incumbent upon States which are not Members of the United Nations to give assistance, within the scope of subparagraph (2) above, in the action which has been taken by the United Nations with regard to Namibia.

Appended to the Advisory Opinion were a declaration by the President, Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan; separate opinions by Vice President Ammoun and Judges Padilla Nervo, Petren, Onyeama, Dillard, and de Castro; and dissenting opinions by Judges Fitzmaurice and Gros.

(See pp. 182 for Security Council action on the Advisory Opinion.)

#### APPEAL RELATING TO THE JURISDICTION OF THE ICAO COUNCIL (INDIA V. PAKISTAN)

On August 30, 1971, the Government of India filed in the Registry of the Court an Application instituting proceedings against Pakistan. The case has its origin in India's decision in February 1971 no longer to permit overflight of its territory by Pakistani aircraft. This decision followed the hijacking to Pakistan and destruction by the hijackers of an Indian airliner. The case concerns the question whether the Council of ICAO, a specialized agency of the United Nations, has jurisdiction to deal with a complaint by Pakistan against that decision.

The 1944 Chicago Convention on International Civil Aviation and the International Air Services Transit Agreement, to which both India and Pakistan are parties, accord each the right to overfly the territory of the other. Overflights were suspended during the August-September 1965 hostilities, but reinstated by agree-

ment in February 1966. After the diversion of an Indian aircraft to Pakistan and its destruction at Lahore airport by the hijackers (January 30-February 2, 1971), India suspended overflights of its own aircraft over Pakistan and withdrew permission for Pakistani aircraft to overfly its territory.

On March 3, Pakistan submitted the matter to the ICAO Council, which is empowered to deal with disputes concerning the interpretation or application of the Convention and Agreement. India argued that the Council had no jurisdiction because the dispute related to the termination or suspension of the two agreements. On July 29, 1971, the ICAO Council decided that it had jurisdiction, and the next day India, on the basis of article 84 of the Convention and article II of the Agreement, appealed to the Court. On December 22 India filed its memorial in the case.

#### ARBITRATION OF BEAGLE CHANNEL DISPUTE

Pursuant to a general arbitration treaty of 1902, Chile and Argentina signed an agreement with the United Kingdom in London on July 22, 1971, to arbitrate a 50-year-old dispute over maritime boundaries and islands in the Beagle Channel. The agreement expresses the willingness of the United Kingdom to act as arbitrator. To carry out that function the United Kingdom appointed a court of arbitration composed of Judges Fitzmaurice, Dillard, Gros, Onyeama, and Petren. The judges accepted the appointment and the court was considered legally constituted as of July 19, 1971. The court meets in a place acceptable to the two parties and submits its findings to the United Kingdom for ratification.

## General Assembly Action

The General Assembly's Sixth Committee debated the item "Review of the role of the International Court of Justice" November 9-17, and 29-30.

The item had been included on the agenda for the first time at the 25th General Assembly, in 1970, at the initiative of the United States and 11 other cosponsors, who stressed the urgent need for a study of the obstacles to the satisfactory functioning of the Court and the ways and means of removing them. During the 25th session the Assembly had not been disposed to establish a special committee to review the role of the Court as proposed by the United States but asked states to submit their comments on the matter.

On November 9, 1971, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Bennett, declared:

We have exchanged sufficient generalities on this question. Let us exchange specifics in the give-and-take manner that is only possible in a special or *ad hoc* committee.

The U.S. Representative reviewed some of the things that a special committee might consider in its study of ways to strengthen the role of the Court, including simplifying the rules of procedure, expanding the Court's jurisdiction, greater use of summary proceedings, use of chambers, and the increased use of fact-finding machinery.

Ambassador Bennett concluded:

The Court is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. It has not been used nearly as much as it can or should be. If we are to develop a meaningful international legal order, we must have a functioning judicial organ.

The United States and 29 other cosponsors tabled a resolution that

would have established an *ad hoc* committee. Competing drafts were tabled by the Soviet Union and seven cosponsors and by France and eight cosponsors. The Soviet draft would have postponed further consideration of the role of the Court until the Court completes its own revision of its rules. The French draft invited further comments on the role of the Court but postponed action on the item for at least another year, at which time the item would be taken up again by the 27th Assembly.

On November 30, on a motion by the Egyptian Representative, priority in the voting was given to the French draft by a vote of 54 to 42 (U.S.), with 13 abstentions. The Soviet draft was then withdrawn in favor of the French draft, which was adopted by a vote of 57 to 40 (U.S.), with 12 abstentions. Despite an argument by the Canadian Representative that the 30-power draft was not inconsistent with the French draft and should also be considered, a motion not to vote on other proposals before the Sixth Committee was carried by a vote of 55 to 29 (U.S.), with 17 abstentions.

The resolution approved by the Committee was adopted by the plenary Assembly on December 15 without objection. In supporting the resolution in the plenary meeting, Ambassador Bennett said that the United States would have strongly preferred that the item move further along. Nevertheless it was pleased that the Sixth Committee had held an extensive discussion of the role of the Court and heard a number of positive suggestions for making greater use of it. The United States believed the Assembly's consideration of the matter to be well if somewhat hesitantly launched. It acknowledged that the problems were complex, and looked forward to useful and productive debate on the item in 1972.

# International Law Commission

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The International Law Commission, established by the General Assembly in 1948 to promote the codification and progressive development of international law, is composed of 25 experts, elected by the Assembly for 5-year terms, who serve in their individual capacities. The 26th General Assembly re-elected Richard D. Kearney of the United States to a second term on the Commission.

In discharging its functions the Commission studies topics it believes suitable for codification or which other UN bodies, usually the General Assembly, refer to it. It selects one of its members to prepare a report and, following a preliminary discussion, generally requests the rapporteur to prepare draft articles on the subject. After discussion, the Commission adopts tentative texts which are sent to governments for review. Upon reconsideration in light of the government comments, the Commission adopts final texts and forwards them to the General Assembly.

When the General Assembly receives a set of draft articles, generally in the form of a proposed convention, it may convene a diplomatic conference to consider adoption of a convention, review the articles itself, note them, or remand them to the Commission for further study.

At its 23d session held in Geneva from April 26 to July 30, 1971, the Commission completed its work on relations between states and international organizations and continued its work on treaties concluded between states and international organizations or between two or more international organizations. In response to a recommendation by the

25th General Assembly the Commission decided to include on its agenda the question of nonnavigational uses of international watercourses. The Commission also discussed the problem of the protection and inviolability of diplomatic agents and other persons entitled to special protection under international law. Finally, the Commission began to review its long-term program of work and took several decisions concerning the work to be accomplished at its 1972 session.

## Relations Between States and International Organizations

The Commission gave priority in 1971 to completing its work on relations between states and international organizations, and adopted a draft convention on the subject containing 82 articles and commentaries as well as an annex on observer delegations to organs and to conferences. It recommended that the General Assembly convene a conference of plenipotentiaries to study the draft articles and to conclude a convention on the representation of states in their relations with international organizations.

The draft articles are divided into four parts. Part I contains introductory provisions intended to apply to the articles as a whole. Provisions dealing specifically with missions to international organizations are contained in Part II, and those dealing specifically with delegations to organs and conferences are contained



in Part III. Part IV contains provisions applicable both to missions and to delegations.

Since the draft articles on observer delegations were the last adopted by the Commission and neither governments nor international organizations had an opportunity to comment on them, the Commission decided that they should be contained in an annex. The Commission expressed the view that if the international conference of plenipotentiaries should decide in favor of including observer delegations in the convention the provisions in the annex could be integrated conveniently into the draft articles.

Differing opinions were expressed on whether the draft convention should extend to regional organizations. The Commission adopted an intermediary solution between the positions of those who thought that regional organizations should be included and those who thought that only organizations of a worldwide character should be included. Paragraphs 2 and 4 of draft article 2 recognize that certain provisions in the articles are or are likely to become customary international law and leave it open to states to agree to apply them to international organizations other than those of worldwide character and to conferences convened by or under the auspices of such organizations.

With the adoption of the draft articles on relations between states and international organizations the Commission completed the work of codification in the general field of diplomatic and consular law that began with the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations and continued with the 1963 Vienna Convention on Consular Relations and the 1969 Convention on Special Missions.

## Treaties Between States and International Organizations

The 13-member subcommittee on treaties concluded between states and international organizations or between two or more international organizations met twice during the 23d session and submitted a preliminary report to the Commission. In accordance with a recommendation in that report the Commission appointed Paul Reuter, Commission member from France, as special rapporteur for the question, and requested the UN Secretary General to prepare documentation for the use of the subcommittee during the next session of the Commission.

## Nonnavigational Uses of International Watercourses

The 25th General Assembly had recommended that the Commission take up the study of nonnavigational uses of international watercourses with a view to its progressive development and codification. The Commission decided to include the question in its general program of work without prejudging the priority to be given its study in the future. The Commission members agreed that all relevant materials on states' practice in this field should be appropriately analyzed and compiled. As a first step, it asked the Secretary General to invite governments of member states to provide current materials regarding legislative texts and treaty provisions, as well as any other relevant information which may be useful as evidence of their practice.

## Protection of Diplomats

At the outset of the 23d session one member of the Commission proposed that the problem of the protection and inviolability of diplomatic agents and other persons entitled to special protection under international law be placed on the Commission's agenda. Although the Commission recognized both the importance and the urgency of the matter, it decided that time would not permit it to deal with the subject until 1972.

## Long-Term Program of Work

The Commission had decided in 1970 at its 22d session to bring up to date its long-term program of work. To assist in carrying out this task it asked the Secretary General to prepare a working paper as a basis for it to select a list of topics. The working paper, entitled "Survey of International Law," was presented to the Commission in 1971. It contained a preface, an introduction, and 17 chapters on (1) the position of states in international law, (2) the law relating to international peace and security, (3) the law relating to economic development, (4) state responsibility, (5) succession of states and governments, (6) diplomatic and consular law, (7) the law of treaties, (8) unilateral acts, (9) the law relating to international watercourses, (10) the law of the sea, (11) the law of the air, (12) the law of outer space, (13) the law relating to the environment, (14) the law relating to international organizations, (15) international law relating to individuals, (16) the law relating to armed conflicts, and (17) international criminal law.

The Commission agreed that the document reflected a comprehensive and realistic approach based on a thorough analysis of the achievements, trends, and needs in the field of the codification and progressive development of international law as they appeared in 1971. Following a preliminary exchange of views on specific topics discussed in the survey, the Commission decided to invite members to submit written statements on the review of the Commission's long-term work program. Those statements, together with the survey, would serve as the basis for discussion in connection with the decision to be taken on the subject at the 1972 session.

## Organization of Future Work

The Commission decided that at its 1972 session it would complete the first reading of the entire draft of articles on succession of states in respect of treaties. That topic deals with the extent that treaties previously concluded and applicable with respect to a given territory continue to apply after a change in sovereignty over that territory, as, for example, when a colonial territory becomes independent. It also intends to make substantial progress in the study of state responsibility.

In addition the Commission expressed the hope that it would be able to devote some time in 1972 to considering the succession of states in respect of matters other than treaties, the most-favored-nation clause, and the question of treaties concluded between states and international organizations. Finally, it offered to prepare draft articles dealing with offenses committed against diplomats and other persons entitled to special protection under

international law if the General Assembly so wished.

## General Assembly Action

The Sixth Committee considered the report of the International Law Commission at 13 meetings between October 8 and November 12.

Speaking on October 15 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Bennett, said that his government in general approved the program of work that the Commission had established for itself and he particularly endorsed the proposed work on articles for the protection of diplomats. He commended the Secretariat for its Survey of International Law and the Commission for the draft articles on relations between states and international organizations. He supported the Commission's recommendation for an international conference of plenipotentiaries to conclude a convention on this topic and suggested that it be scheduled for

1974 at UN Headquarters. He also made preliminary comments on several of the draft articles emphasizing U.S. concern that host countries must be protected against abuse of privileges and immunities.

On November 12 the Sixth Committee unanimously approved a resolution that *inter alia* expressed the Assembly's desire that (1) an international convention be concluded expeditiously on the basis of the draft articles on the representation of states in their relations with international organizations; (2) recommended that the Commission continue its work on the subjects mentioned in the preceding section that were already on its agenda; and (3) requested the Commission to submit to it promptly a set of draft articles dealing with offenses committed against diplomats and other persons entitled to special protection under international law.

The General Assembly adopted the resolution in plenary session on December 3 by a vote of 107 to 0, with no abstentions.

## International Trade Law

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The UN Commission on International Trade Law<sup>1</sup> was established by the General Assembly in 1966 to promote "the progressive harmonization and unification of the law of international trade." UNCITRAL's

<sup>1</sup>The members of UNCITRAL in 1971 were Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Chile, Egypt, France, Ghana, Guyana, Hungary, India, Iran, Japan, Kenya, Mexico, Nigeria, Norway, Poland, Romania, Singapore, Spain, Syria, Tanzania, Tunisia, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, and Zaire.

fourth session, which took place in Geneva from March 29 to April 20, 1971, gave principal attention to various aspects of international legislation on shipping, international payments, and international sale of goods. The U.S. Representative was E. Allan Farnsworth.

## Legislation on Shipping

In accordance with a decision taken in 1970 at the third session of UN-



CITRAL, a small working group on international legislation on shipping met in Geneva during the week preceding the fourth session to draw up recommendations for a program of work in the field. The basic recommendation, that the Commission should consider the subject of bills of lading, was unanimously adopted at the fourth session.

The Commission considered that the applicable rules and practices for bills of lading, including those contained in the International Convention for the Unification of Certain Rules Relating to Bills of Lading (the Brussels Convention, 1924) and in the 1968 Brussels Protocol to amend that Convention, should be examined with a view to their possible revision and amplification and that a new international convention might be prepared for adoption under UN auspices if that seemed appropriate.

The Commission expressed the view that the examination of the rules concerning bills of lading should "aim at the removal of such uncertainties and ambiguities as exist and at establishing a balanced allocation of risks between the cargo owner and the carrier, with appropriate provisions concerning the burden of proof." The Commission drew particular attention to the following areas requiring consideration with a view to revision and amplification: (1) responsibility for cargo for the entire period it is in the charge or control of the carrier or his agents; (2) the scheme of responsibilities and liabilities, and rights and immunities, incorporated in articles III and IV of the Convention as amended by the Protocol and their interaction, including the elimination or modification of certain exceptions to carrier's liability; (3) burden of proof; (4) jurisdiction; (5) responsibility for deck cargoes, live animals, and transshipment; (6) extension of

the period of limitation; (7) definitions under article I of the Convention; (8) elimination of invalid clauses in bills of lading; and (9) deviation, sea-worthiness, and unit limitation of liability.

To carry out this task the Commission established a new and enlarged working group of 21 members,<sup>1</sup> including the United States, and requested the working group to plan its program and methods of work in such a way that the examination of topics referred to in the preceding paragraph might be undertaken as quickly as possible. It further requested the working group to meet before the fifth session of the Commission in 1972 and to submit a progress report for consideration at that session.

## Payments

The most important aspect of this topic concerned negotiable instruments. The United States continued to support the approach approved at the third session of UNCITRAL; namely, preparation of uniform rules for a special negotiable instrument that would be available for optional use in international transactions. This approach would confine unification to international payment transactions and, consequently, the proposed uniform rules would not supersede national laws and practices relating to domestic transactions. It was stressed that the uniform rules would apply only to international transactions where the drawer of a negotiable instrument

<sup>1</sup>The working group established by UNCITRAL in 1969 at its second session had seven members: Chile, Egypt, Ghana, India, Italy, U.S.S.R., and United Kingdom. The United States became a member in 1971 as alternate for Italy whose membership on UNCITRAL expired at the end of 1970.

had opted for their application by using an international instrument bearing an appropriate label or designation referring to those rules. There was general agreement that this approach would provide the most feasible solution for the problems in this field of international payments.

The Commission decided to proceed with the preparation of uniform rules and requested the UN Secretary General to prepare a draft of such rules accompanied by a commentary for presentation to the Commission at its fifth session. At that time the Commission would appoint a small working group to take further necessary action.

## Sale of Goods

This topic was divided into three subtopics: (1) uniform rules governing the international sale of goods, (2) time limits and limitations (prescription) in the field of international sale of goods, and (3) general conditions of sale and standard contracts.

In 1964 a diplomatic conference held at The Hague adopted conventions relating to a Uniform Law on the International Sale of Goods and to a Uniform Law on the Formation of Contracts for the International Sale of Goods. Although only five ratifications are required, neither of the conventions had entered into force by the end of 1971.

The United States, which participated in that conference, has always believed that the uniform law on sales, which was conceived primarily in the perspective of external trade between neighboring countries, had a number of major weaknesses when applied to international trade involving overseas shipment. Thus, when the UN Secretary General cir-

culated two questionnaires asking governments whether they intended to ratify or accede to the Hague Conventions, the United States was among the countries expressing the view that these conventions should be revised in order to make them widely acceptable.

In light of the comments of governments the Commission in 1969 set up a working group on sales composed of 14 members, including the United States, to consider whether it would be possible to revise the Uniform Law on International Sale of Goods to make it more generally acceptable or whether it would be necessary to elaborate a new text. UNCITRAL decided in 1970 that the working group should consider the articles systematically. Although the working group was instructed to keep the Commission informed of its progress, the question of whether the Commission in reviewing those reports would resolve questions of principle on which the working group had been unable to reach agreement was left open. Four such questions were placed before UNCITRAL in 1971.

Two of the issues related to the sphere of application of the law. The others concerned the form of contracts of sale and the principles of interpretation applicable to questions concerning matters governed by the convention but not expressly settled in the uniform law. After a thorough discussion the Commission decided that it would take decisions on substantive issues arising in connection with the text being prepared by the working group only after the group had completed its work.

The working group met subsequent to the Commission's decision and decided to defer the issues discussed in the preceding paragraph and to proceed to the examination of articles 18-55, which deal with obligations of the seller.

In 1969 UNCITRAL established a working group on time limits and limitations (prescription) in the international sale of goods and asked it to harmonize the rules for raising claims in connection with international sales transactions. UNCITRAL considered the working group's preliminary draft convention on the subject in 1971. Because the working group had been unable to resolve the basic issue of the length of the prescriptive period, UNCITRAL addressed a questionnaire on this subject to members of the Commission and asked the working group to meet again in August to prepare a final draft in light of the replies to the questionnaire and any other comments of governments. The United States submitted extensive comments on the draft and suggested 4 years as the limitation period.

At its meeting in August the working group made a number of improvements in its text, including adoption of 4 years as the limitation period, and sent a final draft convention to UNCITRAL for consideration in 1972.

During UNCITRAL's discussion on general conditions of sale and standard contracts, the United States expressed the opinion that greater use of general conditions of sale by parties to international contracts would, as a practical matter, promote the unification of the law of international trade. The Commission

decided to request the Secretary General to continue his study on the feasibility of developing general conditions embracing a wider scope of commodities than were covered by existing general conditions.

## General Assembly Action

The General Assembly's Sixth Committee considered UNCITRAL's report at 10 meetings and on October 25 unanimously approved a resolution recommending, *inter alia*, that UNCITRAL should (1) continue to pay special attention to its priority topics, i.e., the international sale of goods, international payments, international commercial arbitration, and international legislation on shipping; (2) accelerate its work on training and assistance, with special regard to developing countries, in the field of international trade law; (3) continue to collaborate with international organizations active in the field of international trade law; (4) continue to give special consideration to the interests of developing countries and to bear in mind the problems of landlocked countries; (5) seek to enhance its efficiency and to ensure full consideration of the needs of all regions; and (6) keep its program of work under constant review.

The General Assembly in plenary session unanimously adopted the resolution on November 17.



# Definition of Aggression

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The Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression,<sup>1</sup> established by the 22d General Assembly in 1967, held its fourth meeting in New York from February 1 to March 5, 1971. It continued its consideration of the three draft definitions that had been introduced during the 1969 session by (1) U.S.S.R.; (2) Colombia, Cyprus, Ecuador, Ghana, Guyana, Haiti, Iran, Malagasy Republic, Mexico, Spain, Uganda, Uruguay, and Yugoslavia; and (3) Australia, Canada, Italy, Japan, United Kingdom, and United States.<sup>2</sup>

The working group that was established during the 1970 session (Cyprus, Ecuador, Egypt, France, Ghana, U.S.S.R., U.K., and U.S.) was reestablished. Neither the working group nor the Special Committee succeeded in formulating an agreed definition, but the working group did submit two reports. The first concerned the general definition of aggression and the principle of priority (i.e., identifying the state first using armed force); the second covered the questions of political entities other than states, legitimate use of force, aggressive intent, acts proposed for inclusion in the definition, proportionality (i.e., an act of

self-defense should be in proportion with the act to which it responds), legal consequences of aggression, and the right of peoples to self-determination. The full Committee considered the first but did not have time to consider the second report.

On March 5 the Special Committee unanimously adopted a draft resolution submitted by Czechoslovakia and Mexico that noted the progress achieved, in particular that the Committee was already engaged in efforts to draft generally acceptable formulations of the individual elements of a definition, and recommended that the 26th General Assembly invite the Special Committee to resume its work in 1972.

The General Assembly's Sixth Committee considered the report of the Special Committee between October 26 and November 15. On November 2 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Bennett, noted that the Committee had made substantial progress and that the United States was prepared to continue in the common efforts toward the achievement of a generally agreed definition, viewing "the possibility of success in these efforts with some optimism." After mentioning the lingering doubts about the utility of defining aggression, which derive from a fear that this task might overshadow the more crucial problems of making the UN collective security system work, he stressed that any definition must be both complete and consistent with the UN Charter. He also reviewed the previously stated U.S. positions on such matters as priority, intent, and legal consequences of aggression. He concluded:

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<sup>1</sup> Members of the Committee are Algeria, Australia, Bulgaria, Canada, Colombia, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Egypt, Finland, France, Ghana, Guyana, Haiti, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Malagasy Republic, Mexico, Norway, Romania, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Turkey, Uganda, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Yugoslavia, and Zaire.

<sup>2</sup> See *U.S. Participation in the UN, 1969*, for details.

The obstacles that remain [to the achievement of an agreed definition] do not seem to my delegation to be insurmountable if good will and flexibility is displayed by all concerned.

On December 3 the General As-

sembly, on the recommendation of its Sixth Committee, adopted a resolution by a vote of 110 (U.S.) to 0, with 3 abstentions, directing the Special Committee to resume its work as early as possible in 1972.

## Host Country Relations

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### Background

The Informal Joint Committee on Host Country Relations was established by the UN Secretary General in 1966, at the suggestion of the United States, to serve as an informal deliberative body for consultation and to help avoid or, if necessary, to resolve problems relating to the status of representatives of members of the United Nations. It was to deal with questions relating to the privileges, immunities, and obligations of representatives of UN members while in the United States, but was not intended to replace direct contact between them and the U.S. Mission in the handling of day-to-day problems.

The Committee was composed of representatives of the permanent missions, of the host country, and of the UN Secretariat. For convenience, the geographical distribution of the representatives of the permanent missions followed that of the Security Council. The Secretary General served as chairman of the committee with the UN Legal Counsel serving in his absence.

The Committee held several meetings during 1966 and 1967. No meetings were held in 1968 or 1969, but in the latter year the 24th General Assembly, in connection with

plans at the time for the future development of the UN Headquarters in New York, adopted a resolution that included a request to the Secretary General to reconstitute and convene on a regular basis the Informal Joint Committee and to report annually to the General Assembly on the Committee's activities.

Reflecting the greater concern evident during the year about the security situation, the 25th General Assembly on December 17, 1970, adopted by a vote of 119 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention, a resolution in which the United States was urged to "make certain that the measures taken to ensure the protection and security of diplomatic missions and their diplomatic personnel are adequate to enable Permanent Missions to the United Nations to perform properly the functions entrusted to them by their governments." It also requested the Secretary General, in consultation with the Informal Joint Committee, to report in a comprehensive manner to the 26th session of the Assembly on the status of the work of the Committee.

The deterioration in the security situation of the missions to the United Nations in New York City resulted primarily from the activities of the Jewish Defense League. Its acts of violence and harassment,

directed principally against the Soviet and certain Arab missions to protest the policies of these governments toward resident Jews and toward Israel, gave rise to a series of complaints both in the United Nations and directly to the U.S. Government.

## Informal Joint Committee on Host Country Relations

During 1971 the Informal Joint Committee met at least once every month. Most of its time was taken up with the question of the protection of permanent missions and their staffs. Numerous missions wrote to the Committee making inquiries, complaints, and protests concerning thefts, burglaries, or robberies to which representatives or missions had been subjected, as well as harassment in various forms and threats of criminal acts against the premises of missions, their personnel, or members of families. In 1971 several cars were fire-bombed and explosives and incendiary devices were found on the premises of the residence of a Permanent Representative to the United Nations.

At a meeting presided over by Secretary General U Thant on March 29, the New York Police Commissioner, Patrick Murphy, explained the functions of his department and assured members that New York City authorities placed a very high priority on providing the best possible protection to the UN community. On numerous occasions both Ambassador Bush and Ambassador Bennett also assured the Committee that U.S. authorities would take all the necessary measures to protect the premises of the missions so that their staffs could carry out their functions.

In a speech in New York City on April 23 at the annual awards dinner of the Overseas Press Club of America, Ambassador Bush strongly condemned bombing threats and other attacks against foreign diplomatic missions and other establishments in New York City. He pointed out that all law-abiding American citizens, the courts, and the press in editorial columns unanimously condemned "these tactics of outlaws." He assured the newsmen that the U.S. Government in cooperation with city and state authorities would make every effort to bring perpetrators to arrest, trial, and punishment if guilty.

In another speech, at the Annual Dinner of the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce on June 24, Ambassador Bush spoke out strongly against what he termed "the illegal and violent activities of the Jewish Defense League." He expressed his concern that the kind of bullying harassment practiced by this group damaged not only the fiber of Soviet-American relations but also the cause of Soviet Jewry.

## Proposed U.S. Legislation

On August 5, 1971, the Attorney General and the Secretary of State submitted to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Vice President, a draft bill "to provide for expanded protection of public officials and foreign officials . . ."

The proposed legislation would provide for federal criminal sanctions against those who commit acts of violence against diplomatic, consular, and other foreign government personnel and their families, as well as officers and employees of international organizations. It would also, *inter alia*, make it a federal crime to bomb or otherwise injure or destroy



personal or real property owned or occupied by any foreign government, international organization, or any of their foreign employees. Ambassador Bush notified the Secretary General of the submission of the bill on August 18.

## General Assembly Consideration

In accordance with the Assembly's 1970 resolution, as noted above, the 26th General Assembly had on its agenda an item on the work of the Informal Joint Committee on Host Country Relations. The General Committee recommended that it be referred to the Sixth Committee for consideration and this recommendation was accepted by the Assembly on September 25.

On the evening of October 20, however, before the item had been considered by the Sixth Committee, a sniper on the rooftop of Hunter College, which overlooks the Soviet Mission, fired four shots from a semi-automatic rifle into a lighted apartment window of the Soviet Mission. Four children were in the apartment at the time the shots were fired. Fortunately there were no personal injuries.

The incident touched off bitter debate in the plenary on the following day and Ambassador Bush, in a formal statement, condemned the act as "the cowardly and hostile action" of extremists. Both in the Assembly and in notes delivered in Moscow and in New York, the U.S.S.R. charged that American officials were not taking effective measures to prevent such incidents and were not punishing those responsible for them.

Another consequence of this incident was that on November 2 six delegations—Cuba, Iraq, Kuwait,

Mauritius, Syria, and the U.S.S.R.—requested that a new item entitled "Security of missions accredited to the United Nations and safety of their personnel" be inscribed on the agenda for debate during the 26th General Assembly.

The six delegations stated that they had proposed the new item because they believed that the security of missions and safety of their personnel had gravely deteriorated in New York City. They pointed to harassment, assaults, bomb threats, and incursions into their missions.

The General Committee considered the new item on November 5 and decided to recommend its inclusion on the agenda and its referral to the Sixth Committee, as proposed by the United States, for consideration jointly with the item on the work of the Informal Joint Committee. This recommendation was accepted by the General Assembly on November 8.

The Sixth Committee considered these items at 13 meetings between November 18 and December 7. Of the representatives who spoke, many questioned whether the U.S. authorities were doing enough to provide adequate protection to the missions so that they could function properly and so that the United Nations itself could function in New York. They said that in spite of the assurances given by the host government representative, they did not believe that enough was being done and that an atmosphere of terror paralyzed the work and whole fabric of the United Nations.

Speaking on November 26 Ambassador Bennett noted that the problem of personal and mission security was not limited to the United States, but was shared by all other host countries, whether the diplomatic community concerned was multi-lateral or bilateral. He reaffirmed, however, that the United States was

“fully committed to ensuring the highest possible level of security and protection to diplomatic missions and their personnel” and that it condemned without reservation any attack against a mission to the United Nations or any representative.

Many representatives favored the creation of a new formal committee to deal with the problem of mission security. Others, including the U.S. Representative, favored allowing the Informal Joint Committee on Host Country Relations to continue to deal with the problem of security of missions. They argued that the informal nature of the Committee, as well as its tripartite character, made it possible for the local authorities to take part in discussions and allowed for a quicker solution of the problem. They feared that institutionalization of the Committee could lead to confrontation.

On December 7, after arduous efforts, the Committee approved, without objection, a compromise resolution which the General Assembly adopted unanimously on December 15.

The resolution established a new Committee on Relations with the Host Country, composed of the host country and 14 member states to be chosen by the President of the General Assembly in consultation with regional groups and taking into consideration equitable geographic representation, and requested the Secretary General to participate actively in the work of the new Committee. The Committee is instructed to deal with the question of the security of

missions and the safety of their personnel, as well as all the issues previously considered by the Informal Joint Committee on Host Country Relations, and to submit a report on its work including, if necessary, appropriate recommendations, to the 27th General Assembly.

In other paragraphs the resolution, *inter alia*, (1) strongly condemned the acts of violence and other criminal acts against the premises and personnel of certain missions to the United Nations; (2) urged the United States to take all requisite measures to ensure the security of UN Headquarters, the missions, and their personnel; and (3) noted with appreciation the assurances given by the representative of the host country that it would intensify its efforts along these lines.

Speaking before the vote Ambassador Bennett explained that U.S. support for the compromise resolution was evidence of the serious and constructive attitude taken by the U.S. Government on the problems. He stated that the U.S. Government accepted its responsibilities as host government and was, further, ready to cooperate with the new Committee.

On December 21 the President of the General Assembly announced the appointment of Argentina, Bulgaria, Canada, People's Republic of China, Cyprus, France, Guyana, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Mali, Spain, Tanzania, U.S.S.R., and the United Kingdom to comprise, with the United States, the Committee on Relations with the Host Country.





Part V

*Budget and Administration*



# UN Financial Situation

## UN Deficit

At the close of the 25th General Assembly in 1970, Ambassador Edward Hambro of Norway, the outgoing President of the General Assembly, was asked by the Secretary General to lend his good offices to assist the Secretary General in finding a solution to the growing UN deficit problem. In May 1971 Ambassador Hambro circulated a memorandum to all members detailing the total debt owed by the organization to others, mostly member governments, and offering his recommendations for an overall solution that would eliminate the deficit and its causes. He suggested a complex of waivers, writeoffs and voluntary contributions to liquidate the \$69.6 million "current" deficit and amortize the \$119.4 million remaining to be paid on the UN bond issue at that time. In the context of an overall solution he proposed approaches that would, *inter alia*, eliminate those budgetary items—principally the UN bond repayments—toward which certain countries had refused to contribute. The expectation was that those countries (i.e., the Soviet bloc and France) would then resume paying their full assessments on the regular budget. There was no immediate reaction to the memorandum.

Several meetings among the major contributors failed to produce results. Although in October France announced a voluntary contribution of \$3.9 million, the move was in response to the Secretary General's appeal for contributions and did not represent any change in its stated position on withholding assessment payments. In December Ambassador Hambro informed the Secretary Gen-

eral that his efforts had reached an impasse and recommended that a committee be established to continue where he had left off. On December 22 the General Assembly, on the proposal of its President, decided to establish a Special Committee on the Financial Situation of the United Nations, composed of Brazil, Canada, People's Republic of China, France, Ghana, India, Japan, Kenya, Mexico, Nigeria, Norway, Poland, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and United States. The Committee was requested to report on its findings and recommendations to the 27th General Assembly.

## UN Budget

The initial UN budget estimates for calendar year 1972 were formally presented to the General Assembly's Fifth Committee (Administrative and Budgetary) by the Secretary General on October 6, 1971. These estimates, admittedly incomplete, called for \$207.7 million in gross expenditures. When later presented to the plenary Assembly, this figure had been reduced by the ACABQ<sup>1</sup> to \$204.1 million, a level which the Secretary General said he could accept.

In addressing the Committee the Secretary General said that "with some restraint in all quarters" the

<sup>1</sup> Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, an expert body of 12 members appointed by the General Assembly for 3-year terms. Albert F. Bender of the United States is a member. On December 13 the Assembly adopted without objection a resolution increasing the membership of the ACABQ from 12 to 13 members in order to include a member from the People's Republic of China.



final level of requirements for 1972, taking into account all potential add-ons, should not exceed \$215 million, providing there were no further appreciable shifts in international currencies. The Secretary General, feeling there was general agreement that "a necessary minimum of resources" should be made available for the orderly fulfillment of the organization's continuing responsibilities, nevertheless recognized that each recommendation would have to be examined in that context and judged on its individual merit. He continued:

At the same time it would be foolish in the extreme to fail to take account of the melancholy fact that the organization is, as of now, in a state of near and hopeless insolvency. . . . In short, 10 years of deficit and drift have resulted in the depletion of our cash resources to the extent that in meeting our most basic obligations we are literally living from hand to mouth.

We have in fact reached the stage where our ability even to continue current activities—still less to undertake new or expanded program initiatives—must be seriously questioned.

While conceding that cuts in future appropriations would not in themselves contribute to the restoration of solvency, he emphasized that a policy of constraint might make it easier for many governments to lend sorely needed voluntary financial support. In the absence of such support, the Secretary General could "see no alternative to proposing . . . a series of restrictive measures designed to arrest any further increase in the deficit" by limiting expenditures to income actually received. He did not intend to make any austerity proposals while talks under the auspices of Ambassador Hambro continued among the major contributors on possible solutions to the deficit problem.

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

The U.S. position was made clear at the very outset of discussions on

the 1972 budget when the U.S. Representative called upon the Secretary General to effect without delay austerity measures to apply to both the 1971 supplemental budget and the 1972 estimates. Although most of the delegations apparently saw no direct connection between the deficit and the budget level, nevertheless the U.S. Representative returned to this theme repeatedly to argue for budgetary restraint and especially against low priority budget increases which could be deferred. These repeated U.S. interventions undoubtedly were instrumental in damping the rate of increase on many, though not all, items.

#### **DOCUMENTATION**

At the 25th General Assembly in 1970, the United States had introduced a draft resolution to reduce overall documentation costs by \$1 million. Although the draft resolution was approved by a narrow margin in the Fifth Committee, it was rejected by the plenary Assembly. However, the longstanding U.S. position in favor of controls on UN documentation was accepted by the 26th General Assembly in 1971.

On December 17 the Assembly adopted, by a vote of 85 to 0, with no abstentions, a resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee designed to limit the volume and control the cost of UN documentation. This resolution requested the Secretary General to reduce the volume of documentation originating in the Secretariat, other than records of meetings, by 15% in 1972 as compared with 1970 and decided to make an overall reduction of \$1.25 million in the funds provided for documentation in 1972. The resolution also decided that reports submitted to the Assembly by its subsidiary organs should be drafted in accordance with certain principles, the most significant of which were

(1) reports should be "action-oriented and concise," (2) introductions to reports should be confined to matters of essential substance rather than procedures, (3) accounts of deliberations should be concise, (4) readily available texts should not be republished, and (5) texts not readily available should be summarized in the main body of the report rather than annexed. In other paragraphs the resolution *inter alia* invited ECOSOC to be guided by the same principles in the preparation of its reports; requested all of the Assembly's Main Committees, when considering items involving the submission of annual reports, to review whether such reports might not be submitted at less frequent intervals, and requested the Secretary General to reflect in his budget estimates for 1973 and subsequent years the progressive savings resulting from this resolution and to report to the 28th Assembly on the resolution's implementation.

The resolution resulted from the work of the Special Committee on the Rationalization of the Procedures and Organization of the General Assembly (See Part One, p. 66) and from a year-long study by the Joint Inspection Unit (JIU). Action on another JIU study dealing with recurrent UN publications was deferred until 1972 in order to gather more data on the utility of certain publications.

In a separate but related effort, the United States succeeded in convincing the other members of the CCD to accept a new system of producing verbatim texts only of statements delivered in conference sessions rather than full verbatim records. This agreement should result in a saving of more than \$200,000 in the documentation costs for the CCD alone in 1972.

#### SALARIES AND WAGES

The Fifth Committee devoted 10

sessions between November 2 and 18 to the question of Secretariat staffing in terms of salary and wage costs. Some delegations objected to the constant increase in staff at a time when the organization was in a critical financial condition, while others noted the heavy reliance on outside experts and consultants. Still others expressed disappointment that the manpower utilization surveys conducted by the Administrative Management Service (AMS) had not succeeded in improving productivity. On November 5 the U.S.S.R. introduced a draft resolution which would have held the staff in 1972 to the 1971 level, discontinued all provisional posts, and requested an urgent study by the Secretary General aimed at raising the productivity of the staff and reducing the need for temporary assistance. Paradoxically, the Soviets cited the serious financial situation (of which they were the primary cause) as the motivation for their resolution. On November 11 the U.S. Representative, Albert F. Bender, Jr., noted that his government shared the concerns voiced by many delegations about staff increases and the extensive use of consultants, temporary assistance, and overtime. He expressed the view that austerity measures were called for and proposed a draft resolution which would have: (1) limited requests for new posts to those recommended by the AMS and subsequently approved by the Secretary General, with allowances made for special situations arising from decisions made after the initial budget estimates were prepared; (2) applied an 80% turnover deduction (the amount deducted from the wage and salary estimates to cover the average period of recruitment for any position) for professional posts and a 40% deduction for general service posts; (3) held 1972 expenditures for consultants, temporary assistance, and overtime to the 1971 level; and (4) al-

lowed for no new provisional posts in 1972 but provided for continuation of those already in existence.

After lengthy discussion, it became clear that a majority of the Committee had serious reservations about both the U.S. and U.S.S.R. draft resolutions. This majority, including nearly all the developing countries, apparently saw no direct link between the level of the budget and the financial crisis. Furthermore, it felt that any reductions beyond those already recommended by the ACABQ might seriously and adversely affect the work of the organization, with particular reference to the goals of the Second Development Decade. Sensing certain defeat of their draft resolutions, both the Soviet and U.S. Representatives withdrew their proposals. As recommended by the ACABQ, the Committee on November 18 approved the sum of \$92.8 million for "salaries and wages" by a vote of 68 to 10, with 1 abstention (U.S.). This sum was subsequently raised to \$96.2 million as the result of certain revised estimates and the need to implement resolutions adopted by the Assembly during its 26th session. The latter figure was in the final budget adopted on December 22.

#### INFORMATION POLICIES AND ACTIVITIES

At 14 sessions between November 3 and December 2 the Fifth Committee debated a report containing a review and reappraisal of UN information policies and activities which had been prepared by the Secretary General. The report *inter alia* attempted to formulate a set of criteria for measuring information expenditures in relation to the current and projected activities of the Organization. The ACABQ did not make any recommendations on the report since it maintained that the basic concern was a policy question

rather than administrative and budgetary, although the report did contain the details of a 5-year program to refurbish the equipment and expand the activities of the Office of Public Information (OPI) at an estimated cost of \$4 million.

After deciding that it was indeed the proper body to consider the question of information policy, the Fifth Committee addressed itself to the terms of reference established for the OPI in 1946 by the 1st General Assembly, and a determination of the essential role of the OPI in disseminating information. Several draft resolutions and numerous amendments were proposed and 17 separate votes were taken before the Committee on December 2 adopted a resolution that *inter alia* (1) decided there was no need to revise, amend, or enlarge the original terms of reference for the OPI, subject to such directives as might be given from time to time by the General Assembly; (2) approved the Secretary General's proposals for the acquisition and replacement of equipment for OPI in 1972, but deferred consideration of the balance of the proposed 5-year program until the 27th General Assembly; (3) approved in principle the Secretary General's proposal to establish an experimental regional information production bureau in Addis Ababa but deferred consideration of its implementation until the 27th General Assembly; and (4) requested the Secretary General to revive the Consultative Panel on Public Information, an advisory group composed of the permanent representatives of 13 member states when it last convened in 1967, and, after a review of its size and composition, to draw upon this body for advice and assistance on all information policies and activities.

The vote in the Committee was 59 to 1, with 33 abstentions (U.S.). On December 22 the plenary Assem-



bly adopted the resolution by a vote of 96 to 1, with 23 abstentions (U.S.). Although the United States wished to see the UN information activities strengthened and agreed with certain parts of the resolution, it abstained because it believed that the matter should be considered in full by the reconstituted Consultative Panel on Public Information before any action was taken.

#### TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

On November 11, by a vote of 88 to 13 (U.S.), with 5 abstentions, the General Assembly's Second Committee approved a resolution calling for the creation of a new section 12 in the Part of the budget for Technical Programs to provide separate financing for the UN technical program of regional and subregional advisory services which heretofore had been funded from section 13 (economic and social development). These services, which are provided at the request of developing nations, offer expert advice on such matters as public administration and finance, transportation, statistics, population, and development planning. The estimated \$1.8 million to be provided for advisory services was to be transferred from section 13 to the new section 12. However the resolution also stipulated that section 13 was to remain at its previous funding level (\$5.4 million), with the additional \$1.8 million replenishment to be allocated to programs for the least developed member states.

The proponents of the resolution based their arguments on the need to make funds directly available to the regional economic commissions and the UN Economic and Social Office in Beirut, thus decentralizing in fact part of the UN operation. They also pointed out that in addition to the priority needs of the least developed, the added \$1.8 million was fully justified since the level of

technical assistance in the UN budget had remained unchanged for several years even though prices and wages had climbed precipitously in the interim. Others, including the United States, opposed any expansion of technical assistance programs under the regular budget (believing that they should be funded instead from the UNDP), and in particular any increase at this time of dire financial crisis in the United Nations.

The resolution as adopted by the Second Committee was referred to the Fifth Committee for consideration because it involved both a change in the budget format and an additional appropriation. The related ACABQ report dealt, for the most part, with the question of whether the Second Committee had infringed on the powers of the Fifth Committee by adopting a resolution affecting the budget format. No recommendation on the substance of the resolution was made since, in the opinion of the ACABQ it concerned a policy, rather than a fiscal, decision.

The arguments adduced in the Second Committee were repeated in the Fifth Committee debate. The United States questioned whether the UN budget should contain any funds at all for technical assistance programs, particularly in view of the UN financial situation. The U.S. Representative, Congressman Derwinski, pointed out that the U.S.S.R. in particular had, since 1963, been making its contribution to that part of the budget in inconvertible rubles which had not been requested and were not utilizable by the United Nations. Therefore, there had consistently been a gap between the expenditures authorized by the General Assembly and the amount contributed by member states. That gap, together with certain other well-known cases of the withholding of funds, had resulted in the liquidity crisis. He noted that Mr. Hambro had drawn attention to the problem

posed by this part of the budget. A solution might be to remove that part from the budget and redistribute its components elsewhere, both within the budget and outside it. For example, narcotic drug control could be funded from the UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control, the technical assistance activities could be funded from UNDP, and the various other sections might be distributed elsewhere in the UN budget. In the meantime, he continued, the United States would oppose the additional \$1.8 million appropriation.

Despite vigorous opposition by the United States and other major contributors, the Committee by a vote of 61 to 13 (U.S.), with 8 abstentions, adopted a proposal by the Chairman that the General Assembly should be informed that if it approved the Second Committee's draft resolution an additional appropriation of \$1.8 million would be required. The General Assembly in plenary session adopted the resolution on December 14 by a vote of 92 to 10 (U.S.), with 7 abstentions.

#### FINAL BUDGET LEVEL

After taking into account the additional requirements for funding resulting from deliberations during its 26th session, the General Assembly on December 22 adopted a gross expenditure budget for 1972 of \$213.1 million, an increase of \$20.9 million over the 1971 appropriations level. More than one-half of the increase—\$11.8 million—was attributable to wages, salaries, and other staff-related costs needed to maintain the 1971 establishment in 1972; \$3.2 million more was needed because of currency revaluations; and new ad-

ditions to the staff required \$2.8 million more. The remainder of the increase was principally for (1) increased construction costs in Geneva, Santiago, Addis Ababa, and Bangkok; (2) the third UN Conference on Trade and Development; (3) replacing public information equipment; (4) progressive occupancy of new offices in Geneva; and (5) some program expansion in the fields of trade promotion and industrial development.

For the second consecutive year the United States did not vote for the UN budget which was adopted by a vote of 106 to 9, with 7 abstentions (U.S.).

In an explanation of vote, Congressman Derwinski cited increased expenditures for staff costs, construction of UN buildings, and increased technical assistance activities to illustrate why the United States had serious reservations about the level and content of the 1972 budget estimates and the attitude which it reflected with respect to the deficit.

. . . we fail to understand how, when the organization is faced with a situation in which it forecasts the impossibility of meeting its payroll next year, governments can take a business-as-usual attitude with respect to the 1972 budget estimates just as if no financial problem existed. . . .

. . . In our view, unless and until this deficit problem is solved with the necessary cooperation by states which have not paid their assessments, the only proper method of dealing with the matter is to limit expenditures by the organization to the level of contributions actually received.

After deducting the credit due to the United States for UN bond repayments and interest, the U.S. share of total assessments against members for 1972 was \$60,119,286.

# Assessments

The U.S. percentage shares of the assessment budgets of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, and the IAEA are as follows:

	1971 Percent	1972 Percent
United Nations .....	31.52	31.52
FAO .....	31.57	31.52
ICAO .....	30.87	28.75
ILO .....	25.00	25.00
IMCO .....	8.08	8.04
ITU .....	11.58	11.47
UNESCO .....	29.80	29.80
UPU .....	4.22	4.20
WHO .....	30.87	30.84
WMO .....	23.86	23.86
IAEA .....	31.45	31.716

## UN Scale

The Committee on Contributions, composed of 12 experts serving in their individual capacities,<sup>1</sup> is responsible for recommending the scale of assessments to the General Assembly on a triennial basis, and determining annually the assessment rates of new members. In 1970 the Committee recommended a scale under which the U.S. assessment was reduced from 31.57% to 31.52% for the years 1971-73.

The UN scale of assessments, within limits prescribed by floor and ceiling principles and subject to modifications for low per capita national income, is based broadly upon the relative capacity to pay, measured by comparing net national products at market prices. Under the floor principle, no member state is assessed less than 0.04%. With respect to the

<sup>1</sup> Seymour Maxwell Finger of the United States was a member of the committee until his retirement in August 1971. On December 13 the General Assembly appointed David L. Stottley of the United States to replace him.

ceiling, the General Assembly decided in 1957, on U.S. initiative, that "in principle, the maximum contribution of any one member state to the ordinary expenses of the United Nations shall not exceed 30% of the total." In accordance with this principle, which is being implemented in stages, the U.S. percentage share was reduced from 33.33% to 31.91% during the period 1957-67, further reduced to 31.57% for 1968-70, and has now been reduced to 31.52% for the 1971-73 triennium.

In presenting the Committee's report to the Fifth Committee on October 13, 1971, the Chairman, Ambassador Syed Amjad Ali of Pakistan, referred to the assessments recommended for the new member states, Fiji and Bhutan, which were set at 0.04%, and explained that the assessment of the other new members—Bahrain, Oman, and Qatar—which had not yet applied for membership when the Committee met in April 1971, would be considered at its next annual meeting in May 1972.

In 1971, the Committee considered appeals for changes in assessments submitted by Pakistan and Romania based on natural disasters in the form of floods suffered by these countries. The Committee reported that in relation to the magnitude of these disasters, any adjustment in the present scale could only offer insignificant relief to the two countries. Further, the two countries had received substantial emergency aid required by them for relief and reconstruction. The appeals were therefore denied. The Chairman did state, however, that in the next general review of the scale of assessments in 1973, which will be based on statistics of national incomes for



the years 1969-71, these events would be taken into account and the Committee might make special allowances, as in the past, for the serious economic effects of natural disasters occurring during the 3-year interval.

Several delegations noted with satisfaction the progress made toward greater comparability in the statistical data used as the basis for the Committee's work, and the improvements in the methods for establishing the scale; they looked forward to still further improvements in the methods. Further, confidence was expressed that the Committee's study of the suggested revisions of the different elements of the low per capita allowance formula would result in a formula more in keeping with the economic realities of the world. The view was also put forward that, in the efforts to improve the present methods for establishing the scale, it was important to ensure that any changes in criteria would, in fact, result in a more equitable method of assessment.

On October 13 the Fifth Committee recommended, by a vote of 69 (U.S.) to 0, with no abstentions, a resolution approving the assessment percentages for Bhutan and Fiji. On November 8 the General Assembly in plenary session adopted the rate of assessment for the two countries without a vote.

In its report to the President on April 26, 1971, The President's Commission for the Observance of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, under the chairmanship of Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, recommended:

... that the United States affirm its intention to maintain and increase its total contributions to the UN, but that, as part of a redistribution of responsibilities, it will seek over a period of years to reduce its current contribution

of 31.52 percent to the assessed regular budget of the Organization so that eventually its share will not exceed 25 percent.

In making this recommendation, however, the Commission emphasized:

... that it is in no way proposing any diminution of the overall commitment of U.S. resources to the UN system. Each reduction in the U.S. share of the regular budget must be clearly marked by at least a corresponding increase in U.S. contributions to one or more of the voluntary budgets or funds in the UN system.

On December 2, 1971, Assistant Secretary of State Samuel De Palma informed the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements of the House Foreign Affairs Committee that the Department of State had given serious consideration to the Commission's recommendation. The Department had decided that the 25% ceiling was an appropriate and necessary goal for the United States to pursue and it would work to achieve it as rapidly as possible, with the hope that this could be accomplished in connection with the admission of new members.

The U.S. intention to seek a reduction of its assessment rate to 25% was announced at the General Assembly in plenary on December 22, 1971, by Congressman Derwinski.

In explaining the U.S. position, Congressman Derwinski stated:

... we believe that a reduction of the United States assessment percentage to 25 percent would be beneficial to the United Nations because the organization ought not to be overly dependent on the contribution of a single member. We do not believe it is politically advisable for an organization of sovereign and juridically equal states, which is approaching universality of membership, to perpetuate the existing extreme disparity between voting power on the one hand and financial contributions on the other.

# Personnel

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The secretariats of the United Nations and the specialized agencies continued to increase in size during 1971. On December 31, 1971, there were 6,312 professional employees, compared with 6,166 for the previous year. U.S. nationals employed in the secretariats rose to 917 from 877 in the year before and, in percentage of total professional staff, increased from 14.22% to 14.52%. Among the various organizations, the percentage of Americans increased in the United Nations, IAEA, ICAO, UNESCO, UPU, and WHO; remained the same in WMO; and declined in FAO, ILO, IMCO, and ITU. The largest increase was in the UN Secretariat where the number of Americans increased from 411 (19%) in 1970 to 439 (19.49%) at the end of 1971. With respect to senior posts in the secretariats, Americans already serving within the respective organizations were promoted to the UNESCO and FAO posts of Deputy Director General, while in WHO one American replaced another as Assistant Director General for Administration.

The number of Americans employed by the UNDP as experts rose from 381 (7.37%) to 420 (7.84%) during 1971, a modest increase in relation to the U.S. capacity to provide experts and the U.S. financial contribution to the UNDP.

On December 21, by a vote of 99 (U.S.) to 2, with 7 abstentions, the 26th General Assembly adopted a resolution recommended by its Fifth Committee authorizing the Secretary General to reduce the interval between salary increments, as appropriate, to 10 or 20 months, instead of 12 or 24 for staff in the director, principal officer, and professional

categories who are subject to geographical distribution and who have an adequate and confirmed knowledge of a second official language of the United Nations.

The Fifth Committee also discussed measures to achieve a more equitable geographic distribution of staff in the Secretariat. Most of the statements emphasized the need to ensure full implementation of previous resolutions toward that end rather than the development of further guidelines. It was the consensus of the Committee, therefore, that there was no need for a new resolution on the subject at the 26th session. However, the Fifth Committee decided, without objection, to include in its report to the Assembly a paragraph expressing its concern at the "inadequate progress in achieving equitable geographic distribution within the United Nations Secretariat" and requesting the Secretary General to insure rapid implementation of previous General Assembly resolutions and decisions on this question. The Committee also requested the Secretary General to include in his report to the 27th Assembly information on the situation with regard to the implementation of these decisions along with a "long-term plan of recruitment."

The Fifth Committee had before it a report of the Joint Inspection Unit on UN personnel problems. This report contained a critical analysis of the methods currently used by the United Nations in the recruitment, training, promotion, and administration of its staff in the professional and higher categories and presented a series of recommendations to correct the difficulties en-

countered. The Committee agreed that consideration of the substance of the report should be deferred until the 27th Assembly, as requested by the Secretary General, and recommended that the Secretary General and the ACABQ make a full submission on the report at that time,

taking into account the views and recommendations of the Special Committee for the Review of the United Nations Salary System as well as the results of the survey of the Office of Personnel to be undertaken by the Administrative Management Service.

## Voluntary Programs

A number of programs of the United Nations and the specialized agencies are financed by voluntary contributions from participants rather than by regular assessments on the

members. In 1971 U.S. pledges to programs in this category, including commodities and services as well as cash, were as follows:

	<i>Amount (Thousands of dollars)</i>
South Asian Humanitarian Assistance:	
UN Relief Operation in East Pakistan .....	18,920
UN High Commissioner for Refugees <sup>a</sup> .....	91,807
UN Development Program .....	86,268
UN/FAO World Food Program .....	54,560
UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees <sup>b</sup> .....	23,200
UN Children's Fund .....	18,722
UN Fund for Population Activities .....	14,540
UN Force in Cyprus .....	4,800
UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control .....	2,000
IAEA Operational Program .....	1,550
WMO—Voluntary Assistance Program .....	1,500
UN High Commissioner for Refugees Program .....	1,000
Special Contributions for Viet-Nam:	
FAO .....	615
UNICEF .....	335
WHO—Special Programs <sup>c</sup> .....	469
UN Institute for Training and Research .....	400
WHO—International Agency for Research on Cancer .....	312
UN Volunteers .....	200

<sup>a</sup> Does not include \$600,000 grant to UNICEF.

<sup>b</sup> Includes \$1 million special contribution for vocational training.

<sup>c</sup> Special accounts for cholera emergency and malaria eradication programs.



# Budgets: Specialized Agencies and IAEA

The adjusted gross budgets of the specialized agencies and IAEA in 1971 totaled \$226.2 million and increased by \$29.9 million in 1972 to \$256.2 million. The 1972 increase,

including over \$7 million for initial staff assessments in the FAO budget, compares to an increase of \$19.8 million in 1971 over 1970.

<i>Agency</i>	<i>1971 (Adjusted)</i>	<i>1972 (Estimated)</i>	<i>Increase</i>
FAO .....	\$ 35,284,000	<sup>a</sup> \$ 50,149,000	\$14,865,000
ICAO .....	9,809,359	11,039,800	1,230,441
ILO .....	32,179,849	<sup>b</sup> 35,751,500	3,571,651
IMCO .....	<sup>c</sup> 1,581,100	1,959,900	378,800
ITU .....	<sup>d</sup> 6,397,100	<sup>e</sup> 7,739,141	1,342,041
UNESCO .....	44,949,280	<sup>f</sup> 44,949,280	—
UPU .....	<sup>g</sup> 1,903,778	<sup>g</sup> 2,042,073	138,295
WHO <sup>h</sup> .....	76,007,576	82,023,000	6,015,424
WMO .....	3,921,783	3,962,400	40,617
IAEA .....	14,214,000	16,561,000	2,347,000
<b>Total</b> .....	<b>\$226,247,825</b>	<b>\$256,177,094</b>	<b>\$29,929,269</b>

<sup>a</sup> Includes an estimated \$7,170,000 for initial staff assessments.

<sup>b</sup> First year of biennial budget.

<sup>c</sup> Includes 1971 supplemental appropriation.

<sup>d</sup> At 4.31 Swiss francs to the U.S. dollar.

<sup>e</sup> At 3.84 Swiss francs to the U.S. dollar.

<sup>f</sup> Second year of biennial budget.

<sup>g</sup> At 3.86 Swiss francs to the U.S. dollar.

<sup>h</sup> Effective working budget.



*Appendixes*



# I. Principal Organs of the United Nations

The UN Charter established six principal organs of the organization: General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council, Trusteeship Council, International Court of Justice, and Secretariat.

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## General Assembly

The General Assembly is the only principal organ of the United Nations on which all 132 members are represented. They are:

Afghanistan	Greece	Nigeria
Albania	Guatemala	Norway
Algeria	Guinea	Oman
Argentina	Guyana	Pakistan
Australia	Haiti	Panama
Austria	Honduras	Paraguay
Bahrain	Hungary	Peru
Barbados	Iceland	Philippines
Belgium	India	Poland
Bhutan	Indonesia	Portugal
Bolivia	Iran	Qatar
Botswana	Iraq	Romania
Brazil	Ireland	Rwanda
Bulgaria	Israel	Saudi Arabia
Burma	Italy	Senegal
Burundi	Ivory Coast	Sierra Leone
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Jamaica	Singapore
Cameroon	Japan	Somalia
Canada	Jordan	South Africa
Central African Republic	Kenya	Spain
Ceylon	Khmer Republic	Sudan
Chad	Kuwait	Swaziland
Chile	Laos	Sweden
China	Lebanon	Syria
Colombia	Lesotho	Tanzania
Congo	Liberia	Thailand
Costa Rica	Libya	Togo
Cuba	Luxembourg	Trinidad and Tobago
Cyprus	Malagasy Republic	Tunisia
Czechoslovakia	Malawi	Turkey
Dahomey	Malaysia	Uganda
Denmark	Maldives	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Dominican Republic	Mali	U.S.S.R.
Ecuador	Malta	United Arab Emirates
Egypt	Mauritania	United Kingdom
El Salvador	Mauritius	United States
Equatorial Guinea	Mexico	Upper Volta
Ethiopia	Mongolia	Uruguay
Fiji	Morocco	Venezuela
Finland	Nepal	Yemen (Aden)
France	Netherlands	Yemen (San'a)
Gabon	New Zealand	Yugoslavia
Gambia	Nicaragua	Zaire
Ghana	Niger	Zambia

The 26th regular session of the General Assembly convened Sept. 21 and adjourned Dec. 22. The Assembly elected Adam Malik (Indonesia) President, and the chairmen of the delegations of Belgium, Burundi, China, Costa Rica, France, Greece, Hungary, Japan, Peru, Sierra Leone, Sudan, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela, Yemen (Aden), and Zambia as the 17 Vice Presidents.

The chairmen of the seven main committees, on which each member may be represented, were:

First (Political and Security)—Milko Tarabanov (Bulgaria)

Special Political—Cornelius C. Cremin (Ireland)

Second (Economic and Financial)—Narciso Reyes (Philippines)

Third (Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural)—Mrs. Helvi Sipila (Finland)

Fourth (Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories)—Keith Johnson (Jamaica)

Fifth (Administrative and Budgetary)—Edward Olu Sanu (Nigeria)

Sixth (Legal)—Zenon Rossides (Cyprus)

The General Committee (or steering committee) is composed of the President, the 17 Vice Presidents, and the chairmen of the seven main committees.

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## Security Council

Five members designated in the Charter as permanent; 10 elected by the General Assembly for 2-year terms ending Dec. 31 of the year given in the heading.

*Permanent  
members*

China  
France  
U.S.S.R.  
United Kingdom  
United States

*1971*

Burundi  
Nicaragua  
Poland  
Sierra Leone  
Syria

*1972*

Argentina  
Belgium  
Italy  
Japan  
Somalia

On Nov. 23 the Assembly elected Guinea, India, Panama, Sudan, and Yugoslavia for terms beginning Jan. 1, 1972.



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## Economic and Social Council

Twenty-seven members elected by the General Assembly for 3-year terms ending Dec. 31 of the year given in the heading.

1971	1972	1973
Indonesia	Brazil	Haiti
Jamaica	Ceylon	Hungary
Norway	France	Lebanon
Pakistan	Ghana	Malagasy Republic
Sudan	Greece	Malaysia
U.S.S.R.	Italy	New Zealand
United Kingdom	Kenya	Niger
Uruguay	Peru	United States
Yugoslavia	Tunisia	Zaire

On Nov. 23 the General Assembly elected Bolivia, Burundi, Chile, People's Republic of China, Finland, Japan, and Poland, and reelected the U.S.S.R. and the United Kingdom for terms beginning Jan. 1, 1972.

ECOSOC held its 50th session in New York, Jan. 11-13 and Apr. 26-May 21. It held the first part of its 51st session in Geneva, July 5-30, and the resumed part of its 51st session in New York, Oct. 27-29, Nov. 23 and 30, and Dec. 20.

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## Trusteeship Council

Two members\* that administer territories and the four nonadministering permanent members of the Security Council.

Australia*	U.S.S.R.
China	United Kingdom
France	United States*

The Trusteeship Council held its 38th session in New York, May 25-June 18.

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## International Court of Justice

Fifteen members elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council for 9-year terms ending Feb. 5 of the year given in parentheses. Members are listed in order of precedence.

Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan (Pakistan) (1973), President  
Fouad Ammoun (Lebanon) (1976), Vice President  
Sir Gerald Fitzmaurice (United Kingdom) (1973)  
Luis Padilla Nervo (Mexico) (1973)  
Isaac Forster (Senegal) (1973)  
André Gros (France) (1973)  
Cesar Bengzon (Philippines) (1976)  
Sture Petré (Sweden) (1976)  
Manfred Lachs (Poland) (1976)  
Charles D. Onyeama (Nigeria) (1976)  
Hardy C. Dillard (United States) (1979)  
Louis Ignacio-Pinto (Dahomey) (1979)  
Federico de Castro (Spain) (1979)  
Platon D. Morozov (U.S.S.R.) (1979)  
Eduardo Jiménez de Aréchaga (Uruguay) (1979)

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## Secretariat

The Secretariat consists of a Secretary General who is the chief administrative officer of the organization and such staff as the organization may require. The Secretary General is appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council; the staff is appointed by the Secretary General under regulations established by the General Assembly.

On Dec. 22 the General Assembly appointed Kurt Waldheim of Austria as Secretary General for a 5-year term beginning Jan. 1, 1972. He succeeded U Thant of Burma whose term expired Dec. 31, 1971.

## II. U.S. Representation in the UN

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### United States Missions

#### U.S. MISSION AT UN HEADQUARTERS IN NEW YORK

The United States is represented by a permanent mission at the Headquarters of the United Nations in New York. Under the direction of the U.S. Representative to the United Nations, the mission carries out the instructions of the President, as transmitted by the Secretary of State. It serves as the channel of communication for the U.S. Government with the UN organs, agencies, and commissions at the Headquarters and with the delegations of other nations to the United Nations. It is also a base of operations for the U.S. delegations to the General Assembly and to other UN bodies when they meet in New York.

The structure, organization, and functions of the U.S. mission to the United Nations have been determined in the main by the following:

(1) The requirements of the UN Charter and the resolutions of UN organs.

(2) The provisions of the United Nations Participation Act (Public Law 264, 79th Cong.) as amended by Public Law 341 of the 81st Congress and Public Law 206 of the 89th Congress.

(3) Executive Order 10108.

(4) Location of UN Headquarters in the United States and the consequent need for the United States to

assume the responsibilities of "host government."

(5) The fact that the United States is represented on all organs and almost all commissions and committees of the United Nations.

The main source of policy guidance and strategic direction for the conduct of U.S. participation in the United Nations is the Department of State.

The chief of mission, who has the rank of ambassador, is the U.S. Representative to the United Nations; he also represents the United States in the Security Council. He is assisted by other persons of the appropriate title, rank, and status, who are appointed by the President to represent the United States in the principal organs of the United Nations. These persons, at the direction of the U.S. Representative, represent the United States in any organ, commission, or other body of the United Nations, including the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, and the Trusteeship Council.

The mission has a staff consisting of political, economic, social, financial, and legal advisers, public affairs specialists, and an administrative section. This staff assists the U.S. Representative in (1) planning the tactical pursuit of U.S. policy objectives in the light of the political, economic, and parliamentary situations in UN organs and bodies; (2) carrying on consultation, negotiation, and liaison with other delegations and the UN



Secretariat; (3) preparing policy recommendations to the Department of State; (4) reporting to the Department of State on consultations and developments in the United Nations; (5) discharging U.S. responsibilities as "host government," in particular those arising from the Headquarters Agreement between the United States and the United Nations (Public Law 357, 80th Cong.), the International Organizations Immunities Act (Public Law 291, 79th Cong.), and the Convention on Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations (entered into force with respect to the United States Apr. 29, 1970), which deal *inter alia* with relations of the United Nations, its officials, and delegation members with Federal, State, and local authorities; (6) carrying out public affairs activities concerning U.S. participation in the United Nations; (7) planning and administering conference operations; (8) providing necessary research, reference, reporting, communications, and general services; and (9) carrying out the administrative, personnel management, fiscal, protocol, and security functions of the U.S. mission.

### **U.S. MISSION AT UN EUROPEAN OFFICE IN GENEVA**

The United States is represented at the European Office of the United

Nations by a permanent mission at Geneva, Switzerland. Under the 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 reporting on the activities of UN bodies and specialized agencies located there. These bodies include ECE, ILO, ITU, UNCTAD, WHO, and WMO. In addition, the mission is responsible for relations with other international organizations located in Geneva and for the necessary liaison with the missions of other countries accredited to these organizations.

The mission reports directly to the Department of State. It works in close coordination with the U.S. Embassies and the U.S. Mission to the European Communities.

### **OTHER U.S. MISSIONS**

During 1971 the United States also maintained several special missions elsewhere. The Office of the U.S. Representative to the Council of ICAO was maintained in Montreal, Canada, and a U.S. mission to the IAEA was maintained in Vienna, Austria. A representative responsible for U.S. relations with UNIDO was also stationed in Vienna.

In addition, the United States maintained a liaison group in Paris for relations with UNESCO and a similar group in Rome for relations with FAO.

# United States Representatives

*Permanent Representative and Chief of U.S. Mission to the United Nations:*

Charles W. Yost, through Feb. 26; George Bush, from Mar. 1

*Deputy Permanent Representative to the United Nations:* Christopher H. Phillips

*Deputy Permanent Representative on the Security Council:* W. Tapley Bennett, Jr., from May 26

*Representative on the Economic and Social Council:* Glenn A. Olds, through Feb. 28; Bernard Zagorin, from May 11

*Representatives on the Trusteeship Council:* Christopher H. Phillips, W. Tapley Bennett, Jr.

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## General Assembly

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26TH REGULAR SESSION, NEW YORK,  
SEPT. 21-DEC. 22, 1971

*Representatives:*

William P. Rogers<sup>1</sup>

George Bush

Christopher H. Phillips

Charles C. Diggs, Jr.

Edward J. Derwinski

Daniel P. Moynihan

*Alternates:*

Admiral Alan B. Shepard

Arthur A. Fletcher

Gladys O'Donnell

W. Tapley Bennett, Jr.

Bernard Zagorin

### SPECIAL BODIES OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

**Advisory Commission of UNRWA**

*Representative:* William B. Buffum

**UN Scientific Advisory Committee**

*Representative:* Isador I. Rabi

**UN Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation**

*Representative:* Richard H. Chamberlain, M.D.

*Alternate:* Austin M. Brues, M.D.

**Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space**

*Representative:* Christopher H. Phillips

*Alternates:* Arnold Frutkin, Herbert K. Reis

**Conference of the Committee on Disarmament**

Geneva, Feb. 23-May 13

*Representative:* James F. Leonard

Geneva, June 29-Sept. 30

*Representative:* James F. Leonard

*Alternate:* Joseph Martin, Jr.

**Trade and Development Board of UNCTAD**

10th session (2d and 3d parts) (Geneva, Mar. 1-9, May 24)

*Representative:* William K. Miller

*Alternate:* William E. Culbert

11th session (Geneva, Aug. 24-Sept. 21)

*Representative:* Edwin M. Cronk

*Alternates:* William E. Culbert, William K. Miller

**Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations**

*Representative:* Seymour Maxwell

Finger, through Aug. 31; W. Tapley Bennett, Jr., from Sept. 1

**Advisory Committee on the UN Program of Assistance in the Teaching, Study, Dissemination, and Wider Appreciation of International Law**

*Representative:* Stephen M. Schwebel

**Industrial Development Board of UNIDO**

5th session (Vienna, May 24-28, June 8)

*Representative:* William J. Stibravy

*Alternates:* Patrick Morris, Robert Simpson

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<sup>1</sup> The Secretary served as chairman of the delegation, *ex officio*, during his presence at the session. At other times Ambassador Bush served as Senior Representative.

**UN Commission on International Trade Law**

4th session (Geneva, Mar. 29–Apr. 20)  
*Representative:* E. Allan Farnsworth  
*Alternate:* Richard D. Kearney

**Special Committee on the Question of  
Defining Aggression**

*Representative:* Herbert K. Reis  
*Alternates:* Morris Rothenberg, Robert  
B. Rosenstock

**Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Seabed  
and the Ocean Floor Beyond the Limits of  
National Jurisdiction**

Geneva, Mar. 12–26  
*Representative:* John R. Stevenson  
*Alternates:* Martin F. Herz, Donald  
L. McKernan

Geneva, July 19–Aug. 27  
*Representative:* John R. Stevenson  
*Alternates:* Donald L. McKernan,  
Christopher H. Phillips

**Preparatory Committee for the UN Conference  
on the Human Environment**

*Representative:* Christian A. Herter, Jr.  
*Alternate:* Shirley Temple Black

**Special Committee on the Rationalization of the  
Procedures and Organization of the  
General Assembly**

*Representative:* Christopher H. Phillips  
*Alternate:* Seymour Maxwell Finger,  
through Aug. 31; William E.  
Schaufele, Jr., from Sept. 1

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## Security Council

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*Representative:* Charles W. Yost,  
through Feb. 26; George Bush, from  
Mar. 1

*Deputies:* Christopher H. Phillips; W.  
Tapley Bennett, Jr., from May 26

**Military Staff Committee**

*Representatives:*  
Arnold F. Schade, Vice Adm., USN,  
until Sept. 1  
Harry L. Harty, Jr., Vice Adm.,  
USN, from Sept. 1

Richard G. Stilwell, Lt. Gen., USA  
Austin J. Russell, Lt. Gen., USAF  
*Deputies:*

Benjamin T. Douglas, Capt., USN  
Arthur A. Olson, Col., USA  
Gerald M. Adams, Col., USAF

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## Trusteeship Council

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*Representatives:* Christopher H. Phillips,  
W. Tapley Bennett, Jr.

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## Economic and Social Council

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**Organizational Meetings for 50th session**

*Representative:* Glenn A. Olds

**50th Session**

*Representative:* George Bush  
*Alternate:* Robert W. Kitchen, Jr.

**51st Session**

*Representative:* Bernard Zagorin  
*Alternates:* Kathleen Bell, Robert W.  
Kitchen, Jr., Jacques J. Reinstein,  
William J. Stibravy

**FUNCTIONAL COMMISSIONS**

*Human Rights:* Rita E. Hauser  
*Narcotic Drugs:* John E. Ingersoll  
*Population:* William H. Draper, Jr.  
*Social Development:* Jean Picker  
*Statistical:* Julius Shiskin  
*Status of Women:* Elizabeth Duncan  
Koontz

**REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMISSIONS**

**Africa**

10th session (Tunis, Feb. 8–13)  
*Chairman, U.S. Observer Delegation:*  
Robert S. Smith

**Asia and the Far East**

27th session (Manila, Apr. 20–30)  
*Representative:* David M. Kennedy  
*Alternates:* Henry A. Byroade, J. Leo  
St. Lawrence



## Europe

26th session (Geneva, Apr. 19-30)  
*Representative:* Christopher H. Phillips  
*Alternates:* Leonard Felsenthal, Idar Rimestad

## Latin America

14th session (Santiago, Apr. 27-May 8)  
*Representative:* Joseph John Jova  
*Alternates:* Paxton T. Dunn, John W. Ford

## SPECIAL BODIES OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

### Executive Board of UNICEF

*Representative:* Michael N. Scelsi  
*Alternate:* Katherine Bain

### Committee on Housing, Building, and Planning

(Geneva, Oct. 18-29)  
*Representative:* Samuel C. Jackson  
*Alternate:* Dale Barnes

### Committee for Program and Coordination

8th session (New York, Mar. 22-Apr. 8)  
*Representative:* Walter M. Kotschnig  
*Alternate:* Paxton T. Dunn

9th session (New York, May 24-June 14)

*Representative:* Bernard Zagorin  
*Alternate:* Paxton T. Dunn

10th session (New York, Sept. 13-17, Nov. 5-17)

*Representative:* Bernard Zagorin  
*Alternates:* (for second part): Paxton T. Dunn, David L. Stottlemeyer

### Intergovernmental Committee of the UN/FAO World Food Program

19th session (Rome, Mar. 29-Apr. 6)  
*Delegate:* Andrew J. Mair  
*Alternates:* Paul J. Byrnes, Walter K. Davis

20th session (Rome, Oct. 18-22)  
*Delegate:* Irwin R. Hedges  
*Alternates:* Paul J. Byrnes, Frank G. McKnight

### Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Program (UNHCR)

22d session (Geneva, Oct. 4-12)  
*Representative:* Charles S. Rhyne  
*Alternate:* Francis L. Kellogg

## Governing Council of the UNDP

11th session (New York, Jan. 14-Feb. 2)  
*Representative:* Glenn A. Olds  
*Alternate:* Walter M. Kotschnig

12th session (Santiago, June 7-23)  
*Representative:* Bernard Zagorin  
*Alternates:* Robert W. Kitchen, Jr., John W. McDonald, Jr.

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## Specialized Agencies and IAEA

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### Food and Agriculture Organization

16th session FAO Conference (Rome, Nov. 6-25)

*Delegate:* Andrew J. Mair<sup>1</sup>  
*Alternates:* Paul J. Byrnes, Ervin L. Peterson, Ralph W. Phillips, George von Peterffy

56th, 57th, and 58th sessions FAO Council (Rome, June 7-18, Nov. 1-4, Nov. 26)

*Delegate:* Andrew J. Mair  
*Alternates:* Paul J. Byrnes, Ralph W. Phillips

### Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization

26th session IMCO Council (London, June 7-10)

*Representative:* Carroll Perry, Jr.  
*Alternate:* Roderick Y. Edwards, Rear Adm., USCG (ret.)

6th extraordinary session IMCO Council (London, Oct. 5)

7th session IMCO Assembly (London, Oct. 5-15)

27th session IMCO Council (London, Oct. 15)

*Representative:* Bertram W. Rein  
*Alternates:* H. Gardner Ainsworth; Chester R. Bender, Adm., USCG (ret.); Roderick Y. Edwards, Rear Adm., USCG (ret.)

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<sup>1</sup>The Secretary of Agriculture, the Honorable Clifford M. Hardin, served as chairman of the delegation during his presence at the session.

**International Bank for Reconstruction and Development**

*U.S. Governor, Board of Governors:*  
David M. Kennedy, until Feb. 11;  
John B. Connally, from Feb. 11  
*Alternate U.S. Governor:* Nathaniel Samuels  
*U.S. Executive Director:* Robert E. Wieczorowski

**International Civil Aviation Organization**

17th A (extraordinary) session ICAO Assembly (New York, Mar. 11-12)  
*Chief Delegate:* Charles F. Butler  
18th session ICAO Assembly (Vienna, June 15-July 7)  
*Delegates:* Secord D. Browne (Chairman), John S. Meadows, Charles F. Butler, Charles O. Cary, James L. Deegan, R. Tenney Johnson, Robert D. Yoder  
*Alternates:* Edward F. Dodd, Joan S. Gravatt, John W. Lundin, Bernard M. Myers, John T. Stewart, George W. Wolfe  
*U.S. Representative on ICAO Council:* Charles F. Butler, until Oct. 1; Betty Crites Dillon, from Nov. 15

**International Development Association**

The Officers, Executive Directors, and Alternates are the same as those of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

**International Finance Corporation**

The U.S. Officers, Executive Directors, and Alternates are the same as those of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

**International Labor Organization**

56th International Labor Conference (Geneva, June 2-23)  
*U.S. Government Delegates:* Daniel L. Horowitz; Charles D. Stewart, until June 14; George H. Hildebrand, from June 14  
*U.S. Employer Delegate:* Edwin P. Neilan  
*U.S. Worker Delegate:* Rudolph Faupl  
*U.S. Government Representative, Governing Body:* George H. Hildebrand, through Sept. 18

*U.S. Government Substitute Representative for 184th session of the Governing Body* (Geneva, Nov. 8-19): Edward B. Persons

**International Monetary Fund**

*U.S. Governor, Board of Governors:*  
David M. Kennedy, until Feb. 11;  
John B. Connally, from Feb. 11  
*Alternate U.S. Governor:* Nathaniel Samuels  
*U.S. Executive Director:* William B. Dale  
*Alternate U.S. Executive Director:* Charles R. Harley

**International Telecommunication Union**

*U.S. Representative, Administrative Council:* Thomas E. Nelson

**UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization**

*U.S. Member, Executive Board:* Louise Gore

**Universal Postal Union**

*Chairman, U.S. Delegation to Executive Council:* James W. Hargrove

**World Health Organization**

24th World Health Assembly (Geneva, May 4-20)  
*Delegates:* Jesse L. Steinfeld, M.D.; Idar Rimestad; Malcolm C. Todd, M.D.  
*Alternates:* Benjamin D. Blood, D.V.M.; David J. Sencer, M.D.  
*U.S. Representative, Executive Board:* S. Paul Ehrlich, Jr., M.D.

**World Meteorological Organization**

6th WMO Congress (Geneva, Apr. 5-30)  
*Principal Delegate:* Robert M. White  
*Alternate Principal Delegate:* George P. Cressman  
*U.S. Representative, Executive Committee:* Robert M. White

**International Atomic Energy Agency**

15th General Conference (Vienna, Sept. 21-28)  
*Representative:* Glenn T. Seaborg  
*Alternates:* James R. Schlesinger, William O. Doub, T. Keith Glennan, Dwight J. Porter, James T. Ramey  
*U.S. Governor, Board of Governors:* T. Keith Glennan





