

Secretary of State

U.S. Participation in the UN

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REPORT BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE CONGRESS FOR THE YEAR 1972

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
NASA	—National Aeronautics and Space Administration
NATO	—North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OAS	—Organization of American States
OAU	—Organization of African Unity
OECD	—Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
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 UN High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	—UN Children's Fund
UNIDO	—UN Industrial Development Organization
UNITAR	—UN Institute for Training and Research
UNROD	—UN Relief Operation in Dacca
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 1972

DEPARTMENT OF STATE PUBLICATION 8731
International Organization and Conference Series 108
Released September 1973

BUREAU OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AFFAIRS

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents
U.S. Government Printing Office
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Stock Number 4400-01494

LETTERS OF TRANSMITTAL

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit to the Congress the 27th annual report on United States participation in the work of the United Nations during calendar year 1972.

This report reflects the increasing range of global concerns with which United Nations agencies are dealing. It highlights not only the opportunities but also the limits of operating through the United Nations system during an era of growing international interdependence.

In recent years, United Nations agencies have come to deal increasingly with the economic and technical agenda of the world in addition to the long-standing agenda of peace and security questions. Indeed, as this account makes clear, these agencies are now engaged in some manner in virtually every governmental activity that crosses national lines.

The United States participated actively in these cooperative efforts to help safeguard peace and lessen world tensions, to foster economic and social progress, and to cope with a wide array of legal and technological problems.

Three themes characterized our participation during 1972:

- (1) Even though we recognized the limitations of the United Nations in solving or even abating many political disputes, we supported its participation where appropriate to reconcile such disputes, to curb international terrorism and outbreaks of violence, and to devise workable arrangements for peacekeeping operations. In order to serve the long-term interest of the international community, we worked in the General Assembly, the Security Council, and subsidiary bodies to have the United Nations deal evenhandedly and pragmatically with such politically-charged issues as the Middle East, decolonization, and human rights.
- (2) We took the lead in seeking new arrangements and institu-

tions to deal with worldwide social and technological concerns. Although we encountered some resistance, we pressed forward toward the goals of assuring the safety of civil aviation, protecting the environment, checking the illicit flow of narcotics, organizing relief for victims of disaster, strengthening the law of the sea, and slowing world population growth.

- (3) We stressed the importance of having the United Nations act responsibly, equitably, and efficiently in ordering its financial and administrative affairs so that it could carry out its tasks more effectively. Progress was made in holding down the budgets of some agencies, budgeting procedures were improved, and the principle of a lower maximum ceiling for the United States assessment was endorsed. Nevertheless, the underlying financial problems were not solved and further administrative and procedural reforms are needed in the United Nations.

This report shows that, despite political and administrative shortcomings, multilateral agencies connected with the United Nations offered practical responses to worldwide problems of pressing concern to the American people. Given the fast pace of political, social, and technological change in recent years, it is not surprising that the record of accomplishments was uneven and there were setbacks as well as successes.

During 1972 developments at the United Nations were affected by certain long-term trends which both hold promise and pose problems for effective United Nations action.

- The loosening of old antagonisms, the entry of the People's Republic of China into the mainstream of United Nations work, and the growing importance of powers such as Japan could in the long run enable a near-universal United Nations to become a more effective instrument for dealing with serious world political and security problems.
- However, we also have to recognize that the continuing tendency to use the United Nations for propaganda advantage and to pursue political rivalries makes accommodation more difficult. For the near term, where the interests of its strongest members are engaged, the organization can deal only in a limited way with highly contentious political issues.
- The emergence in United Nations bodies and conferences of an active majority led by a number of the developing nations continued to make for some distortions in determining the areas of greatest United Nations attention. While we fully recognize the

inherent right of all member nations to be heard, the voting weight of this majority, with its sometimes narrowly defined preoccupations, has tended to create imbalance and to place strains on the effective functioning of the organization.

This report reflects the growing cohesion which has taken place among the third world countries, notably with respect to colonial issues and to demands that rules of international trade and aid be altered in their favor. We were particularly concerned when, under the pressure of bloc voting, the organization adopted one-sided resolutions on certain political issues or failed to take concrete action on such important matters as international terrorism. To call this trend disturbing is not to depreciate the value to the United States of multi-lateral institutions in which all nations can be heard on matters that affect their security and welfare, conciliation can be pursued, and vital public services can be provided for the international community.

We attempted to adjust our policy during 1972 to take account of these changes. It became increasingly clear that for the present the most productive possibilities for United Nations action are on global problems of an economic, social and technological nature. United Nations system expenditures reflected this concentration, with some 95 percent of the resources in 1972 going for programs designed to transfer techniques and skills to less developed nations, set standards for international behavior, and provide public services of benefit to all nations.

The following developments during the year were especially noteworthy:

We were gratified by the General Assembly's endorsement of the reduction of our United Nations budget assessment from 31.52 percent to 25 percent. We believe this to be a healthy development for the organization, which should not be unduly dependent on the contributions of one member. The maximum assessment ceiling beginning next year is expected to fulfill the requirement enacted by the Congress that the United States should pay no more than 25 percent in the United Nations and in certain specialized agencies after January 1, 1974. The vote of over two-thirds in favor of our position reflected a widespread recognition of the equities involved and of political reality, as well as concern for the maintenance of generous United States voluntary contributions to United Nations development programs.

Following the landmark conference in Stockholm in June, the institutional foundation was laid for international action to protect the environment and a work program was initiated for this purpose.

Measures were taken to deal with environmental problems such as pollution from ocean dumping and the preservation of natural, cultural, and historic heritage areas, and a United Nations fund for the environment, which I had recommended earlier, brought pledges from a number of nations.

On the other hand, a major setback was the United Nations failure to take strong and speedy international legal action to combat international terrorism and provide adequate protection for diplomats—measures advocated by the United States and other concerned nations. The Assembly did, however, set up a committee to study the comments of governments on the problem of international terrorism and submit a report to the next session. While we regret the delay, we hope that the Assembly can make progress on this issue this fall. Progress was made in the International Civil Aviation Organization on the matter of aircraft safety.

The United Nations also advanced its programs for delivering technical assistance to developing nations and setting standards for international behavior in specific fields.

- Management reforms (notably adoption of a country programming system) were implemented which will enable the United Nations Development Program to handle an expanded program of technical assistance more efficiently.
- The organization's capacity to respond to disaster situations was strengthened by the establishment of a United Nations Disaster Relief Office in Geneva, largely as the result of a United States initiative in 1971. The United Nations carried out an unprecedented number of relief activities, notably in Bangladesh and the Sudan.
- There was growing cooperation in outer space. A United Nations working group cooperated in making available to other nations data from our first experimental satellite designed to survey earth resources, and the Convention on International Liability for Damage Caused by Space Objects, which had been negotiated by a United Nations committee, entered into force on September 1.
- The momentum of international action against drug abuse was furthered in several ways: with the drafting of an amending protocol to the 1961 Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, through increased activity by and contributions to the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control, and through a more active role by the International Narcotics Control Board.
- The population program was placed on a sounder administrative footing by linking the United Nations Fund for Population

Activities to the United Nations Development Program. Preparations were continued for the World Population Conference in 1974, which is expected to be as important as the 1972 environment conference.

—Perhaps of the greatest potential significance were the steps taken to accelerate preparations for the Law of the Sea Conference, which will come to grips with such matters as the nature of the international regime for the deep seabed, the breadth of the territorial sea, free transit through international straits, fisheries, marine pollution, and scientific research. A successful resolution of these very difficult issues would help to prevent conflict and assure that the resources in and under the oceans will be equitably and rationally utilized.

The “quiet side” of the United Nations also produced important accomplishments which are covered in this report. Especially noteworthy were the International Atomic Energy Agency’s expanded “safeguards” program to prevent the diversion to weapons use of nuclear materials intended for peaceful uses; the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization’s efforts at spurring agreement to control pollution from ocean dumping; the International Civil Aviation Organization’s efforts to devise effective measures for safe and efficient air travel; the World Health Organization’s continued campaign to suppress communicable diseases and raise the standards of health care; the Food and Agriculture Organization’s work to expand agricultural production and improve nutrition; and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization’s activities to expand scientific communication and protect the world’s cultural heritage.

All these activities clearly demonstrate the stake we have in United Nations efforts to control new technologies for the common good, to bridge the gap between developed and developing countries on matters of trade and aid, to facilitate the exchange of technical and scientific knowledge, and to set standards of behavior for international activity. To these concerns—and to the need to improve the functioning of all multilateral institutions—our nation must give increasing attention in the coming years.



THE WHITE HOUSE
September 1973

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington, July 13, 1973

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 1972 has therefore been prepared.

As in previous years, the report is a detailed survey of the Government's participation in the work of the UN system of organizations.

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

Respectfully submitted,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Kenneth Rush". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, stylized initial "K".

KENNETH RUSH
Acting Secretary

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.¹ The U.S. and Soviet Representatives serve as Cochairmen. In 1972 the American delegation was led by Ambassador Joseph Martin, Jr. There were two sessions of the Conference: February 29–April 27 and June 20–September 7.

CHEMICAL WEAPONS

The Biological Weapons Convention,² drawn up by the CCD and commended by the General Assembly in 1971, commits parties to continue negotiations on effective measures to prohibit the development, production, and stockpiling of chemical weapons. The problem of chemical weapons was the major topic in the 1972 CCD discussions. Although no agreements were reached, many aspects of the problem were clarified as a result of the CCD examination of studies and working papers submitted by the United States and other members.

¹ 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 has never participated.

² Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction, opened for signature at Washington, London, and Moscow on Apr. 10, 1972. The convention is not yet in force.

U.S. Position

At the opening meeting of the CCD in 1972 the U.S. Representative affirmed that the United States intended to fulfill this commitment with the utmost seriousness. Although the problems of dealing with chemical weapons were complex and difficult, it did not believe that they were insoluble. In the U.S. view, the most promising approach was to study the various elements involved in limiting or restraining the development, production, and stockpiling of chemical weapons.

On March 20 the United States submitted a work program that classified chemical warfare substances in three categories: (1) single-purpose agents, e.g., organophosphorus compounds, that have no large-scale peaceful uses; (2) dual-purpose agents, e.g., phosgene, chlorine, and hydrogen cyanide, that are useful both for civilian and for military purposes; and (3) precursors, e.g., phosphorus trichloride, that are intermediate products which could be processed into an agent or, in binary devices, even be used as weapons components. The paper noted that the definitions of chemical substances could be based on general toxicity, identification of specific agents, general structural formula, purpose, or a combination of methods.

The United States pointed out that nerve agent production facilities could be closed or destroyed, but production of dual-purpose agents would continue, and it seemed more relevant in this area to restrict "production of munitions rather than production of agents." Prohibition of stockpiling presented certain problems, since there was "general uncertainty over the size and composition" of existing stocks and their destruction or demili-

tarization presented technical and safety problems. It would also be difficult to identify and define research and development activities.

In its proposed work program, the United States called attention to the relationship that should exist between the scope of prohibition and the means of verification, and briefly examined the following verification measures: (1) seals and monitoring devices for closed production facilities, (2) information exchange, (3) declarations regarding activities and facilities, (4) remote sensing devices, (5) inspection visits, and (6) monitoring of imports and shipments. To coordinate verification, the United States suggested that there could be an international consultative body of governmental, military, and scientific representatives.

On other questions involved in working out a chemical weapons convention, the United States suggested that the CCD consider whether the right of parties to submit complaints to the Security Council should be reaffirmed and whether the parties should undertake to cooperate in investigations initiated by the Security Council. The advantages of a periodic review conference could also be examined. The CCD might also consider whether there should be a provision safeguarding the Geneva Protocol¹ and whether there should be provisions on international scientific cooperation along the lines of those in the Biological Weapons Convention and the Nonproliferation Treaty.² Other treaty provisions that could be considered involved restrictions on assistance to third parties,

entry into force, duration, withdrawal, and amendments.

Soviet Draft Convention

On March 28 the Soviet Union and its allies submitted a draft convention modeled on the Biological Weapons Convention. It called for the prohibition of the development, production, and stockpiling of chemical weapons and for the destruction of existing stocks. The parties would undertake not to transfer prohibited materials or to assist other states, "groups of states, or international organizations" to manufacture or otherwise acquire them. In accordance with its constitutional processes, each party would take measures to implement the prohibition.

The draft convention provided that the parties would undertake to consult and cooperate in solving any problems which might arise. Consultation and cooperation might also be undertaken "through appropriate international procedures" within the UN framework. Complaints of violations could be made to the Security Council, and the parties would undertake to cooperate in carrying out investigations initiated by that body. They would provide or support assistance if the Security Council decided that a party had been "exposed to danger as a result of violation of this Convention." The convention would not detract from or limit obligations under the Geneva Protocol and the Biological Weapons Convention. The draft also contained provisions on peaceful scientific cooperation, amendments, and a review conference similar to those in the Biological Weapons Convention.

Scope and Staging

Many delegations believed that the CCD should negotiate a convention prohibiting the production, stockpiling, and use of all chemical weapons. In view of the difficulty of verification, however, the United Kingdom

¹ 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.

² Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, opened for signature at Washington, London, and Moscow on July 1, 1968; entered into force March 5, 1970, coincident with the date of deposit of U.S. ratification.

suggested that production could be stopped in one stage and stockpiles destroyed in another, but left open the question of which stage would come first. Brazil was willing to consider this approach and suggested starting with the destruction of stockpiles, but the Soviet Representative maintained that the British suggestion was inappropriate and that the ban on chemical weapons should be comprehensive.

Sweden advocated an unconditional ban on supertoxic agents. Noting that nearly all supertoxic agents were single-purpose—e.g., toxins and nerve agents—it maintained that these substances could be technically defined and suggested that UN experts could identify new agents which might be developed in the future. The Italians, Japanese, Dutch, and Canadians submitted technical papers on the problem of supertoxic agents.

As the Swedish Representative pointed out, dual-purpose agents would still be produced for peaceful purposes even under a comprehensive ban. Consequently, it would be possible to ban them only conditionally by prohibiting their production for weapons purposes. Brazil said that all peaceful uses of chemical agents should be permitted and insisted that the convention must contain a provision for peaceful chemical cooperation. The Soviet Union proposed prohibiting the production of dual-purpose agents in quantities exceeding peaceful requirements.

Definition

There was much discussion of the problem of defining chemical weapons. A U.S. working paper of June 20 stated that a general "purpose criterion," similar to that used in the Biological Weapons Convention,¹ would provide "the simplest and most

¹ This convention prohibited biological agents or toxins "of types and in quantities that have no justification for prophylactic, protective or other peaceful purposes."

comprehensive definition," but that some specific technical guidelines would also be needed. A toxicity standard could be used for supertoxic agents but would probably not be suitable for mustard-type compounds. Neither a toxicity limit nor a structural formula seemed useful for delimiting possible dual-purpose agents.

The Soviet Representative affirmed that the draft convention submitted by the U.S.S.R. and its allies was based on the "purpose criterion," which he considered most practical since it covered all kinds of chemical weapons and non-supertoxic agents might be left out if other approaches were adopted.

The Italian Representative, however, noted that very general language in the first article of the draft convention would require an additional provision for an international committee of experts to determine technical criteria for identifying the prohibited agents and to keep the criteria up to date in the light of scientific and technological developments. In order to avoid delay in implementing a treaty, he suggested that the CCD could convene a temporary panel of experts to work out preliminary criteria, which would be annexed to the treaty. Several other delegations expressed similar views. Yugoslavia, which also advocated annexes of this kind, proposed a general definition of chemical agents as "all chemical compounds *intentionally* used" in quantities which could "produce physiological disturbances or cessation of physiological functions in men and animals."

The U.S.S.R. did not agree that the definition of the scope of the prohibition should be elaborated, that there should be special lists, or that there should be a toxicity criterion. It reaffirmed the purpose criterion but added that the possibility of individual concrete additions "outside the text of the convention" was not excluded.

Verification

The Soviet draft convention relied on a combination of national and international methods of verification, including international cooperation and consultation and a procedure for taking complaints to the Security Council. Sweden objected that the veto power of the permanent members of the Security Council might be used in a discriminatory way, to prevent investigations on the territory of some countries while permitting them in other, possibly nonaligned, countries. It stressed the need for international verification, including statistical reporting to an international agency and thought that states should be required to register and publish their laws internationally. Both the United States and Sweden submitted papers summing up their relevant domestic legislation. The Netherlands suggested creating an international organization that might later assume responsibility for verifying other disarmament measures. For chemical weapons, the organization could serve as a factfinding forum for use before recourse to the Security Council.

In discussing verification methods, several nations urged the reporting and analysis of economic data on the raw materials used in chemical weapons. There was considerable sentiment for setting up a permanent international group of experts to analyze the data and report to the parties. Others believed that economic monitoring had its limits. The Netherlands considered it less promising for dual-purpose agents because of their huge quantities. The United States submitted a paper providing data on American production and trade in certain chemical substances.

Sweden and several other countries proposed international verification of the destruction of stockpiles, while others favored national verification. The United States submitted a paper describing the program for demilitarizing a nerve gas stockpile at Rocky Mountain Arsenal in Colorado, and

another discussing the storage of chemical agents and weapons. The latter concluded that there appeared to be "only very limited opportunities" to distinguish between chemical and other military storage. A British paper that examined the use of satellites to detect field tests of chemical weapons concluded that limited detection by this means was feasible but that the incidence of cloud cover "would be a major factor in determining the probability of successful surveillance."

The United Kingdom said that the CCD would either have to accept the need for international on-site inspection or decide what measures might be agreed to without it. The Soviet Union and its allies, however, objected to on-site inspection as entailing unacceptable foreign interference in the activities of states and raising questions of industrial security. In view of the close interrelationship between military and peaceful production, the Soviet Representative considered it "all but impracticable" to rely solely on an international control system. He added, however, that national forms of control could be based on a single program prepared by an international conference of experts. National organizations could make statistical and economic analyses of production, have access to industrial plants, observe the destruction of stockpiles, and periodically inform parties of the results of their work.

COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN

The U.S. Representative reaffirmed the American commitment to work toward an adequately verified comprehensive test ban treaty and said that progress depended on a solution to the verification problem. Current progress and problems in seismic verification were reviewed in a U.S. working paper submitted on August 24, which concluded that nuclear testing at some level could be

carried out without seismic detection and identification. The U.S. Representative pointed out that low-yield tests could also be of military significance and that more than one-half of the American tests were less than 20 kilotons. It did appear feasible to detect and identify about 90 percent of earthquakes above magnitude 4.0, but since about 250 seismic events above this level occurred each year in the Soviet Union, some 25 of them would likely remain unidentified; it would not be known from seismic means whether they were earthquakes or explosions. This "not insignificant" group of events could cause concern. On-site inspections could be useful in deterring violations, and the United States still considered them necessary.

As in previous years, the U.S.S.R. also favored a comprehensive test ban but took the position that it could be based on national means of detection and identification. The Soviet Union was willing to participate in the international exchange of seismic data, but without any international inspection. The exchange would be voluntary, and the data would be evaluated "not by an international body but by each state for itself."

A British working paper of April 25 indicated that existing methods of estimating yields of underground explosions at different locations were still imperfect. The U.K. Representative noted that the Soviets had not yet produced detailed technical support for their claim that national means of verification were sufficient. While he welcomed Soviet willingness to participate in the international exchange of seismic data, he pointed out that the effectiveness of data exchange would depend on the number of participants, standards of equipment, full availability of data, and criteria to determine whether a seismic event was an earthquake or an explosion.

Sweden did not consider the verification problem insurmountable and

maintained that seismological techniques now made it possible to identify enough underground explosions to deter clandestine testing. The remaining unidentified events could be clarified by "verification by challenge" which Sweden had previously proposed. That is, a state suspecting another of conducting an underground test could request proof that no test had taken place and withdraw from the agreement if the challenged state did not provide satisfactory information. Egypt and Pakistan were sympathetic with this approach.

India urged simultaneous negotiations on an underground test ban and an agreement on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. Brazil advocated an "equitable solution" to the underground testing problem but stressed that such a solution should not prejudice the right of all states to develop their own capabilities for peaceful uses of nuclear energy, "including nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes." Pakistan, however, wished to ban peaceful nuclear explosions by nonnuclear states and to allow nuclear states to conduct them under international arrangements.

Mexico saw no valid reason for delaying a comprehensive test ban and proposed a "moratorium," or informal suspension of underground tests during negotiations. Nigeria and Morocco also favored a moratorium. Canada again proposed reducing the size and number of underground tests, or, alternatively, an agreed moratorium of definite duration, to be continued if all nuclear-testing powers joined the moratorium or agreed to participate in negotiations.

Japan renewed its proposal for a "threshold" test ban which would prohibit large-scale tests that could be detected and identified without difficulty. The threshold would initially be set at 5.75 seismic magnitude, could be progressively lowered, and would be monitored by a world-wide network of seismic stations. Although

the Soviet Union had formerly supported Egyptian proposals for a threshold ban at 4.75 seismic magnitude and a moratorium on subthreshold tests, it opposed the Japanese proposal. The Soviet Representative said that the proposal would not solve the problem of testing and might "lead to a deterioration of the international climate." Moreover, there could be difficulties and endless disputes about the magnitudes of explosions above the threshold. The U.S. Representative also indicated that a threshold agreement might present some technical problems.

OTHER ISSUES

The United States again urged the CCD to take up the task of conventional arms control. Although most other countries showed little interest, the Netherlands was ready to discuss the question and pointed out that the major supplier countries could meanwhile adopt unilateral measures of self-control.

Japan reaffirmed support for a cutoff on the production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes, accompanied or preceded by the transfer to peaceful purposes of weapons-grade enriched uranium. The Soviet Union advocated coordinated efforts by the nuclear powers to work out an agreement prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons.

Romania renewed its previous proposal for a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans. Although the Soviet Union supported this proposal and endorsed nuclear-free zones in general, it was criticized by Mexico for failing to adhere to Additional Protocol II to the Treaty of Tlatelolco¹ which established such a zone in Latin America. Both the United States and the United Kingdom have ratified the

protocol, and the People's Republic of China (P.R.C.) has also pledged to respect the zone.

Although the United States and U.S.S.R. agreed in 1961 that general and complete disarmament was the ultimate goal of disarmament negotiations—a view unanimously endorsed by the 16th General Assembly—the subject has not been much discussed in recent years. In 1972 the Soviet Union and others again expressed support for general and complete disarmament, and Italy proposed a working group to study previous plans. The U.K. Representative, however, did not think that the goal of general and complete disarmament could be achieved by the present generation. He considered that premature preoccupation with the goal in earlier years had been unproductive and that the immediate task of the CCD was to identify practical possibilities and priorities. Other countries also favored a step-by-step approach.

The Soviet Union and its allies favored a world disarmament conference but agreed with others that such a conference should not diminish the role of the CCD. The United States was highly skeptical about the value of a world conference at the present stage of the disarmament process on the grounds that it would be unlikely to produce positive results and could harm negotiations in progress in other forums. The U.S. Representative questioned the need to duplicate the regular review of arms control issues that takes place in the General Assembly and pointed out that serious progress in disarmament required a search for compromise and accommodation in a quiet, businesslike atmosphere, which was not likely to prevail in a world disarmament conference.

After the seating of the P.R.C. Representatives in the United Nations in 1971, there was considerable interest in the possibility of enlarging

¹ Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, done at Tlatelolco (Mexico City), February 14, 1967.

and reorganizing the CCD. Mexico advocated abolition of the Cochairmanship and enlargement to 30 members. The Soviet Union favored participation in the CCD of all powers with substantial military forces and nuclear weapons. The United Kingdom expressed the hope that France and the P.R.C. would eventually participate in the CCD and that there would be a solution of the German problem which would permit appropriate representation of the German nation. In the meantime it did not favor changing the organization or composition of the CCD. The U.S. Representative said that the United States attached importance to maintaining "an effective, expert, and experienced body of a reasonably limited size" and that the negotiating organ should be representative of "various geographic regions and of various political and military groups." He made it clear that the United States would welcome the participation of all nuclear powers in disarmament efforts.

On September 7 the CCD approved for submission to the General Assembly a progress report on its deliberations during 1972 on the questions before it. This report formed the basis for much of the 27th General Assembly's consideration of disarmament matters.

General Assembly

In his September 25 address to the General Assembly, Secretary of State Rogers noted that the first stage of the strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) between the United States and the U.S.S.R. had produced a treaty limiting antiballistic missile systems¹ and a 5-year interim agreement restricting offensive strategic

¹Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems, signed at Moscow May 26, 1972; entered into force Oct. 3.

missile systems.² He said that the United States would pursue the following general aims in the second stage of SALT:

First, our endeavor will be to negotiate on offensive weapons. In so doing we shall seek to expand the scope of strategic offensive weapons included in the limitations and to establish an equitable balance in the major delivery systems.

Second, we will wish to examine carefully qualitative limitations which could enhance stability.

Third, we will aim to reduce levels of strategic arms. As President Nixon said to this General Assembly in 1969, our objective is "not only to limit the buildup of strategic arms but to reverse it."

Regarding multilateral arms control negotiations, Secretary Rogers observed that the CCD had turned its attention to preventing the accumulation of chemical weapons:

... Work in the committee has come a long way toward resolving some of the important and complex issues related to possible significant restraints in this area. The United States is intensifying its study of all proposals, and we look forward to responding to them at an early date.

... the United States believes that a practical step-by-step approach is the best way to achieve genuine progress in disarmament.

AGENDA

Disarmament and arms control related items on the General Assembly's agenda included: (1) world disarmament conference; (2) implementation of the results of the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States; (3) general and complete disarmament; (4) chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons; (5) urgent need for suspension of nuclear and thermonuclear tests; (6) implementation of the General Assembly resolution concerning the signature and ratifica-

²Interim Agreement and Protocol on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed at Moscow May 26, 1972; entered into force Oct. 3.

tion of Additional Protocol II of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America; and (7) declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

All seven items were on the agenda as the result of action by prior sessions of the General Assembly. They were allocated to the First Committee where a combined general debate took place October 23–November 13.

U.S. STATEMENT

Ambassador George Bush spoke on the first day of debate. Pointing out the beneficial effects of the SALT agreements, both as a beginning step in curbing nuclear weapons competition and as a contribution to improvement in the international political atmosphere, he observed that they were the first agreements limiting strategic nuclear arms:

This is an accomplishment we have sought since the very beginning of the Nuclear Age. . . .

The ABM [anti-ballistic missile] Treaty and the interim agreement limiting strategic offensive nuclear arms represent a significant step in lessening the burden of nuclear weapons on mankind. . . .

The SALT accords are intended to promote stability, arrest the arms race, and stimulate further measures to limit nuclear arms. They are designed to benefit all nations by establishing conditions for a more peaceful world in which resources can be redirected from means of destruction to ways of improving the life and well-being of all peoples.

Turning from this important success in bilateral arms control, he reviewed the multilateral negotiations at Geneva. He saw a significant degree of progress in the CCD's deliberations concerning chemical weapons. Ambassador Bush reaffirmed the U.S. commitment to the undertaking in the Biological Weapons Convention to negotiate in good faith for agreement on effective chemical weapons prohibitions as well. He also restated the U.S. view that "this intensely complex matter" required a

thorough, objective study of various chemical weapon component materials, some of which were very closely related to materials produced in large scale for peaceful purposes, and of various possible approaches to their prohibition or control, together with related problems of verification.

Referring to the U.S. working papers tabled at the CCD, he pointed out that all were concerned with the central problems of scope and verification of chemical weapons prohibitions. He expressed the hope that the General Assembly would again "provide encouragement and stimulus" to the CCD to continue its work on chemical weapons and to consider all approaches to the problem.

Turning to another "vital element" of the CCD's work, Ambassador Bush reviewed the situation with regard to a comprehensive test ban. He noted that the United States had reaffirmed its support for an adequately verified ban while calling attention to important remaining problems in the detection and identification of seismic events which created "obvious difficulties in achieving an adequate degree of verification by national means alone." More work needed to be done on these problems as well as on possible treaty evasion through clandestine testing; the United States continued to devote substantial resources to efforts to solve such problems.

Ambassador Bush reiterated the U.S. view that the CCD should undertake an exploration in depth of the question of limitations on conventional weapons. These, he said, had to be considered along with weapons of mass destruction in efforts to establish a world structure of peace and security. He noted that while countries needed some conventional weapons for defense and internal security, large expenditures on such weapons affected the resources available for economic and social development. Substantial increases in a country's conventional arms could also disturb existing military balances.

The U.S. Representative pointed to "noteworthy progress" during the past year in gaining broad participation in existing arms control agreements. Nearly 100 countries had already signified their intention to become parties to the Biological Weapons Convention which had been sent to the U.S. Senate for advice and consent to ratification, and Ambassador Bush expressed the hope that it would be brought into force during 1973. The Seabed Arms Control Treaty¹ had entered into force May 18 and had been ratified by 37 countries (including the U.S.). During the year several countries had ratified the nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty which the United States continued to regard as a key arms control agreement deserving the broadest possible international participation. On the related matter of nuclear safeguard agreements, the U.S. Representative noted the completion of negotiations between the IAEA and the European Atomic Energy Community which, it was hoped, would lead to early ratification of the Nonproliferation Treaty by the governments concerned. The United States had begun talks on a safeguards agreement with the IAEA in accordance with its unilateral offer to place its nuclear activities, except those with direct national security significance, under IAEA safeguards at an appropriate time.

Finally Ambassador Bush took up the question of a world disarmament conference. He said that the United States did not believe that such a conference could contribute at this time to achieving concrete arms control agreements. Experience in arms control efforts had shown that there was no substitute for careful, patient negotiations, and a large, unwieldy

¹Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Seabed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof, opened for signature at Washington, London, and Moscow on Feb. 11, 1971.

conference would not provide an atmosphere conducive to progress; instead, it could even prove harmful to ongoing negotiations in other institutions with a record of proven accomplishment. The United States attached importance to maintaining an "effective, expert and experienced body of limited size" to negotiate on arms control and disarmament. It had repeatedly made clear that it would welcome participation by all nuclear weapon states in such negotiations, in a manner satisfactory to them and also reflecting the interests of nonnuclear weapon states. The United States believed, however, that the General Assembly should not attempt to convene or set a date for a world disarmament conference, or establish preparatory machinery for such a conference.

Ambassador Bush also recalled the important responsibilities of the First Committee in the disarmament field. This Committee was the forum where all countries had the opportunity to express views on the entire range of disarmament issues, establish priorities, agree on measures ripe for negotiation in other forums, and reflect concern or satisfaction regarding progress in "an area of unsurpassed importance to all countries and to all mankind."

WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

A 1971 General Assembly resolution had invited states to communicate their views and suggestions concerning a possible world disarmament conference to the Secretary General who was to report to the General Assembly in 1972.

The Secretary General's report transmitted statements by 34 UN members expressing a variety of views on the question. As indicated above, the United States was highly skeptical about the utility of such a conference.

The U.S.S.R., on the other hand, following up on its 1971 initiative, suggested setting up a preparatory

body to be convened immediately following the 1972 General Assembly. However, the P.R.C., consistent with its earlier opposition to the proposal, took a strong stand against formation of a preparatory committee.

On November 20 Zambia introduced a draft resolution, ultimately sponsored by 59 states, that decided to establish a special committee "to examine all the views and suggestions expressed by Governments on the convening of a world disarmament conference and related problems" and report to the 28th General Assembly in 1973. The General Assembly President was to appoint 35 members to the special committee "after consultation with all the regional groups and taking due consideration of the necessity to ensure adequate political and geographical representation."

The First Committee approved the resolution on November 22 by a roll-call vote of 111 to 0, with 1 abstention (U.S.), and the General Assembly adopted it on November 29 by a recorded vote of 105 to 0, with 1 abstention (U.S.). The United States abstained because it saw no need for further study of views regarding a world disarmament conference and therefore did not intend to participate in the special committee. It subsequently indicated that it would be prepared to reconsider its position if all other nuclear powers were willing to participate. Although the P.R.C. voted for the resolution it made clear that it did not intend to take part in the special committee.

At the conclusion of the session, General Assembly President Stanislaw Trepczynski (Poland) named 31 countries, including the U.S.S.R., to the special committee, leaving four seats vacant for the other nuclear powers in the event they should subsequently decide to participate. The P.R.C. protested this action, as did several regional groupings on the grounds that they were underrepresented and that the President

had acted without the proper consultation called for in the resolution.

CONFERENCE OF NON-NUCLEAR-WEAPON STATES

Austria introduced a draft resolution concerning the matter on November 14 and a day later joined 13 other cosponsors in submitting a revised text. The resolution expressed appreciation for actions taken by the IAEA in furthering recommendations by the 1968 Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States concerning international cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, with particular regard to the needs and interests of developing countries, and stated the hope that the expansion of IAEA resources for such technical cooperation would continue. The First Committee approved the resolution on November 15 by a vote of 89 (U.S.) to 0, with 10 abstentions. The General Assembly adopted it on November 29 by a recorded vote of 100 (U.S.) to 0, with 10 abstentions.

GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

The General Assembly adopted two resolutions under this item, one on incendiary weapons and the other on SALT. The United States abstained on both.

The first resolution, introduced by Sweden on November 2, was sponsored in revised form by 27 countries. The resolution was based on the Secretary General's Report on Napalm and Other Incendiary Weapons and All Aspects of Their Possible Use, prepared pursuant to a 1971 resolution of the General Assembly. The resolution incorporated in its preambular section certain conclusions in the Secretary General's report and implied that the prohibition or restriction of the use of incendiary weapons should be considered. In its operative section the resolution welcomed the Secretary General's re-

port, commended it to the attention of "all Governments and peoples," and asked the Secretary General to circulate it to member states and to report on their comments to the next General Assembly. As the result of an initiative by Jordan, Syria, Kenya, and Uganda, an operative paragraph was added deploring the use of napalm and other incendiary weapons in all armed conflict.

The First Committee approved the revised and amended resolution on November 16 by a rollcall vote of 100 to 0, with 15 abstentions (U.S.), and the General Assembly adopted it on November 29 by a recorded vote of 99 to 0, with 15 abstentions (U.S.). The United States abstained, as it had on the 1971 resolution requesting preparation of the report. Ambassador Martin explained that since the United States had not associated itself with any aspect of the preparation of the report, it did not consider it appropriate to cast a substantive vote on a resolution based on the report.

A second draft resolution, introduced by Mexico and cosponsored by 12 members of the CCD, dealt with SALT. The resolution expressed satisfaction at the agreements reached in the first phase of SALT, appealed to the United States and the U.S.S.R. in the second phase "to make every effort to expedite the conclusion of further agreements including important qualitative limitations and substantial reductions of offensive and defensive strategic nuclear weapon systems," and invited the two powers to keep the General Assembly informed of the results of their negotiations.

The resolution was approved by the First Committee on November 16 by a vote of 82 to 0, with 30 abstentions (U.S.), and adopted by the General Assembly on November 29 by a recorded vote of 87 to 0, with 27 abstentions (U.S.S.R., U.S.).

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Martin, explained that although the United States welcomed

the interest shown by the world community in the forthcoming second round of SALT, it abstained because it did not believe that the resolution would further the cause of those negotiations which were expected to be of extreme complexity.

CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

The Biological Weapons Convention included a provision for continued negotiations for early agreement on effective measures for the prohibition of chemical weapons. On November 20, Egypt introduced a draft resolution, sponsored by 22 states, that referred to this provision and (1) reaffirmed the "recognized objective of effective prohibition of chemical weapons," (2) reiterated the Assembly's 1971 request to the CCD to continue high priority negotiations with this objective in mind, (3) stressed the importance of governments working toward that objective, (4) reaffirmed hope for the widest possible adherence to the Biological Weapons Convention, (5) renewed an invitation to states that had not yet done so to accede to the 1925 Geneva Protocol, and (6) asked the CCD to report on the results of its negotiations to the 28th General Assembly.

The First Committee approved the resolution on November 21 by a vote of 93 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions, and the General Assembly adopted it on November 29 by a recorded vote of 113 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions (P.R.C., France).

SUSPENSION OF NUCLEAR AND THERMONUCLEAR TESTS

Three draft resolutions were adopted on nuclear tests. The first, a two-part resolution sponsored by 14 states, was introduced on October 26 by New Zealand. In preambular paragraphs the first part noted with regret that not all states had adhered

to the Limited Test Ban Treaty,¹ expressed serious concern that atmospheric testing had continued in "some parts of the world, including the Pacific area, in disregard of the spirit of that Treaty and of world opinion," and noted the strong opposition of various Pacific countries to those tests. The operative paragraphs stressed the urgency of halting all atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons in the Pacific and elsewhere and urged non-adherents to the Treaty to adhere "without further delay." The second part of the resolution called for all nuclear-weapon states to suspend tests in all environments and called on the CCD to give urgent consideration to the question of a comprehensive test ban treaty.

The resolution was approved by the First Committee on November 16 by a vote of 106 (U.S.) to 4, with 8 abstentions, and adopted by the General Assembly on November 29 by a recorded vote of 105 (U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.) to 4 (Albania, P.R.C., France, Portugal), with 9 abstentions.

The United States supported the resolution because it agreed with the desirability of a halt in atmospheric testing and universal adherence to the Limited Test Ban Treaty and understood that the general suspension of tests called for would be subject to adequate verification.

A second resolution, introduced by Canada on November 14 and sponsored by 18 states, was similar to a Canadian initiated resolution of the previous year. Noting with regret the continuation of underground testing, the resolution (1) stressed the urgency of halting all nuclear tests in all environments by all states; (2) called upon governments conducting such tests "immediately to undertake

unilateral or negotiated measures that would suspend or reduce such testing" pending the early entry into force of a comprehensive test ban agreement; (3) urged the testing governments to present and develop in the CCD or other appropriate body specific proposals for a comprehensive test ban; (4) requested the CCD to give "first priority" to consideration of a treaty banning underground tests; and (5) urged governments to develop further existing test detection and identification capabilities through seismological and other means and to increase international cooperation in the use of seismology.

The resolution was approved by the First Committee on November 16 by a vote of 94 to 4, with 28 abstentions (U.S.), and adopted by the General Assembly on November 29 by a recorded vote of 89 to 4 (Albania, P.R.C., France, Portugal), with 23 abstentions (U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.).

The United States abstained because it believed that the resolution might lead to expectations that the United States would take "some immediate and dramatic new initiative" relating to its test ban policy. In the U.S. view, further progress depended on solving the complex problem of verification.

The third resolution was introduced by Mexico on November 9 and sponsored by 15 Latin American states. Deploring the fact that the General Assembly had not achieved its aim of a comprehensive test ban despite 21 successive resolutions on the subject, the resolution (1) reiterated "once again with the utmost vigor its condemnation of all nuclear weapon tests"; (2) reaffirmed the conviction that "whatever may be the differences on the question of verification, there is no valid reason for delaying the conclusion of a comprehensive test ban"; (3) urged nuclear powers to halt all tests at the earliest possible date but no later than Au-

¹ Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water, signed in Moscow Aug. 5, 1963; entered into force for the United States Oct. 10, 1963.

gust 5, 1973, "either through a permanent agreement or through unilateral or agreed moratoria" (a similar point was made in a Mexican initiated resolution adopted in 1971); and (4) asked the Secretary General to inform the 28th General Assembly of any measures taken by the nuclear-weapon states to implement the resolution.

The resolution was approved by the First Committee on November 16 by a vote of 81 to 4, with 30 abstentions (U.S.), and adopted by the General Assembly on November 29 by a recorded vote of 80 to 4 (Albania, P.R.C., France, Portugal), with 29 abstentions (U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.).

The United States abstained because it viewed the condemnation of all nuclear testing and the imposition of arbitrary deadlines as detrimental to the creation of the atmosphere of accommodation essential to progress on arms control. Further, contrary to the resolution's assertion, it considered the question of verification as central and inseparable from the consideration of the test ban issue.

LATIN AMERICAN NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE

By becoming parties to Additional Protocol II of the Treaty of Tlatelolco, nuclear weapon states agree to respect the Latin American nuclear-free zone established by the Treaty. A series of General Assembly resolutions has urged nuclear powers to adhere to the Protocol; only the United Kingdom and United States have done so.

On November 6 Mexico introduced a draft resolution, similar to past resolutions on the subject, sponsored by 16 Latin American states. The draft deplored the fact that France, the P.R.C., and the U.S.S.R. had not heeded the urgent appeals in four previous resolutions and urged them to sign and ratify Additional Protocol II "without further delay."

In a letter of November 15 the P.R.C. Permanent Representative conveyed to the Secretary General a

"solemn declaration" by his government assuming obligations analogous to those in Additional Protocol II although it was unable to sign the Protocol because the preambles to the Protocol and the Tlatelolco Treaty contained references to General Assembly resolutions on the Nonproliferation Treaty and the Limited Test Ban Treaty, both of which the P.R.C. had always opposed.

On November 17 Mexico introduced, on behalf of the sponsors, a revised draft resolution taking the P.R.C. declaration into account. The new draft welcomed the declaration with satisfaction "as a preliminary measure," but nevertheless invited the P.R.C. to "try to find procedures that will enable it to accede to the Protocol as soon as possible." The resolution recalled "with particular satisfaction" that the United Kingdom and United States had become parties to the Protocol, and it retained a paragraph deploring the continued nonadherence by France and the U.S.S.R.

The resolution was approved by the First Committee on November 17 by a vote of 91 (U.S.) to 0, with 20 abstentions, and adopted by the General Assembly on November 29 by a recorded vote of 101 (U.K., U.S.) to 0, with 17 abstentions (France, U.S.S.R.). The P.R.C. was absent.

INDIAN OCEAN PEACE ZONE

The First Committee renewed its consideration of the question, "Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace" on the basis of a 1971 General Assembly resolution and a report by the Secretary General transmitting certain countries' views on the matter.

Despite continuing reservations on the part of many countries, including most major maritime powers, regarding this question, Sri Lanka pressed for further Assembly action in support of its initiative for a "peace zone." On November 28 it introduced a draft resolution, ultimately sponsored by 29 states, which (1) called upon "the littoral and hinterland states of the In-

dian Ocean, the permanent members of the Security Council and other major maritime users of the Indian Ocean to support the concept that the Indian Ocean should be a zone of peace"; and (2) decided to establish an *ad hoc* committee "to study the implications of the proposal, with special reference to the practical measures that may be taken in furtherance of the objectives of the resolution," and to report to the General Assembly at its 28th session.

Before the vote the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Martin, stated that the U.S. interest in promoting peace and tranquility in the Indian Ocean area had not changed. However, given the widespread doubts about the original "peace zone" proposal, the United States regretted that the Committee was now called upon to deal with a new resolution proceeding on substantially the same basis. Since the United States had abstained on the 1971 resolution containing the declaration of the Indian Ocean as a "zone of peace," it was logical that it should do so on a resolution seeking to promote movement toward implementation of that declaration. In addition, the United States continued to disagree with the concept, implicit

in the declaration, that a special regime could be established for a particular region of the high seas.

The resolution was approved by the First Committee on December 5 by a rollcall vote of 72 to 0, with 35 abstentions (U.S.), and adopted by the General Assembly on December 15 by a rollcall vote of 95 (P.R.C., Japan) to 0, with 33 abstentions (France, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.). In 1971 the declaration was adopted by a vote of 61 to 0, with 55 abstentions. The larger margin in favor of the 1972 resolution reflected increased solidarity among the nonaligned and Indian Ocean littoral states. Most of the major maritime countries again abstained.

Related to the U.S. position regarding the resolution itself was the question of serving on the *ad hoc* study committee. The United States decided against doing so; since it had never accepted the basic premises underlying the "peace zone" resolutions it did not consider that its participation on the committee would serve a useful purpose. Ultimately the 15-member committee was formed from among Indian Ocean littoral states plus the P.R.C. and Japan.

Outer Space

In 1972 the United States continued to play an active role in the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space and all its subsidiary bodies, maintaining its high level of support for the UN program on space technology applications and exerting major influence on the further development of international law governing outer space.

Legal Subcommittee

The Legal Subcommittee held its 11th session in Geneva, April 10–May 5. Pursuant to an Outer Space Committee recommendation endorsed by the 26th General Assembly, the Subcommittee gave first priority to the questions of a treaty governing

man's activities on the moon and registration of objects launched into outer space. Although some delegations expressed views concerning the other items on the Legal Subcommittee's agenda—direct broadcast satellites, the question of the definition and/or delimitation of outer space, and earth resources survey satellites—time did not permit any intensive consideration of those topics. They remained on the agenda for 1973 as matters of secondary priority inasmuch as work was not completed on either of the higher priority topics.

QUESTION OF A MOON TREATY

Despite some initial questions about the utility of a new treaty concerning the moon, as proposed by the U.S.S.R. in 1971, the United States concluded that there could in fact be benefits from such a treaty, especially in promoting cooperation in scientific investigation of the moon and other celestial bodies and the sharing of results from such investigation. It believed, however, that the Soviet draft treaty needed to be strengthened in numerous respects and therefore proposed extensive revisions.

Negotiations in the Subcommittee led to acceptance of many of these additions and modifications on such subjects as notification and consultation in the event of plans for simultaneous use of a particular area of a celestial body; the right to collect samples and to use natural resources of celestial bodies in support of scientific investigations; the establishment of scientific preserves; the obligation to offer shelter to persons in distress and the right of such persons to use the facilities of another party when warranted by emergency conditions; and the right to consult with another party on possible conflicts in mission plans or potential infringement of treaty rights.

However, three major U.S. proposals for modifying the Soviet draft remained at issue: (1) expansion of the treaty's scope to cover other cele-

tial bodies besides the moon; (2) provision for advance notification of planned missions to the moon and other celestial bodies; and (3) addition of provisions on exploitation of natural resources of celestial bodies.

In advancing these proposals the U.S. delegation observed that the Soviet draft treaty related only to exploration and use of the moon, but the United States believed that any provisions which might be adopted in amplification of the Outer Space Treaty should also be applicable to other celestial bodies. Since exploration of Mars, Venus, and Jupiter had already begun, international cooperation in such exploration surely was as important as cooperation respecting the moon. The U.S. proposal for advance notification of missions was intended primarily to promote mission safety and to avoid duplication of effort. With regard to natural resources, the United States believed that these should be declared the common heritage of mankind and that the principle of international sharing called for by the Outer Space Treaty should apply to any arrangements for commercial exploitation should this become possible in the future.

The Subcommittee's report noted that substantial progress had been made toward agreement on a treaty text but that some issues remained unsettled, and suggested that work on the treaty be pursued as a matter of priority.

REGISTRATION OF SPACE OBJECTS

Both France and Canada tabled draft conventions on the registration of objects launched into outer space, the French proposal having first been made in 1968. After consultations, the two delegations agreed on a combined draft text which became the basis for further drafting by a working group. The United States did not participate in this working group, principally because of the lack of time for adequate consideration of the

joint Franco-Canadian text. Several other delegations, while taking part in the working group, reserved their positions on the convention as a whole, and the text which emerged at the conclusion of the Subcommittee's consideration reflected widespread areas of nonagreement.

Provisions in the text produced by the working group which were specifically unacceptable to the United States included reporting requirements and mandatory marking of space vehicles. On the latter point, the United States noted that the Outer Space Scientific and Technical Subcommittee as recently as 1970 had reported that a marking system intended to survive reentry was not considered practical. The Subcommittee had also determined that space objects surviving reentry could be identified by presently available means. The Outer Space Committee had accepted these conclusions. The United States was not aware of any intervening developments which would change their validity.

At the 1972 session of the Legal Subcommittee, the United States drew attention to its willingness to assist on request any party to the Outer Space Liability Convention in identifying a space object or fragment in connection with possible damage.

Noting that the Franco-Canadian draft treaty was a complex text calling for comprehensive study emphasizing technical review and appraisal, U.S. Representative Herbert Reis said that this study would go on in his government, and he presumed it would in other governments as well. Meanwhile, he stated that the United States was prepared to consider the desirability of making the existing voluntary UN registration system, set up in 1961 at U.S. initiative, mandatory with a standardized reporting format. This marked a new step for the U.S. Government, which had not

previously agreed to the need for any registration treaty.

The Legal Subcommittee included in its report a draft convention text based on the Franco-Canadian proposal, but reflecting various reservations by working group members. The Subcommittee expressed the view that the draft required further consideration as a matter of priority.

Scientific and Technical Subcommittee

The Scientific and Technical Subcommittee held its ninth session in New York, May 3-11. The principal topics it considered were: (1) status of the UN program on space applications; (2) promotion of the applications of space technology; and (3) consideration of scientific and technical aspects of international cooperation.

The Subcommittee expressed its "full appreciation and complete satisfaction" with the work of the first UN Expert on Space Applications, Professor Humberto Ricciardi of Argentina, and recommended that the position be continued following the end of his 2-year assignment in September 1972. Dr. H. G. S. Murthy of India was subsequently named to the post. The Subcommittee approved for 1973 the program proposed by Professor Ricciardi highlighted by two panel meetings, one in Argentina on remote sensing and the other in an African country yet to be determined on use of satellites for education.

The Subcommittee took note of a number of reports prepared by specialized agencies concerned with various aspects of the application of space technology. These included studies by (1) ITU, dealing in particular with the 1971 World Administrative Radio Conference for Space Telecommunications; (2) WMO, on the World Weather Watch and

Global Atmospheric Research Program; (3) IMCO and ICAO, on the current status of navigational satellites; (4) FAO, on the application of remote sensing by satellite to food and agriculture resources; and (5) UNESCO, on satellite broadcasting for education and training and the need for cooperation with ITU in assessing frequency needs and the possibilities for regional cooperation. The Subcommittee also took note of reports prepared by the United States and the U.S.S.R. on their manned space laboratory programs, and a joint report by the United Nations and COSPAR¹ on space technology as applied to environmental problems.

Taking note of the UN review of national and cooperative international space activities for 1971, the Subcommittee expressed its appreciation to those countries, including the United States, that had supplied information on their national activities and renewed its hope that in the future others would do the same. It also welcomed a review published by the Secretary General on activities and resources of the United Nations, its specialized agencies, and other international bodies concerned with peaceful uses of outer space.

With regard to education and training, the Subcommittee noted the report of the UN panel on research programs in remote sensing held in Brazil in late 1971 and also took note of Argentine, Japanese, and Brazilian readiness to receive technical panels on various applications. As an example of effective coordination between the UN program on space applications and the UNESCO program on space communications, it noted UNESCO's proposal in its 1973-1974 budget for regional meetings to be held in conjunction with the United Nations on applications of space broadcasting of practical interest to developing countries.

¹ Committee on Space Research of the International Council of Scientific Unions.

The Subcommittee welcomed the international offers made by Brazil, France, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States affording opportunities in space education and training; a Japanese statement of readiness to offer international scholarships in various space applications fields; and an Indian program for training persons from developing countries in satellite communications technology.

With respect to international sounding rocket facilities, the Subcommittee recommended continuing UN sponsorship of the Thumba Equatorial Rocket Launching Range in India and the CELPA Mar del Plata range in Argentina. It also welcomed a Swedish announcement that the ESRANGE-Kiruna range would be available for international cooperative projects, noting that the Swedish range was particularly suitable for experiments in the zone of the aurora borealis.

Working Group on Remote Sensing

The UN Working Group on Remote Sensing of the Earth by Satellites, established as a result of a U.S. initiative in light of progress in this technology, held its preparatory session May 3-9 in conjunction with the meeting of the Scientific and Technical Subcommittee. The Working Group made arrangements for an assessment of the information and studies on remote sensing it had before it in advance of its first substantive session in January 1973. The assessment would be undertaken by the Secretary General, assisted by a task force composed of the chairman and volunteer experts from Canada, France, India, Sweden, the U.S.S.R., and the United States. The Working Group also set out as "main areas for future study and debate": (1) state

of the art of sensors and methods for collection, processing, and interpretation of data obtained from satellite remote sensing; (2) users' potential needs and priorities; (3) social and economic benefits from space remote sensing; (4) legal implications; and (5) organizational requirements.

Noting that its mandate called for preparation of a progress report to the Scientific and Technical Subcommittee at the January 1973 substantive session, the Working Group expressed the hope that any country having achieved relevant remote sensing results would make these available to it. In particular, the Group looked forward to receiving from the United States the preliminary results from the U.S. ERTS-1 experimental satellite, on which much of its substantive work would be based.

Outer Space Committee

The Outer Space Committee met in New York September 5-15 under a new Chairman, Peter Jankowitsch (Austria), elected to succeed his countryman Kurt Waldheim after the latter's appointment as UN Secretary General. The Committee reviewed and endorsed the work of its two subcommittees and considered the advisability of reconvening the Working Group on Direct Broadcast Satellites.¹

Speaking for the United States on September 7, Arnold W. Frutkin, Assistant Administrator of NASA for International Affairs, reviewed some major developments in international space cooperation during the year, highlighting a status report on ERTS-1, the first satellite designed for earth resource surveys, which the United States had launched successfully on July 23. He reported that the data coming from the satellite's sens-

ing apparatus was better than had been hoped and would provide an excellent basis for analysis of the results of the ERTS-1 experimental flight. He recalled that these results were to form the primary source material for a technical assessment by the UN Working Group on Remote Sensing of the Earth by Satellites. Conveying U.S. gratification over the broad international participation in the ERTS-1 experiment, Mr. Frutkin pointed out that both the satellite imagery and investigators' reports would be made publicly available as soon as possible after their receipt.

During the Committee's session, on the initiative of the U.S.S.R. and some other delegations, informal negotiations were held on the remaining unresolved issues pertaining to the draft treaty relating to the moon. The negotiations were broken off, however, when it became apparent that agreement was still not at hand on these issues and that a majority of delegations, including the United States, did not regard completion of the treaty as urgent enough to call for bypassing the normal procedure of further negotiation in the Legal Subcommittee. In its report the Committee expressed satisfaction with the progress made on both the draft treaty and the draft convention on registration of objects launched into outer space and recommended that the Legal Subcommittee continue to give priority in 1973 to these two topics.

Acknowledging the further fruition of years of work and negotiation in the Legal Subcommittee, the Committee expressed its gratification at the entry into force on September 1 of the Convention on International Liability for Damage Caused by Space Objects.

Regarding the work of the Scientific and Technical Subcommittee the Committee took note of the view of "many delegations" that while scientific matters remained important, the Subcommittee "should increas-

¹ "Direct broadcast satellite" signifies one capable of transmitting a signal to individual receiving sets without the necessity of amplification or other modification by a ground station.

ingly be concerned with space applications, particularly as they apply to the national development of the developing countries." The Committee expressed its appreciation to the outgoing Expert on Space Applications for his effective work and endorsed the Scientific and Technical Subcommittee's recommendations for the continuation of the Expert's program in 1973. It also singled out the WMO, ITU, and UNESCO for appreciation of their active part in the UN program to promote international cooperation in this field.

The Committee also expressed interest in the use of satellites and other space platforms for environmental monitoring, and recommended that the Subcommittee consider the potential of this application. In this connection it went on record as favoring the establishment of contacts with the UN environmental organization that would result from the 1972 UN Conference on the Human Environment, concerning the Committee's future activity relating to space technology and the environment.

The Committee took special note of two training seminars scheduled later in 1972—one, on the use of meteorological data, to be held in Mexico in November, sponsored jointly by the United Nations and the WMO; the other, on instructional television satellite systems, to be held in India in December and sponsored by the United Nations and the Government of India with the participation of UNESCO and ITU. The Committee also welcomed the U.S. announcement of NASA's invitation to each member of the United Nations and the specialized agencies to send a science-oriented teenager to tour American scientific facilities and attend the Apollo 17 launch at Cape Kennedy in December 1972. (Eighty countries were represented on the tour.)

As it had in previous years, the Committee expressed its appreciation for the information provided by

launching states for the UN registry of objects launched into orbit. Since the Committee's last report, information had been furnished by France, Japan, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States.

The Committee also discussed a Swedish working paper that proposed reconvening the Working Group on Direct Broadcast Satellites. The Working Group had held three sessions in 1969 and 1970, and had reported on technical, economic, legal, social, organizational, and other aspects of direct broadcast satellites. In 1971 the General Assembly had requested the Committee to keep under review the question of reconvening the Working Group when additional substantive material might be available. The Committee noted that several international actions in connection with satellite broadcasting during the past two years were directly relevant to its work. These were: (1) the frequency allocation and operational regulations adopted by the ITU at the 1971 World Administrative Radio Conference for Space Telecommunications; (2) UNESCO's draft declaration of guiding principles on the use of satellite broadcasting; (3) the continuing work by UNESCO and the World Intellectual Property Organization on the protection of television signals transmitted by satellites; and (4) the Soviet request for inclusion in the agenda of the 27th General Assembly of the question of a convention on direct television broadcasting by satellite (see below).

In light of these developments the Committee recommended that the Working Group be reconvened to study the new substantive material and to set out possibilities for further action in the direct broadcasting field by the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

Disagreement arose within the Committee concerning the UNESCO draft declaration. Many members, including the United States, main-

tained that the Committee, as a principal UN organ in this field, should be afforded the opportunity to comment on the draft declaration before final action by the UNESCO General Conference. It proved impossible, however, to achieve a consensus in support of a request by the Committee to this effect, and the Committee report merely recorded differing views on the question. The General Conference of UNESCO subsequently declined to defer action and adopted the draft declaration by a vote of 55 to 7 (U.S.), with 22 abstentions. The United States opposed adoption of the declaration because it believed it was premature to establish rules or guidelines at this time. Furthermore, it considered the declaration to constitute restrictions on the free flow of information and ideas. Thus it was in opposition to UNESCO's purpose of advancing measures to facilitate that flow.

General Assembly

Between October 12 and 20 the First Committee of the General Assembly considered three agenda items on outer space: (1) international cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space; (2) preparation of an international treaty concerning the moon; and (3) preparation of an international convention on principles governing the use by states of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting. The last of these items proved highly controversial.

DIRECT BROADCAST SATELLITES

Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko had asked for inclusion of the item in a letter dated August 8, with a draft convention appended. In the U.S. view, the Soviet draft contained numerous unacceptable provisions. For example, one, which specified that international direct broadcasting

by satellites could be carried out only with the "express consent" of receiving states, seemed designed to effect censorship of programs. Another, which empowered states to counteract "illegal" (i.e., unwanted) broadcasts by any means at their disposal, inside their territories, in outer space, and elsewhere beyond national jurisdictions, apparently sanctioned the destruction of offending satellites.

On October 12 the U.S.S.R. introduced a draft resolution subsequently revised and also sponsored by Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Iraq, and Mongolia. The preambular paragraphs predominantly reflected the negative approach embodied in the proposed draft convention, and the operative section stated the necessity of concluding a convention on the subject—in effect making the Soviet draft the primary basis for negotiation.

Addressing the First Committee on October 12, Ambassador George Bush said that the Soviet proposal raised serious problems.

... To put the matter briefly, we are concerned that it would seek to create a restrictive regime over what promises in due course to become an important new means of making information widely and immediately available to the people of the world. . . .

The approach of the Soviet proposal presents difficult problems because it would affect very fundamental principles to which the United States and many other countries attach cardinal importance. I refer to our strong 200-year-old belief in the free exchange of information and ideas.

Ambassador Bush pointed out that despite the promise offered by direct broadcasts from satellites to home receivers of enhancing the sharing of information and experience, such broadcasts were not a present reality and were not likely to be for many years. Before attempting to establish international treaty rules or even guiding principles governing this technology, he continued, governments should reflect on some basic

questions, such as whether restrictions on freedom of expression could be reconciled with fundamental principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and what international arrangements could be devised that would avoid jeopardizing the free flow of information and ideas while still respecting national, cultural, ethnic, and religious sensitivities.

The Soviet rejoinder accused the United States of seeking to inflict its ideas and views on others and to dominate commercial markets through a monopoly over direct broadcast technology. The U.S.S.R. pressed its draft resolution forward.

However, despite quite widespread sentiment favoring international principles in some form to govern direct broadcast satellites, the negativism and categorical approach of the Soviet draft convention and resolution evidently disquieted many delegations. This concern contributed to the success of a proposal by Australia, Belgium, Canada, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom to amend the Soviet resolution by, *inter alia*, removing its call for a treaty and substituting a request to the Outer Space Committee to elaborate principles governing direct television broadcasting by satellites "with the view to concluding an international agreement or agreements." (This formulation did not prejudice what form such agreements might take.) The amendments to the operative paragraphs were adopted on October 20 by a rollcall vote of 30 (U.S.) to 27 (U.S.S.R.), with 44 abstentions. The amended resolution was then adopted by a vote of 68 to 12 (U.S., U.S.S.R.), with 18 abstentions.

The United States voted against the resolution because, although substantially improved by the amendments, it remained unbalanced. It said little about the value of freedom of communication, stressed negative considerations regarding direct broadcasting, and included the as-

sumption, which the United States could not accept, that international arrangements governing such broadcasts were needed at this time. The U.S.S.R. voted against the resolution because it believed that as amended it was incompatible with the aims of the original draft.

When the Committee-approved resolution came before the plenary Assembly it received additional amendments including a preambular reference to the U.S.S.R. draft convention, but remained substantively unchanged in its effect on future UN work on the subject. Before the vote on November 9 Robert C. Tyson explained the U.S. position:

First, the resolution does not sufficiently take note of the positive potential of what we can foresee as the new technology involved in the use of earth satellites for direct television broadcasting. . . . Nor does the proposed resolution state the importance of the United Nations seeking to maximize the use of this new technology to further understanding among peoples. On the contrary, the thrust of the resolution is largely negative and speaks of "international conflicts," "aggravation of the relations among states" and protection of "the sovereignty of states from any external interference."

Second, . . . [it] does not put sufficient emphasis on the central importance of the free flow of information and ideas in the modern world. . . .

Third, . . . the United States is prepared, and now, to take part in an appropriate international study of the issues involved in the UN Outer Space Committee. But . . . we are not ready at this juncture to agree that the goal of the study ought to be either principles or a treaty.

The General Assembly adopted the revised resolution by a recorded vote of 102 (U.S.S.R.) to 1 (U.S.), with 7 abstentions.

Saudi Arabia put forward a second draft resolution on the direct broadcast satellite question in the First Committee on October 19. This resolution suggested that the General Assembly's previous work on a draft convention on freedom of information could be useful in the consideration of "international instruments or

United Nations arrangements relative to direct television broadcasts." The Saudi Arabian draft cited in particular a resolution adopted by the 23d General Assembly in 1968 which affirmed the principle that the primary function of the information media was "to gather and impart freely and responsibly objective and accurate information."

The United States supported the reference to the importance of freedom of information, but abstained on the resolution because it, too, assumed that international arrangements governing satellite direct broadcasting were necessary in some form. The resolution was approved by the Committee on October 20 by a vote of 46 to 10, with 39 abstentions (U.S.) and adopted by the plenary on November 9 by a vote of 65 to 9, with 32 abstentions (U.S.).

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

General agreement attended consideration of two draft resolutions submitted under the other outer space agenda headings. Both resolutions were based on the report of the Outer Space Committee, and the United States was a cosponsor of both.

The first, "International action for the mitigation of the harmful effects of storms," was introduced by the Philippines on October 16 and in its final form was sponsored by 18 states. The resolution, *inter alia*, (1) noted various activities in the United Nations and specialized agencies undertaken in response to earlier resolutions on the subject; (2) requested the WMO to pursue actively the implementation of its tropical cyclone project; (3) called upon member states to "undertake or intensify research, as well as operational projects" toward mitigating the harmful effects and minimizing the destructive po-

tential of tropical storms (the United States cautioned that much research would still be required before any operational moderation of severe tropical storms could become safe and practical); and (4) recommended coordinated action between WMO, UNDP, the Office of the Disaster Relief Coordinator, and the future UN environmental programs regarding "preparedness for, and the prediction, detection, prevention and control of, natural disasters." The resolution was adopted unanimously by the First Committee on October 20 and by the General Assembly on November 9.

The second resolution, introduced by Austria on October 18 and ultimately sponsored by 21 states, was also adopted unanimously in Committee on October 20 and plenary on November 9. This resolution was an "omnibus" text titled "International cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space." In one of its preambular paragraphs it expressed the belief that the benefits from space exploration could be extended to states at all stages of development on an expanding basis if countries carried on their space programs increasingly with a view to maximizing international cooperation, and in its operative paragraphs it, *inter alia*, (1) endorsed the Outer Space Committee report; (2) welcomed continuing progress of the UN program on space applications; and (3) welcomed the further progress in international space cooperation, including the exchange of lunar material, earth resource survey experiments making use of ERTS-1, and the U.S.-U.S.S.R. agreement on the development of compatible rendezvous and docking systems for manned spacecraft that looked toward joint flight and rescue capabilities.

Seabed and Law of the Sea

During 1972 the United States played an active role in the continuing preparatory work for the forthcoming Law of the Sea Conference which will deal with many of the outstanding ocean problems. The 91-member UN Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Seabed and Ocean Floor Beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction (Seabed Committee), which is preparing for the Conference, held two sessions during the year, and the 27th General Assembly adopted a resolution deciding on the timing and sites of the Conference.

Seabed Committee

The Seabed Committee, chaired by Ambassador H. S. Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka, met in New York, February 28–March 30 and in Geneva, July 17–August 18. Most of its work was carried out in three subcommittees of the whole.

Subcommittee I has a mandate to consider the status, scope, and basic provisions of a future regime for the seabed and the powers and functions of international machinery to administer this area. The debate in this Subcommittee during 1972 was based on the various proposals already submitted by participants, including the 1970 U.S. Draft Convention on the International Seabed Area, and upon three new papers submitted by the Netherlands, Italy, and Greece.

The United States was appointed to the 33-state working group that the Subcommittee created to prepare draft treaty articles on principles for the seabed regime. Its mandate was later expanded to include preparation of draft articles on seabed machinery and organization.

Subcommittee II continued nego-

tiations on the comprehensive list of subjects and issues to be considered at the Law of the Sea Conference. After extensive debate, a group of 56 nations, mostly from Asia, Africa, and Latin America, proposed at the end of the first session a list which, in the view of the United States and a number of others, contained items that were prejudicially worded. The United States objected in particular to the wording of the proposed item on straits and the one on resource jurisdiction beyond the territorial sea. The U.S. Representative argued that all items on the list should be formulated in such a manner as to insure an opportunity for every state to put forward its views with respect to all subjects and issues. The deadlock over the list of issues continued until the final days of the summer session, at which time a detailed, 25-point, non-prejudicial list was accepted, largely as the result of the efforts of Ambassador Amerasinghe and the Chairman of Subcommittee II, Ambassador Alfredo Martinez Moreno of El Salvador.

Disputes over the formulation of the list of subjects and issues greatly reduced the Subcommittee's ability to make progress in other areas. There was, however, some discussion of various straits and fisheries proposals. During 1972 the Subcommittee received new proposals on fisheries from the U.S.S.R., Canada, the United States (see below), Australia and New Zealand, and Japan; on straits from the U.S.S.R.; and on the exclusive economic zone concept from Kenya.

Subcommittee III, dealing with marine pollution and scientific research, considered ways to coordinate various international activities regarding pollution and identified the

areas in which the Law of the Sea Conference could most usefully concentrate its efforts. It had before it a number of new proposals. Working papers or draft resolutions on marine pollution were presented by Canada, Norway (with nine cosponsors), and the U.S.S.R.; basic principles on marine scientific research were presented by Canada and jointly by Bulgaria, the Ukrainian S.S.R., and the U.S.S.R. The Subcommittee also devoted considerable attention to the results of the Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment in the fields of marine pollution and scientific research. At the end of the summer session the Subcommittee established a 33-member working group (including the U.S.) to draft texts for treaty articles on preservation of the marine environment and prevention of marine pollution.

Discussion of the timing and site of the Law of the Sea Conference took place in the plenary Committee during the summer session. Chile proposed holding the Conference in a less developed country and offered to host the Conference in Santiago during any one year, urging that it be convened as soon as possible. The Chilean invitation was supported by a majority of those who addressed the question. The Austrian Representative, however, recalled that his government had previously offered to host the Conference in Vienna. He noted that the Conference was likely to be extended beyond one year and, if it were, there would be an opportunity for it to be held at two locations.

U.S. POSITION

At the first of the two Committee sessions, the United States made a major presentation of its views on fisheries, including a significant modification of its previously submitted draft articles. The U.S. position continued to be premised upon the species approach to fisheries manage-

ment and conservation, but moved in the direction of greater and more explicit coastal state control over coastal species. Anadromous species, such as salmon, would likewise be managed by the state of origin, while migratory oceanic species, such as tuna, would be regulated by international organizations. Revised draft articles reflecting these changes were subsequently introduced at the summer session.

At the summer session the United States reiterated its security and resource objectives, and set forth its position on international standards for navigational safety in straits and congested areas, marine pollution, and marine scientific research. In an address before the plenary committee, the U.S. Representative, John R. Stevenson, stated that both U.S. security and resource interests must be met if an international solution to law of the sea problems were to be found. He indicated that the United States could accept broad coastal state economic jurisdiction in adjacent waters and seabed areas beyond the territorial sea as part of an overall treaty, providing this jurisdiction were subject to agreed international standards and certain other important international features.

In an effort to meet the concerns of straits states regarding navigational safety of ships and aircraft exercising the right of free transit, the United States proposed that the law of the sea treaty provide that (1) IMCO traffic separation schemes for vessels be mandatory; (2) state (including military) aircraft exercising free transit rights over straits should normally respect ICAO civil air traffic standards and at all times operate with due respect for the safety of navigation of civil aircraft; and (3) there be strict liability for accidents caused by deviations from IMCO and ICAO rules.

The United States urged that Subcommittee III concentrate on basic legal principles concerning pollution which could be drawn from the con-

clusions of the Stockholm Conference and on control of pollution from vessels. It suggested several steps that could be taken in the latter area related to the work of IMCO and expressed the view that IMCO should give greater consideration to coastal state concerns.

The United States also made two presentations in Subcommittee III on marine scientific research. The first outlined U.S. views on the nature, characteristics, and objectives of such research, while the second supported the principle of freedom of scientific research on the high seas, and suggested guidelines on how open research might be carried out in the territorial sea of coastal states. The United States also recognized the need for effective action in transferring marine science technology to lesser developed countries and stated its willingness to support such a program.

TREND OF THE DEBATE

Many states expressed their views on the nature of the legal regime and the machinery to be established for the seabed. However, the questions dealing with the function, structure, and powers of the international regime and machinery were not settled and were left for further consideration by the Working Group of Subcommittee I at the 1973 sessions of the Seabed Committee.

There was a growing consensus in favor of a maximum 12-mile limit of the territorial sea, but support also grew, particularly among the developing coastal countries, for broad coastal state jurisdiction over resources beyond the territorial sea.

There was limited debate on the issue of free transit through straits and the U.S. proposal on this subject drew mixed reactions, although a majority of the delegates did not take a position.

Many nations further defined their views on fisheries issues. As a result

of the work during 1972 the Seabed Committee now has before it specific proposals representing most major points of view.

A major achievement in 1972 was agreement on the comprehensive list of subjects and issues for the Law of the Sea Conference.

General Assembly

The First Committee of the 27th UN General Assembly considered its agenda item on the seabed at 13 meetings between November 27 and December 11 and approved three resolutions.

The most important of these, concerning arrangements for the Law of the Sea Conference, was the result of intensive negotiations in the First Committee throughout most of the General Assembly. Introduced by Thailand on December 1, the resolution was sponsored by 48 states and approved unanimously by the Committee on December 7 without a vote. The resolution called for convening the opening organizational session of the Conference at New York for approximately 2 weeks in November–December 1973 and an 8-week substantive session at Santiago, Chile in April–May 1974. Subsequent sessions, if necessary, may be convened by decision of the Conference, approved by the General Assembly. The Seabed Committee was requested to hold two more preparatory sessions in 1973. The resolution called upon the 28th General Assembly to review the progress of this preparatory work and, if necessary, take measures to facilitate completion of the substantive work of the Conference as well as any other action it might deem appropriate. In addition, the 28th Assembly would consider as a matter of priority the question of participation of states in the conference.

The U.S. Representative, Mr. Stevenson, expressed satisfaction with the resolution, particularly welcom-

ing the agreement on specific dates and places and on the accelerated work schedule for the Seabed Committee. He noted, however, that the United States would have preferred setting aside more than 8 weeks for the substantive session of the Conference in Santiago.

The resolution was adopted unanimously by the General Assembly on December 18.

The second resolution was introduced by Singapore and sponsored by 31 landlocked or shelflocked states. Noting in preambular paragraphs that the General Assembly had earlier declared that the exploration and exploitation of the deep seabed area "should be carried out for the benefit of mankind as a whole" and that the economic significance of the area would depend on its final delimitation, the resolution requested the Secretary General to prepare and submit to the Seabed Committee in 1973 "a comparative study of the extent and the economic significance, in terms of resources, of the international area that would result from each of the various proposals on limits of national jurisdiction" presented to the Seabed Committee. The resolution was approved on December 7 by a rollcall vote of 52 (U.S.) to

19, with 48 abstentions, and adopted by the General Assembly on December 18 by a recorded vote of 69 (U.S.) to 15, with 41 abstentions.

The above resolution was criticized by some coastal states who believed that the wording prejudiced the study in favor of narrow limits of national jurisdiction. After its adoption by the Committee, Peru introduced a draft resolution that in its preambular paragraph expressed the Assembly's conviction "of the importance to coastal states, for purposes of economic development and social progress, of the ocean resources adjacent to their coasts," and requested the Secretary General to prepare another "comparative study of the potential economic significance for riparian states, in terms of resources," of the same proposals on limits of national jurisdiction. This study was to be presented to the Seabed Committee simultaneously with the study requested in the 31-power resolution. The Peruvian draft resolution was approved by the Committee on December 11 by a rollcall vote of 76 (U.S.) to 1, with 23 abstentions, and adopted by the Assembly on December 18 by a recorded vote of 100 (U.S.) to 0, with 28 abstentions.

Peaceful Settlement

African Questions

SECURITY COUNCIL MEETINGS IN AFRICA

The racial and colonial problems of southern Africa continued to figure significantly in UN proceedings during 1972 highlighted by the Security Council's session at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in late January and early February.

In a resolution of December 20, 1971, the General Assembly had invited the Security Council to consider a request of the OAU that the Council meet in an African capital to discuss solely the implementation of various Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on decolonization and racial discrimination in Africa. The Security Council began its consideration of this request on January 11, 1972. The President of

the Council, Ambassador Abdulrahim A. Farah of Somalia, outlined certain points on which he had consulted the members and on which the majority were agreed. These included details about the venue and administrative arrangements, but also, most important, agreement that the Council should accede to the OAU request by holding a meeting in Africa in early 1972. The President stressed the need for economy and for insuring that the necessary facilities would be provided wherever the Council might meet. He said that it would be desirable to have a committee established to set up general guidelines for future meetings, since the meeting in Africa might lead to other meetings outside New York.

Speaking at the January 11 meeting, Ambassador Bush stated that the United States favored in principle occasional meetings of the Security Council away from Headquarters but that there were several factors requiring careful consideration before a final decision could be made. He noted that the timing of any such meeting must take into account the possibility of other urgent matters coming before the Council. He also noted other difficulties, particularly the financial aspects of the proposal, and suggested that the committee to be established to study the general question also review in detail the necessary administrative and financial arrangements.

The Council agreed without objection to establish a Committee on Council Meetings away from Headquarters, composed of all Council members.

The committee held eight meetings between January 12 and 18 and submitted its recommendations to the Security Council on the latter date. Addis Ababa was the recommended site for the session and the suggested time for the meetings was from January 28 to no later than February 4, 1972. Regarding the agenda

for the session, the committee unanimously agreed that any formulation should be in sufficiently general terms to permit all participants to address themselves to any matters related to Africa with which the Security Council was seized. The Council adopted the committee's recommendations unanimously without a vote in a resolution of January 19.

After this decision Ambassador Bush spoke in favor of the arrangements for the Addis Ababa meeting, noting in particular his pleasure that the original estimate of a cost to the United Nations of around \$500,000 had been reduced by more than two-thirds. However, he said that the United States had hoped that costs could be reduced even further in view of the strained financial situation of the United Nations.

The Security Council subsequently met in Addis Ababa between January 28 and February 4. Over the course of 13 meetings the Council heard a succession of African, OAU, and liberation movement spokesmen, as well as Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie and UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim.

Ambassador Bush addressed the Council on February 2. He noted the historic nature of the meeting while emphasizing the limitations on the UN ability to free southern Africa from colonialism and racial injustice. He hoped that the organization's inability to produce immediate and lasting solutions would not obscure its valuable contributions to the economic and social development of Africa. Ambassador Bush further expressed his hope that its members would see the Council's role in dealing with the problems of Africa in terms of what it could actually accomplish. He reiterated U.S. policy in the areas under consideration and concluded by asking those directly concerned, both in power and out of power, to accept the inevitability of

change and to work toward making such change peaceful.

On February 4 the Council adopted four resolutions on African issues—two on Namibia and one each on apartheid and the Portuguese territories. A fifth draft resolution, on Southern Rhodesia, was not adopted because of a veto by the United Kingdom. (See below for the resolution on apartheid and Part III for those on Namibia, Portuguese territories, and Southern Rhodesia.)

APARTHEID

Security Council

By a vote of 14 to 0, with France abstaining, the Council at its Addis Ababa meeting condemned South Africa for continuing its policy of apartheid. The resolution also called for strict adherence by states to the arms embargo against South Africa and urged governments to contribute to UN programs of humanitarian and educational assistance to the victims of apartheid. The resolution was in other respects similar to other resolutions on apartheid previously adopted by the Security Council.

General Assembly

The 27th General Assembly again devoted a considerable amount of its time to the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa, drawing extensively on the report of its Special Committee on Apartheid,¹ and adopting six resolutions.

The Special Political Committee considered apartheid at 22 meetings between October 9 and December 6. Nearly 80 states took part in the debate and the Committee also heard from representatives of two liberation movements, the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa) and

¹ Established in 1962, the Committee's members in 1972 were Algeria, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, India, Malaysia, Nepal, Nigeria, Philippines, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Trinidad and Tobago, and Ukrainian S.S.R.

the African National Congress of South Africa.

On October 26 India introduced a draft resolution on "Maltreatment and torture of prisoners and detainees" which was also sponsored by Ghana, Ireland, Jamaica, and Yugoslavia. The resolution called on South Africa immediately to put an end to all forms of physical and mental torture and other acts of terror against opponents of apartheid under detention or imprisonment. The draft resolution was adopted by the Committee on November 1 by a recorded vote of 117 to 0, with 1 abstention. The United States joined in this near-unanimous favorable vote and also voted for the resolution in the plenary on November 15, when it was adopted by a recorded vote of 121 to 1, with 1 abstention.

On behalf of 35 sponsors, Norway submitted to the Special Political Committee on October 26 a draft resolution entitled "United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa." The resolution again appealed for contributions to this voluntary fund established to provide assistance to persons persecuted under repressive and discriminatory legislation and their families in South Africa, as well as in Namibia and Southern Rhodesia. The Committee approved the resolution on November 1 by a recorded vote of 119 to 0, with 1 abstention. While the United States supported the resolution, the U.S. Representative, Ernest C. Grigg III, stated in the Committee on October 31 that this support did not constitute a commitment to contribute to the fund. On November 15 the plenary Assembly adopted the resolution by a recorded vote of 112 (U.S.) to 1, with 1 abstention.

A draft resolution on the "Program of work of the Special Committee on Apartheid" was introduced on October 27 by Egypt and eventually sponsored in revised form by 36 states. The draft endorsed the Apartheid Com-

mittee's Program for 1973, including, specifically, consultations with experts and attendance at conferences dealing with the problem of apartheid. Principally because of concern for the budgetary implications of the program, the United States abstained in both the Committee and in the plenary, where recorded votes of 112 to 1, with 8 abstentions, and 115 to 2, with 8 abstentions, were taken on November 1 and 15 respectively.

On October 27 the Representative of Nepal submitted a draft resolution entitled "Dissemination of information on apartheid" which was eventually sponsored, in revised form, by 52 delegations. It was put to a vote in the Committee on November 1 when it was approved by a recorded vote of 116 to 0, with 5 abstentions (U.S.). The Committee's draft was voted on by the plenary on November 15 and adopted by a recorded vote of 119 to 1, with 5 abstentions (U.S.). Again, the United States was concerned about the possible costs to the United Nations of the intensified public information program against apartheid called for in the resolution.

A draft resolution on the "Situation in South Africa resulting from the policies of apartheid" was introduced in the Special Political Committee on October 30 by Nigeria and eventually sponsored in its final form by 52 states. It was approved by the Committee on November 1 by a roll-call vote of 96 to 3 (U.S.), with 21 abstentions. The plenary adopted the resolution on November 15 by a roll-call vote of 100 to 4 (U.S.), with 21 abstentions. The United States voted against the resolution principally because it termed South Africa's intensification of the policy of apartheid "a grave threat to the peace" and because it affirmed that apartheid was a crime against humanity. "Crime against humanity" has a technical meaning, and the United States does not believe that apartheid constitutes such a crime in the strictly legal sense. The resolution also called for

economic and other sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the UN Charter as a means to solve peacefully the situation in South Africa, and it requested the Security Council to consider urgently the situation with a view to adopting such measures. The resolution further condemned the military, economic, political, and other cooperation of "certain states" with South Africa.

On December 5 India introduced a draft resolution on the "International Conference of Trade Unions against Apartheid," sponsored by 31 states. The draft welcomed the decision of the Workers' Group of the ILO to convene at Geneva in 1973 "an international conference of trade unions to work out a common program of action against apartheid" and authorized the Secretary General to provide financial assistance so that up to five representatives of trade union organizations in southern Africa might attend the conference. The draft was approved by the Committee on December 6 by a rollcall vote of 99 to 1, with 6 abstentions (U.S.) and adopted by the plenary Assembly on December 13 by a recorded vote of 105 to 2, with 6 abstentions (U.S.). In explaining the U.S. vote to the Committee on December 6 the U.S. Representative, Gordon H. Scherer, strongly reiterated the opposition of the United States to South Africa's policy of apartheid but said his government abstained primarily on budgetary grounds.

SENEGAL-PORTUGAL

Tension along the border between Senegal and Portuguese Guinea erupted in a brief incident on the evening of October 12 which again drew the Security Council's attention to the problems in the area. On October 16 Senegal, in a letter to the Security Council, reported that a unit of the regular Portuguese army, including armored cars, had crossed from Portuguese Guinea on Octo-

ber 12 and had attacked a Senegalese frontier post at Nianao. One civilian and one Senegalese officer were killed and one Senegalese soldier was wounded before the Portuguese unit was driven back. Describing the incident as a "deliberately planned act of war," Senegal requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council.

The Portuguese submitted a letter to the Council on October 18 which drew attention to a communique of October 13 issued by the Commander of the Portuguese Armed Forces in Portuguese Guinea which acknowledged responsibility for the incident. The Portuguese stated that they regretted the incident and announced that criminal proceedings had been ordered against the commander of the unit in question who had operated outside the zone to which he was assigned and in violation of all superior orders. The Portuguese military authorities had "immediately entered into contact with the Senegalese authorities in order to present to them its apologies and to express its readiness immediately to pay all the compensation that justice should dictate."

The letter further noted that the Portuguese Government had also requested Switzerland (which represents its interests in Senegal) to inform the Senegalese Government of its willingness to pay compensation and to give all necessary guarantees. In light of these developments Portugal concluded that the Senegalese request for a Security Council meeting could have no purpose except as "one more step in the campaign against Portugal that is being carried on by certain interests hostile to it in the United Nations Organization with a view to serving pre-determined policies to which they are dedicated."

The Council began its consideration of the question on October 19 and heard several speakers, including the Senegalese Foreign Minister who outlined the basis for Senegal's com-

plaint and called on the Council to condemn unequivocally the aggression against Senegal and to take other measures to end all forms of colonial war.

A draft resolution sponsored by Guinea, Somalia, and Sudan was circulated in the Council on the same day. In one of its preambular paragraphs it noted the Council's deep concern about the multiplication of incidents along the Portuguese Guinea-Senegal border "which entail the risk of a threat to international peace and security." The draft condemned the Portuguese attack on Nianao, demanded that Portugal respect and immediately implement the principle of self-determination and independence, and declared that the Council should meet to consider other measures in the event of Portuguese noncompliance. The draft made no reference to Portugal's acceptance of responsibility and apology for the incident.

After meeting again on October 20 to hear additional speakers, the Council on October 23 concluded its deliberations. It had before it a revised draft resolution incorporating several amendments, including a preambular reference to the Portuguese letter of October 18, but retaining the condemnation of Portugal.

The Council adopted this resolution by a vote of 12 to 0, with 3 abstentions (Belgium, U.K., U.S.). The United States abstained because, as Ambassador Christopher H. Phillips pointed out, the resolution did not adequately reflect the fact that the Portuguese authorities had taken actions in accordance with the standard acceptable procedure in international law for the rectification of international incidents. He also noted that the incident was only part of a total situation but that the resolution did not refer to the need to get at the more basic causes of tension in the region.

Ambassador Phillips reaffirmed the "profound conviction" of the United States that the people of Portuguese

Guinea have "an inalienable right to self-determination." He reaffirmed as well the view the United States had expressed in the Council during a similar debate the year before when it had suggested establishing a commission "acceptable to all parties which might be in a position to investigate border incidents and to report periodically to the Security Council on such questions as progress toward self-determination in Guinea (Bissau) and other elements which could lead to a satisfactory settlement in the region."

OTHER ISSUES

Two other significant African problems in 1972—the mass slaughter in Burundi during the late spring and summer and the mass expulsion of non-citizen Asians from Uganda a few months later—largely escaped UN attention despite the considerable time and resources that the organization was devoting to other African questions.

Burundi

Two UN missions were sent to Burundi to evaluate the country's humanitarian needs. The first, sent by the Secretary General, visited the country in late June and was received by the President of Burundi and other government officials who outlined Burundi's needs. Reporting on the results of the mission and the conditions for UN assistance, a UN press release of July 28 stated that

... the United Nations system must be in a position to assure the international community, and donors in particular, that assistance will reach the entire population and benefit the country as a whole. Assistance from the United Nations system will therefore require careful planning, and the Secretary General intends to follow the situation very closely.

It was also announced that a second, technical, mission would be sent to make a "precise appraisal" of the situation following the preliminary

work of the first mission. The second mission spent the period July 31 to August 7 in Burundi. The United Nations took no action on its report and the year ended with no formal consideration of UN relief assistance to Burundi or consideration by the organization of the mass slaughter that had taken place there.

Uganda

In August the Government of Uganda decreed that all resident Asians that were not citizens must leave the country within 90 days, and at the same time it imposed harsh and confiscatory restrictions on the amount of property that they could take with them. In light of the human rights principles involved, the United Kingdom in September began action to bring the situation before the General Assembly for consideration. It did not pursue this initiative, however; instead, President Mobutu of Zaire undertook, and the UN Secretary General continued, private efforts to mitigate the circumstances of the Asians' departure. Although these efforts had no effect on the outcome, the United Nations took no further action on the problem.

Cyprus

INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS

Upon assuming office in 1972 Secretary General Waldheim continued his predecessor's efforts to revive the negotiations between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots which had been suspended in August 1971. The intercommunal talks had begun in 1968 under UN auspices as an effort to resolve constitutional differences between the two communities, including, *inter alia*, judicial, legislative, and administrative matters.

Roberto E. Guyer, Under Secretary General for Special Political Affairs,

visited Nicosia, Athens, and Ankara between January 30 and February 5 to discuss possible reactivation of the talks. Mr. Guyer's visit led to an agreement in principle to resume the talks under an expanded negotiating format that would include constitutional experts from both Greece and Turkey.

In an aide memoire of May 18 the Secretary General recorded his understanding that it was the desire of all concerned that the reactivated intercommunal talks should continue to be based on the equal status of the representatives of the two communities, exploratory in nature, and limited to the internal situation of the independent state of Cyprus and to constitutional matters relevant thereto. He also proposed that his Special Representative, B. F. Osorio-Tafall, take part in the talks and be at the disposal of those concerned in arranging a convenient time and place.

The Secretary General attended the first meeting of the reactivated intercommunal talks on June 8. Four rounds of talks were held by the end of 1972, contributing to the maintenance of the uneasy status quo between the Greek and Turkish communities on Cyprus during the year. In reporting to the Security Council in December, the Secretary General noted that "although a number of important issues are still unresolved, the existing difficulties are being approached in a reasonable and earnest manner." He further noted that both sides had shown a genuine desire to settle their differences through peaceful negotiations.

ARMS IMPORTATIONS

The importation of arms and ammunition by the Cyprus Government in January 1972 contributed to an increase in intercommunal tensions early in the year. Although the Government stated that this action was not directed at the Turkish Cypriot community, the latter viewed it with alarm. As soon as the importation be-

came known the Secretary General's Special Representative in Cyprus and Maj. Gen. D. Prem Chand of India, the Commander of UNFICYP, made determined efforts to assist in achieving a satisfactory resolution of this problem. As a result of concerted diplomatic efforts, an agreement was reached with the Government of Cyprus in April for supervision by UNFICYP of the imported arms and ammunition. In his December report to the Security Council the Secretary General also expressed concern at the equipping of the "Turk Cypriot Fighters" with two types of weapons not previously in their possession.

SECURITY COUNCIL MEETINGS

The Security Council met twice on June 15 and once on December 12 to consider the Secretary General's reports on Cyprus and to extend the mandate of UNFICYP for 6 months. The Council adopted without objection two resolutions similar to those adopted in previous years which reaffirmed earlier resolutions on the subject; extended the mandate of UNFICYP; and urged the parties to act with restraint and continue co-operative efforts to achieve the objectives set forth by the Security Council. Both resolutions were adopted by a vote of 14 (U.S.) to 0, with China abstaining.

Speaking before the Council on June 15, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador W. Tapley Bennett, congratulated the Secretary General and the parties to the intercommunal talks for their statesmanlike efforts leading to the resumption of the intercommunal talks. "We appeal to the parties to the talks," he said, "to exercise their best efforts to make progress as quickly as possible toward a settlement of Cyprus' intercommunal problems which will enable all elements of the Cypriot population to participate fully and without fear in the national life of a single independent and sovereign Cyprus."

Noting the invaluable work of UNFICYP in preventing a further outbreak of civil strife on the island, Ambassador Bennett nevertheless said, "I think we are all aware that the Security Council cannot afford to continue to extend UNFICYP's mandate indefinitely." He urged the parties to the intercommunal talks to move swiftly toward a negotiated political settlement of the Cyprus problem with which the Security Council has been occupied for over a decade. With regard to the financing of UNFICYP, he concluded with an appeal to all UN members, particularly those on the Security Council, to support the Secretary General's efforts to place UNFICYP financing on a sound basis "by contributing their fair share to this peacekeeping operation which continues to play such a significant part in averting a costly war in Cyprus."

In December Ambassador Bush noted that the United States approached the Cyprus issue with "guarded optimism," and found that the possibilities for substantive progress seemed brighter than they had earlier in the long course of seeking a solution to this "frustratingly complex problem." He stated that recent developments around the globe served as eloquent testimony to the strength and efficacy of the negotiating process. The United States was encouraged, he said, by the Secretary General's assessment that the situation had remained quiet during the period under review, that both communities had acted with responsibility and restraint to prevent minor incidents from becoming more serious, and that there had been a further reduction in the number of breaches of the cease-fire and shooting incidents in areas of potential confrontation. He stated further, however, that the serious problems remaining could not be ignored and were underscored in the Secretary General's report. He further noted that "con-

certed efforts should be continued to make UNFICYP's expenditures balance its anticipated income."

UNFICYP

The Secretary General reported on December 1 that as of November 25 UNFICYP was composed of 3,153 men from Australia, Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. The force comprised both military personnel and civilian police.

UNFICYP, as in the past, continued to be financed from voluntary contributions. The United States pledged \$4.8 million toward the 1972 expenses of UNFICYP, bringing the total U.S. cash pledge to UNFICYP since its inception in March 1964 to \$61.7 million in addition to air transport services in 1964-1965 valued at \$1.3 million. In May the Secretary General pledged to continue his efforts to get the financing of UNFICYP on a sound basis and to begin to liquidate the deficit. On August 9 he sent a letter to all states members of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies appealing for voluntary contributions for UNFICYP. Nevertheless, the Secretary General was unable to report an improvement in the financial situation of UNFICYP at the end of the year.

Speaking before the Council on December 15, Ambassador Bush said that "taking into consideration present trends in costs and contributions, UNFICYP will add about \$3 million to its deficit each year. This is not a financial record of which we can be proud. Indeed, this is an untenable situation which cannot be permitted to persist." Ambassador Bush urged others to come forward generously in an effort to erase the deficit and concluded: "We trust that as the intercommunal talks proceed successfully, the end of UNFICYP's mandate is within sight."

Korea

On July 4, 1972, the Republic of Korea and North Korea issued a joint communique calling for peaceful reunification of Korea by independent Korean efforts without external influence. The communique, which followed talks undertaken at South Korean initiative, also announced establishment of machinery for further contacts and discussions between the two parties.

Several months before the opening of the 27th General Assembly the Republic of Korea asked the United States and other countries which have usually cosponsored resolutions supporting a continued UN role in Korea to ascertain whether the Assembly would be willing to defer debate on the Korean question for a further year. (In 1971 the cosponsors asked that debate be deferred to avoid possible damage to the atmosphere of Red Cross talks between North and South Korea. On September 25, 1971, the 26th General Assembly deferred to the 27th Assembly debate on three items pertaining to Korea.) On July 24, 1972, Kim Yong Sik, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Korea, stated:

. . . discussion of the Korean question at the forthcoming session of the General Assembly will certainly revive the Cold War polemics of the past . . . and hamper a smooth and successful progress of the South-North dialogue. For these reasons, the Korean Government strongly desires that the debate of the Korean question be postponed again at the 27th General Assembly Session.

The group of cosponsors agreed that an Assembly debate at this delicate initial stage of the South-North bilateral talks would not be helpful and might provoke a polemical confrontation which would jeopardize the promising start made in the talks. Convinced that allowing the two parties to work out their problems together was the most constructive

stance the United Nations could adopt to facilitate the South-North dialogue, the cosponsors agreed to request the Assembly to defer debate for a further year.

When the General Committee met on September 20 to make recommendations on the agenda, there were four items on the provisional agenda relating to Korea, including three deferred by the 26th Assembly. These were:

1. "Withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations," proposed on August 21, 1971, by Mongolia, later joined by 18 others. (item 35)

2. "Dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea,"¹ also proposed August 21, 1971, by Mongolia and subsequently supported by 19 others. (item 36)

3. "Question of Korea: Report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea," proposed on August 23, 1971, by the Secretary General. (item 37)

To the above, a new item was added (item 96):

4. "Creation of favorable conditions to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea," proposed on July 17, 1972, by Algeria, Congo, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania, Yemen (Aden), Yemen (San'a), Yugoslavia, and Zambia, and subsequently joined by Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian S.S.R., Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Equatorial Guinea, Hungary, Iraq, Malta, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Ukrain-

¹ 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. The resolution designated Australia, Chile, Netherlands, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand, and Turkey as members. Chile withdrew on Nov. 14, 1970, and Pakistan withdrew on Nov. 21, 1972.

ian S.S.R., and U.S.S.R. Under this item as it was expanded in a second letter of September 15 the sponsors called, *inter alia*, for suspension of UNCURK, annulment of the use of the UN flag by "foreign troops stationed in Korea," and withdrawal of such troops. They also requested withdrawal of items 35 and 36 from the agenda.

Items 35 and 36 were deleted by the General Committee without objection. The Representative of Rwanda then suggested to the Committee that it was inappropriate to discuss items 37 and 96, since North and South Korea had begun bilateral talks. He proposed that discussion be deferred for one year, and the U.K. Representative formally moved that the Committee recommend inclusion of the two items in the 28th General Assembly agenda. The U.K.-Rwandan proposal was strongly supported by the United States and a number of others, while the P.R.C. and the U.S.S.R. were among those opposing deferral of discussion and contending that debate was the best way to create favorable conditions for the talks between North and South Korea. By a vote of 16 (U.S.) to 7, with 1 abstention, the Committee adopted the U.K. proposal.

When the plenary Assembly considered the proposed agenda on September 22, the P.R.C., the U.S.S.R., Algeria, and others called for rejection of the Committee's recommendation. Nevertheless, on September 23 the Assembly approved the recommended deferral by a vote of 70 (U.S.) to 35, with 21 abstentions. In explaining the U.S. vote Ambassador Bush stated:

Last year the General Assembly postponed debate over the Korean question because of the hope that these talks [between North and South Korea], which were just starting, would move forward. It was hoped that this would give both sides time to reach satisfactory agreements without having to participate in an ideologi-

cal debate which would obscure the essential nature of the problems being considered in Korea. Events of the past year have proven the General Assembly's decision to be the correct one.

Mr. President, for these reasons the United States strongly supported the recommendation of the General Committee, and voted in the General Assembly with the majority. We did not want to plunge this session of the General Assembly into a debate on the Korean Question marked by needless acrimony and invective. By our action today, we have given the people of South and North Korea a chance to resolve their problems themselves.

No further debate of the question took place at the 27th General Assembly.

Middle East

PEACEMAKING EFFORTS

Jarring Mission

In 1967 Ambassador Gunnar Jarring of Sweden was designated by the Secretary General as his Special Representative "to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement" in the Middle East in accordance with Security Council resolution 242 of November 22, 1967. In January, March, May, and August 1972 he held discussions with representatives of the parties in New York and he remained available to the parties for discussion throughout the year.

In January 1972, Ambassador Jarring visited Senegal and Mauritania to receive a full briefing on the Middle East peace mission of the OAU heads of state initiated in 1971. Following his conversations in Dakar and Nouakchott he visited Cairo, Jerusalem, and Amman in February. In a report to the General Assembly and the Security Council on September 15 the Secretary General noted that "in spite of our continued efforts, it has not been possible to make any substantial progress. . . .

an agreed basis for discussions under Ambassador Jarring's auspices does not seem to exist at the present time. Despite this situation, we shall continue our efforts."

Because of the basic disagreement between the parties over the 1971 General Assembly resolution on the Middle East and the Special Representative's February 8, 1971, memorandum to Egypt and Israel, discussions under Ambassador Jarring's auspices did not make headway in 1972.

Maintenance of Cease-Fire

Accepting a U.S. initiative in the summer of 1970, Egypt and Israel agreed to observe a cease-fire for 90 days from August 7, 1970. The cease-fire was subsequently officially extended until March 7, 1971. It remained in *de facto* effect throughout the remainder of 1971 and 1972, in spite of sporadic violations due to occasional Palestinian *fedayeen* attacks against Israel and Israeli retaliatory action against Lebanon and Syria, as well as some isolated incidents in the Suez Canal area.

Interim Canal Agreement

The United States continued its interest in promoting an interim Suez Canal agreement. In early February 1972 Israel indicated its willingness to participate without preconditions in indirect talks with Egypt under U.S. aegis to explore the prospects of achieving an interim agreement involving a partial Israeli withdrawal in the Sinai and reopening of the Suez Canal. In his address before the General Assembly on September 25 Secretary Rogers stressed the U.S. view that indirect talks on an interim agreement offered the most promising avenue to make progress toward a just and lasting peace envisaged by Security Council resolution 242. He said that such an agreement "would separate the combatants, restore to Egypt op-

eration of and authority over the Suez Canal, involve some Israeli withdrawal, preserve the cease-fire, and provide momentum for further efforts toward an overall settlement." At year's end the United States remained available to assist the parties in exploring such an agreement.

Four-Power Talks

In the face of continuing disagreement between the parties as how best to break the impasse in the Middle East, and the failure in 1971 of Four Power discussions in New York to produce agreement on balanced guidelines which might be of assistance to Ambassador Jarring, there were no talks among the Permanent Representatives to the United Nations of France, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States in 1972.

SECURITY COUNCIL ACTIVITY

The Security Council held four series of meetings in 1972 to consider incidents in the Middle East. Three resolutions were adopted, one unanimously. On September 10, the United States cast its second veto in the Security Council on a one-sided draft resolution which would have condemned Israeli air raids on Lebanese and Syrian territory without taking adequate account of the massacre of 11 members of the Israeli Olympic team at Munich which had led to Israel's retaliatory action. (See also section on terrorism, p. 193.) In April, the Security Council adopted, without a formal meeting, a consensus approving an increase in the number of UNTSO observers along the Lebanon-Israel frontier.

Meetings of February 26-28

On February 25 Israel carried out an attack in southern Lebanon in retaliation for *fedayeen* terrorist attacks against Israel on February 23

and 24. On February 25, Lebanon requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council as a result of Israel's "persistent acts of aggression" since September 1970 "culminating in a large-scale air and ground attack" on February 25. Israel subsequently also called for a meeting to consider the armed attacks against Israel from Lebanese territory.

Opening the debate on February 26 the Lebanese Representative said that the force attacking southern Lebanon included a battalion of 60 tanks and armored cars supported by infantry units and heavy air cover. Moreover, the aggression was continuing with bombardment by waves of Israeli planes and the continued presence of Israeli forces on Lebanese soil. Stressing that Lebanon had "done its utmost to control its border" and could not be held "responsible for the security and safety of Israel," he pointed out that the Israeli action was "enormously out of proportion" to the alleged *fedayeen* acts that had preceded it.

The Israeli Representative, also speaking on February 26, charged that the Government of Lebanon was completely responsible for the situation because it permitted "terrorist organizations" to establish bases in Lebanon and carry out "murder and sabotage" inside Israel. Underlining the duty of his country to protect its citizens, he described the Israeli military action as "minimal" and directed against terrorists and their encampments. He further said that the Israeli forces had returned to their bases immediately after the operation.

Nine Council members took part in a lengthy debate on February 26. In view of Israeli assurances that their attacks on Lebanon had ceased and their troops had withdrawn, the Lebanese delegation was persuaded not to press for a resolution and the Council adjourned *sine die*. When, however, it became clear that Israeli forces were still in Lebanon and that a new round of attacks had started

that same day, Lebanon called for another urgent meeting on the evening of February 27.

On February 27 Belgium, France, Italy, and the United Kingdom submitted a draft resolution with a preambular paragraph "deploring all actions which have resulted in the loss of innocent lives," and an operative paragraph that "demands that Israel immediately desist and refrain from any ground and air military action against Lebanon and forthwith withdraw all its military forces from Lebanese territory." Introducing the draft, the Italian Representative said that it represented the minimum action the Council could take at this stage, and though it would not satisfy all members he asked that they refrain from introducing amendments.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Bush, expressed deep regret and concern that Israel had prolonged and intensified its attacks on the territory of Lebanon and said that the United States could not condone such action. He stated that the United States fully supported the territorial integrity and political independence of Lebanon and believed that the Security Council should call upon Israel to withdraw its forces immediately from Lebanese territory. He underlined U.S. regret for the loss of life that had occurred on both sides.

Taking note of Lebanon's strenuous efforts to maintain quiet along the border, he urged that the two countries have more frequent recourse to the international facilities that exist for the exchange of information and consultation on border matters. "It is the parties that must redouble their efforts to avoid a repetition of the cycle of attacks and counterattacks. . . . Above all, we ask for an end to cross-border attacks and terrorism, without which the cycle of action and reaction cannot be broken."

Ambassador Bush asked that the preambular sentence of the draft resolution be changed to read: "De-

ploring all actions which have resulted in the loss of innocent lives on both sides." He noted the U.S. belief that the thought implied in the preambular paragraph should be made explicit by the addition of the words "on both sides," but did not press the change in view of the sponsors' appeal that there be no amendments.

No member of the Council took the position that Israel's action was justified, and nearly all speakers were sharply critical of what they considered to be a disproportionate Israeli reaction to the *fedayeen* acts. Moreover, the P.R.C., Yugoslavia, and some others opposed the preambular section of the draft resolution on the grounds that it equated the "aggressor" with the "victim." The introduction of amendments to condemn Israel was prevented only by agreement to vote on the two paragraphs separately.

After a long meeting, the resolution finally came to a vote early in the morning of February 28. The preambular paragraph was defeated by a vote of 8 in favor (U.S.) to 4 against, with 3 abstentions. (Nine affirmative votes are necessary for adoption.) The operative paragraph was adopted unanimously.

After the vote Ambassador Bush made a strong statement regretting that the Council had not adopted the preamble as well. The United States had voted for the operative paragraph because it believed that Israel should withdraw from Lebanese territory, but this in no way condoned the events that had led up to Israel's actions.

Strengthening of UNTSO

In a letter of March 29 Lebanon requested that because of "repeated Israeli aggression," the Security Council take the necessary action to strengthen UN machinery in the Lebanese-Israeli sector by increasing the number of UN military observers there. In response to the Lebanese re-

quest, the President of the Security Council held consultations with the members of the Council for over 2 weeks. Lebanon proposed that 25-30 additional observers be stationed on both sides of the border and requested this be authorized by the Council with specific reference to the 1949 General Armistice Agreement and relevant Security Council resolutions. After preliminary consultations it became clear that Israel would not accept observers on its side of the border.

In a memorandum of April 4, the Secretary General reported that the Lebanese authorities had indicated to the UNTSO Chief of Staff a preference for the establishment of three observation posts on the Lebanese side of the border. The UNTSO Chief of Staff estimated that these measures would require an additional 14 military observers (raising the total to 21 in that sector), plus 5 additional support officers and 8 additional local employees. He estimated the cost of equipping and maintaining this added force at \$272,600 for 8 months.

The major stumbling blocks to consensus were the differences among members of the Council over the executive latitude of the Secretary General to implement these measures without a formal and explicit authorization by the Security Council. The United States sought language which (1) was consistent with its overall view of the Secretary General's role in the conduct of peacekeeping missions, and (2) reflected the fact that the Council resolutions in 1948-49 establishing the General Armistice Agreements between Israel and its Arab neighbors conferred sufficient authority on the Secretary General to enable him to meet the Lebanese request on his own.

On April 19 the Council adopted a consensus which made no direct reference to the Armistice Agreement but was acceptable to both the Lebanese and the Israelis. It noted as

“exceptional” that a formal meeting of the Council was not considered necessary “in this instance” and “invited” the Secretary General to consult with Lebanese authorities on implementing the arrangements for increasing the observers and to report periodically to the Council.

On October 23 Lebanon formally requested that the Secretary General further increase the number of UN observation posts and military observers along its border with Israel. Following consultations between the UNTSO Chief of Staff and Lebanese authorities, UNTSO recommended that two additional posts be established and the number of observers be increased from 21 to 34. The Secretary General on October 27 informed the President of the Security Council of his intention to proceed on the lines proposed by UNTSO if there were no objection. At an informal meeting on October 30 the members of the Council agreed that the President would write the Secretary General, referring to the consensus of April 19 and noting that there was no objection to acceding to the additional Lebanese request. The United States reiterated its view that the Secretary General already had the authority to enlarge the observer force without consulting the Council again. No formal Council meeting was held, and the additional UN observation posts in Lebanon became operational on November 2.

Meetings of June 23-26

Following the massacre by three Japanese extremists (hired by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine) of 26 persons, including 16 Americans, at Lod Airport in Israel on May 30, Israel launched an air and land attack against points in southern Lebanon on June 21. Israeli armed forces also abducted five Syrian officers and their Lebanese military escort from Lebanon on June 21. Lebanon on June 23 re-

quested a Security Council meeting “in view of the extreme gravity of the situation endangering the peace and security of Lebanon.” On the same day Israel also urgently requested a meeting to consider the “continuous armed attacks” perpetrated against Israel from Lebanese territory. Subsequently, Syria also requested a meeting. The Council met on June 23, 24, and 26. In the course of the debate all the Council members made statements, as did Lebanon, Israel, Egypt, Syria, Kuwait, and Jordan.

In addressing the Council on June 24, Ambassador Bush deplored the continuing violence in the Middle East. He recalled the U.S. shock at the tragic massacre at Lod Airport and its deep regret over the loss of life in the Israeli retaliatory attacks on Lebanon. He reiterated that the way to solve the problem of cross-border incidents was “in direct liaison and cooperation between the parties to provide the most reliable assurance possible regarding the security of each.” He urged both Israel and Lebanon to have more frequent recourse to the international facilities that exist for the exchange of information and consultation on border matters. In conclusion, he noted that any resolution adopted by the Council would have to be fair and balanced in order to gain the concurrence of the United States. Such a resolution “must be concerned about terrorist acts as well as the Israeli attacks. It must show concern for those that lie dead or wounded on both sides of the border. It must at least carry the hope of moving this area closer to peace.”

On June 24 France, Belgium, and the United Kingdom circulated a draft resolution which, after negotiation and revision, was formally submitted on June 26. In its preambular section it *inter alia* deplored the tragic loss of life resulting from all acts of violence and retaliation and expressed grave concern with Israel’s

failure to comply with previous Security Council resolutions with regard to Lebanon. In its operative section the resolution (1) called upon Israel to abide by previous resolutions relating to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon and to refrain from all military acts against Lebanon; (2) condemned, "while profoundly deploring all acts of violence, the repeated attacks of Israeli forces on Lebanese territory and population"; (3) expressed the strong desire that "all Syrian and Lebanese military and security personnel abducted by Israeli armed forces" from Lebanon on June 21 would be released "in the shortest possible time"; and (4) declared that if these steps did not result in the release of the abducted personnel, or if Israel failed to comply with the present resolution, the Council would reconvene to consider further action.

The resolution was adopted on June 26 by a vote of 13 to 0, with 2 abstentions (Panama, U.S.). Earlier that day the United States had tabled a draft resolution embodying the balance it considered necessary in this situation. In its preambular paragraphs the U.S. draft, which was not pressed to a vote, expressed grave concern "at recent terrorist and military acts of violence in the area which have brought about a deterioration in the situation," deplored the loss of life therefrom, and expressed the conviction that "the cause of peace requires the exercise of the utmost restraint by all parties concerned." In its operative paragraphs it condemned acts of violence in the area, called for an immediate cessation of all such acts, and called on all governments concerned to repatriate all military and security prisoners in their custody.

In a statement after the vote Ambassador Bush said that the resolution "did not fulfill what we strongly believed are the needs of the situation, and my delegation therefore was obliged to abstain." He noted that

the U.S. draft had attempted to express "condemnation over the moves into Lebanon" but that it also rose above the "ominous silence" that at times surrounded assaults on Israel, such as the recent "senseless, cold-blooded slaughter" at Lod.

Meetings of July 18-21

On July 5 Lebanon and Syria separately requested a meeting of the Security Council to consider Israel's noncompliance with the Council's resolution of June 26 and its "refusal to release all the abducted Syrian and Lebanese military personnel." Since Lebanon and Syria had not requested an "urgent meeting," the President of the Security Council did not immediately schedule one, thus allowing for the exercise of the good offices of the Secretary General and further informal consultations among members of the Security Council. On July 17, Israel requested an "urgent" meeting of the Council "to consider the mutual release of all prisoners of war" in accordance with the 1949 Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War.

The Council met in response to all three requests on July 18. This meeting was taken up by a long procedural wrangle in which supporters of the Arab position sought to have the Israeli item eliminated from the agenda. After a proposal to this effect was defeated by a vote of 8 to 0, with 7 abstentions (U.S.), India proposed that each item's inclusion be separately voted on for adoption rather than rejection, which would have had the effect of reversing the result of the previous vote. The President of the Council compromised by ruling that the first item on the agenda—the Syrian and Lebanese letters—would be discussed that day and the Israeli letter would be taken up at a later meeting. Following this statement the Israeli Representative withdrew and took no more part in the meetings of July 18, 20, and 21.

Israel subsequently decided not to insist on separate consideration of its letter.

On July 21 the Council adopted, by vote of 14 to 0, with the United States abstaining, a resolution (sponsored by Guinea, Sudan, Yugoslavia, Somalia, and India) that: (1) reaffirmed the June 26 resolution; (2) deplored the fact that the Syrian and Lebanese personnel abducted from Lebanese territory by Israeli armed forces on June 21 had not been released; (3) called on Israel to return those persons without delay; and (4) requested the President of the Security Council and the Secretary General "to make renewed efforts to secure the implementation of the present resolution."

In explaining their votes a number of states touched on the possible future consideration of the Israeli-requested portion of the agenda and made specific reference to the necessity for a general release of all prisoners as a positive move to lessen tensions in the Middle East.

The United States abstained because the resolution reaffirmed the June 26 resolution on which it had abstained. It would have preferred that the Council limit its action to a general endorsement of the efforts already underway by the International Committee of the Red Cross and the UN Secretariat aimed at effecting a general release of prisoners in the area.

Meetings of September 10

Following the September 5 murder in Munich of 11 members of the Israeli Olympic team, Israel on September 8 carried out extensive air attacks against presumed *fedayeen* targets in Lebanon and Syria, which also caused many innocent civilian casualties. In a September 8 letter to the Security Council Lebanon reported that three communities had been "indiscriminately bombarded with rockets and strafed by . . . air-

craft," and that early reports indicated 12 civilians had been killed and 34 wounded (subsequent information indicated the number killed to be substantially higher). Syria first reported that five areas were bombarded. On September 9, noting that the Israeli attacks were continuing, Syria requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council. Lebanon followed suit on September 10, "in view of the gravity of the situation endangering the peace and security of Lebanon."

The Council met twice on September 10. At the first meeting Somalia, Guinea, and Yugoslavia put forward what they described as an interim resolution which would have expressed deep concern at the deteriorating situation in the Middle East and called on "the parties concerned to cease immediately all military operations and to exercise the greatest restraint in the interest of international peace and security."

The four Western European members of the Council—Belgium, France, Italy, and the United Kingdom—proposed amendments to the draft which would have added a preambular paragraph "deploring deeply all acts of terrorism and violence and all breaches of the cease-fire in the Middle East," changed the operative paragraph to call on "all parties" concerned, and replaced "cease immediately all military operations" with "take all measures for the immediate cessation and prevention of all military operations and terrorist activities." These proposed amendments were put to a vote at the second meeting.

The proposed additional preambular paragraph failed to receive the 9 votes necessary for adoption. The vote was 8 (U.S.) to 4 (P.R.C., Guinea, Sudan, Yugoslavia), with 3 abstentions (India, Somalia, U.S.S.R.). The second amendment—changing "the parties" to "all parties," thus including the *fedayeen* as well as the states concerned, was de-

feated by a vote of 9 (U.S.) to 6, the latter including the U.S.S.R. and the P.R.C. which constituted vetoes. The third amendment failed of adoption by a vote of 8 (U.S.) to 7. Immediately following the defeat of the amendments the unamended three-power draft resolution was put to a vote and defeated by a vote of 13 to 1 (U.S. veto), with 1 abstention.

U.S. POSITION. The United States had made clear that it would vote for the resolution if the three West European amendments were accepted, but when they were defeated it could not accept the three-power draft. In explaining the veto Ambassador Bush said that the United States was "deeply convinced that the Council would have done neither the parties nor itself any good by adopting a resolution which ignored realities, which spoke to one form of violence and not another, which looked to effect but not to cause." He underlined the U.S. desire for a world in which athletes need not fear assassins and passengers on planes need not fear hijacking or assassination. He pointed out that it was a double standard to suggest that states must control their own forces but need not control irregular forces in their territory. "We have been walking a very dangerous path by our silence on terrorism. We invite more terrorism by our silence on the disaster in Munich."

At the earlier meeting of the Council that day the United States had introduced a draft resolution which in its preambular section *inter alia* deplored the loss of innocent lives on both sides and the outbreak of renewed violence in the Middle East. In its operative paragraphs it (1) condemned the terrorist attack in Munich, and (2) called upon states harboring and supporting such terrorists and their activities to cease this support, and to take all necessary measures to bring about the immediate end of such senseless acts.

In introducing this draft, Amba-

sador Bush called the Council's attention to the fact that "until a few days ago the world had again dared to hope because a climate of reasonableness and realism seemed to be developing in the area. There were grounds to hope that new opportunities for progress towards peace in the Middle East were opening up before us. Then came Munich." He deplored the harboring and encouragement of terrorists and terrorism. The United States did not press its draft resolution to a vote, and it remained before the Council.

Further Israeli incursions into Lebanon on September 16-17 caused a large number of Lebanese civilian and military casualties, but Lebanon did not request a meeting of the Security Council.

On October 15 Israel attacked *fedayeen* targets in Lebanon and Syria and announced a new policy of pursuing *fedayeen* targets whenever the opportunity offered. Although the nature of the October 15 raids was different from earlier raids, surgical and preemptive rather than retaliatory, neither Lebanon nor Syria called for a meeting of the Security Council. Lebanon wrote a letter of complaint to the President of the Security Council on October 16, and Syria sent a letter to the Secretary General on October 17. On October 18 Israel sent a letter to the President of the Security Council justifying its policy of attacking "terrorist bases from which a war of barbaric atrocities and wanton murder is being waged against Israel, against civilians within its borders and abroad." There were no further meetings of the Security Council in 1972 on matters relating to the Middle East.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION

Between November 29 and December 8 the 27th General Assembly debated in plenary session the "Situation in the Middle East," an item which has been on its agenda since the emergency special session in 1967.

Representatives of more than 60 countries took part, and one resolution was adopted on December 8.

Egyptian Position

Opening the debate on November 29, the Foreign Minister of Egypt, Mohamed Hassan El-Zayyat, noted that it was the 25th anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly of the resolution on the partition of Palestine. Now, he stated, Israel occupies not only all of Palestine but also parts of the neighboring Arab countries. He asserted that a number of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions calling for withdrawal of Israeli forces from territories occupied in 1967 "remain totally ignored by Israel," and that the Israelis intend to keep as much of the territories as they can.

Turning to previous discussions of the situation in the Middle East, Mr. El-Zayyat recalled a resolution of the 26th General Assembly which called for restoration of the occupied territories and reactivation of the Jarring Mission. Citing Egypt's undertaking, contained in its memorandum to Ambassador Jarring of February 15, 1971, to enter into a peace agreement with Israel, the Foreign Minister assailed Israel's demand that Jarring renounce his February 8 memorandum which had elicited this commitment from Egypt and had also sought a parallel Israeli commitment to withdraw to the Egypt-Palestine international border. He blamed Israel for the lack of progress in 1972 in the search for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

Noting that if the United Nations failed to act it would lose all credibility as a guarantor of peace and security, he urged the General Assembly "to take a clear stand whereby all measures and acts taken by the Israeli occupying authorities are considered invalid." He noted President Sadat's support for an interim Suez Canal agreement, provided it is

not a device to perpetuate Israel's occupation of part of Egypt. In conclusion, he urged the United Nations to warn Israel that unless it showed more willingness to carry out its obligations under the Charter, necessary action in accordance with Articles 5 (suspension of rights) and 6 (expulsion) would be considered.

Israeli Position

Also speaking on November 29 Ambassador Yosef Tekoah, the Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations, asserted that the most pressing need was to begin negotiations between the parties, which he said was the only way to lead to peace. Noting that negotiations are being initiated between parties to disputes in all other parts of the world (a point earlier made by Secretary Rogers in his general debate speech), the Ambassador called for a dialogue in the Middle East. "This is the method of negotiation between the parties, of nonintervention from the outside, of respect for the principle of nonimposition." He emphasized that the Government of Israel is ready to negotiate peace without any preconditions. He also stated that the Government of Israel was prepared to engage in indirect talks on an interim Suez Canal agreement. "Israel does not seek to freeze the existing situation or to perpetuate the cease-fire lines, but to replace them in peace with secure and agreed boundaries to be established through negotiation with each of its Arab neighbors."

Ambassador Tekoah blamed the Arab states for the failure to make progress in the search for peace since the previous General Assembly. The Arab governments, he said, "appear to have always looked upon debates in United Nations organs as a substitute for and as an escape from the need for negotiation." Moreover, the Arabs apparently long for Israel's downfall. The root of the problem, he stated, was the attempt by the Arab states "to deny the Jewish people its

fundamental right to self-determination, freedom and renewed sovereignty in its ancient homeland." Turning to terrorism, he said, "If there is an aspect of the Middle East situation that necessitates immediate action by the United Nations it is Arab terrorism. The international community cannot stand by and watch the Arab governments go on spreading this plague."

Ambassador Tekoah acknowledged that Israel remains on the lines established in the 1967 cease-fires pending an agreement. In conclusion, Ambassador Tekoah blamed last year's General Assembly resolution for paralyzing diplomatic efforts for an entire year, and urged a new approach toward a settlement in the Middle East, "based on consultation and agreement, on dialogue and common interest."

U.S. Position

Speaking on December 5, Ambassador Bush recalled that since the war of 1967, "a torrent of words on the Middle East has engulfed this and other UN chambers." Noting that unfortunately these statements contributed little to finding the road to a durable peace, he stated that the United States would have preferred to forego yet another debate and resolution on the Middle East. However, since the debate was underway, all "must do our best to see that what emerges from this debate contributes directly to an improvement in the atmosphere in the Middle East and to the prospects for peacemaking," or in any case to insure that opportunities for diplomacy in the months ahead are not seriously set back.

Quoting the Secretary's address to the General Assembly earlier in the session, Ambassador Bush stated that

. . . the momentum toward a peace settlement must be regained. . . .

. . . neither side has permanently closed the door to future diplomatic efforts. We believe that forces favoring a

peaceful settlement still have the upper hand. Our task is to do everything possible to see that they are supported.

Ambassador Bush then referred to the Security Council's resolution 242 of 1967 which remained the basic framework for the long-sought peace in the Middle East, noting that it was a carefully balanced document, evolved with extraordinary care to serve as a basis for reconciling interests and laying the foundation for an enduring peaceful settlement. He stated that all UN members should be mindful of the need to preserve the negotiating asset that this resolution represented. The heart of the resolution, he stressed, is application of two principles for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East: (1) withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the 1967 conflict, and (2) termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence of every state in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force. Although the United States regretted that more progress has not been made in moving forward toward a settlement, it was convinced that the difficulties were not insurmountable.

Ambassador Bush declared that the United States had long been convinced that "the most hopeful and practical means of initiating a reasonable process of discussion and accommodation on the Middle East was through practical interim steps, such as those involved in the so-called interim Suez Canal agreement." He reaffirmed the U.S. willingness to play a role in helping the parties negotiate such an agreement if they so desired, and that the United States would remain available for this purpose.

Ambassador Bush noted that the problems in the Middle East area were complex and deeply rooted,

"but other problems around the world are also complex, or the product of deep historical, cultural, or political divisions." Citing many disputes and problems where the parties were engaged in dialogue and negotiation, he affirmed the U.S. view that "all members of this organization have a strong interest in getting such processes started also on the problem of the Middle East."

In conclusion, Ambassador Bush said that the Assembly must preserve the measure of agreement already underlying Security Council resolution 242. The Assembly must insure that it reinforce the willingness of all parties in the months ahead to enter into a diplomatic process which alone could lead to "the just and lasting settlement which is our common objective."

Draft Resolution

On December 6 Senegal introduced a draft resolution ultimately sponsored by 20 African and Asian states plus Yugoslavia. On December 7 the United Kingdom introduced amendments, cosponsored by Belgium, France, Italy, and Luxembourg, that, in the preambular section made it explicit that Security Council resolution 242 remained the agreed basis for UN peace efforts in the Middle East and must be maintained intact, and in the operative section introduced wording from resolution 242 and deleted wording that implied the invocation of sanctions. The cosponsors of the draft resolution accepted the amendments immediately after their introduction.

The resolution was put to a vote on December 8, after the rejection by a recorded vote of 25 (U.S.) to 64, with 34 abstentions, of a U.S. request for a separate vote on operative paragraph 8 (see below). The draft resolution was adopted by a rollcall vote of 86 to 7 with 31 abstentions (U.S.).

In its preambular paragraphs the resolution *inter alia* reaffirmed that Security Council resolution 242 "must

be implemented in all its parts," that "the territory of a state shall not be the object of occupation or acquisition by another state resulting from the threat or use of force," and that it is the "responsibility of the United Nations to restore peace and security in the Middle East in the immediate future."

In its operative section the resolution (1) reaffirmed its resolution of December 13, 1971; (2) deplored Israel's noncompliance with that resolution; (3) expressed its full support for the efforts of the Secretary General and his Special Representative; (4) declared that the acquisition of territories by force is inadmissible and that the territories thus occupied must be restored; (5) reaffirmed that the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East should include the application of both the following principles: (a) withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from occupied territories; and (b) termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgment 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; (6) invited Israel to declare publicly its adherence to the principle of non-annexation of territories through the use of force; (7) declared that changes carried out by Israel in the occupied Arab territories in contravention of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 were null and void, and called upon Israel to rescind such measures and to desist from all policies and practices affecting the physical character or demographic composition of the occupied Arab territories; (8) called upon all states not to recognize any such changes and measures carried out by Israel in the occupied Arab territories and invited them to avoid actions, including actions in the field of aid, that could constitute recognition of that occupation; (9)

recognized that respect for the rights of the Palestinians was an indispensable element in the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East; (10) requested the Security Council, in consultation with the Secretary General and his Special Representative, to take all appropriate steps with a view to the full and speedy implementation of Security Council resolution 242; (11) requested the Secretary General to report to the Security Council and the General Assembly on the progress made by him and his Special Representative in the implementation of both Security Council resolution 242 and the present resolution; and (12) decided to transmit the present resolution to the Security Council for appropriate action.

U.S. Explanation of Vote

Speaking after the vote on December 8, Ambassador Bush said:

We regret very much that the resolution which has just been voted constitutes precisely the kind of resolution we had so much hoped could be avoided at this Assembly. This resolution cannot render constructive assistance to the processes of diplomacy. It cannot offer encouragement to the parties to reach a peaceful accommodation of their differences.

He noted that the carefully balanced wording of resolution 242 was the only agreed basis for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East that met the political, security, and economic interests of all the peoples in the area. He repeated that it was essential to preserve the negotiating framework which resolution 242 provided and expressed particular concern that several paragraphs of the Assembly's resolution upset the careful balance of resolution 242 between withdrawal from occupied territories and agreement between the parties on the terms of a just and lasting peace.

Ambassador Bush affirmed that in a separate vote the United States would have voted "no" on operative paragraph 8 which was "directly contrary

to U.S. policy on the matter of assistance and cannot affect our attitude." He concluded by underlining the U.S. intention to be active diplomatically to encourage meaningful negotiations between the parties in the Middle East.

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

By February 1972 it appeared that rising costs of services without a commensurate rise in income would force UNRWA to cut back on the services it provided the Palestine refugees. On March 20 the Secretary General sent a letter to all UN members noting that any reduction in UNRWA's services would "not only add to the hardships of the refugees but also contribute to instability in the area." He asked the UNRWA Commissioner General, Sir John Rennie, to defer cuts pending responses to his appeal "to Governments, as well as intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations and private sources, for urgent voluntary contributions."

The United States answered the special appeal with a contribution of \$1 million pledged in a letter to the Secretary General on May 15. This, together with other special contributions and prospects for increased contributions toward the end of the year, enabled UNRWA to finish 1972 without any major reduction in its services.

The Special Political Committee of the 27th General Assembly considered UNRWA at 14 meetings between November 2 and 20. It had before it the report of the Commissioner General, the report of the Working Group on the Financing of UNRWA, the report of the UN Conciliation Commission for Palestine, and reports of the Secretary General on compliance with earlier resolutions. Over 65 states took part in the debate which covered many facets of the Arab-Israeli dispute in addition to the

problems of refugees. As in previous years, the "Palestine Arab delegation" and a representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization also spoke without this constituting recognition of the delegation or organization in question.

The Assembly adopted seven resolutions. Six of them—on UNRWA's general role, relief to persons displaced in the 1967 hostilities, return of displaced persons, Palestinian self-determination, Israeli measures in Gaza, and finances—paralleled resolutions adopted by the 26th General Assembly. The seventh resolution added Japan to the UNRWA Advisory Commission.

U.S. Position

Speaking on November 10, Senator Gale McGee reaffirmed that the United States had been a firm supporter of UNRWA since its establishment in 1949, and continued to consider its operations essential in present circumstances in the Middle East. He underlined the continuing need for contributions, and expressed the hope that the discussion of UNRWA in the Special Political Committee would lead to a substantial increase in contributions to UNRWA, particularly from those who had done little or nothing in the past.

The United States remains convinced that a just solution of the refugee problem should be developed and implemented within the framework of the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967. That resolution recognizes the interrelationship of the various elements of a Middle East peace settlement, including the just settlement of the refugee problem. The peace settlement envisaged in that resolution, indeed, provides the most promising avenue for meeting the just aspirations and concerns of the Palestinians. Meanwhile we are continuing to support UNRWA's efforts to provide the essential services required by the refugees. We urge others to do likewise and to contribute as generously as possible in support of UNRWA's program.

U.S. Draft Resolution

The United States introduced a draft resolution on November 10. The resolution (1) noted with deep regret that repatriation or compensation of the refugees as provided for in paragraph 11 of resolution 194 adopted by the 3rd General Assembly on December 11, 1948, had not been effected; (2) expressed thanks to the Commissioner General and his staff and to the specialized agencies and private organizations for their work in assisting the refugees; (3) 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, and requested it to continue its efforts and to report thereon not later than October 1, 1973; (4) directed attention to UNRWA's continuing critical financial position; (5) noted with concern that contributions to UNRWA continued to fall short of the funds needed to cover essential budget requirements; and (6) called upon all governments urgently to make "the most generous efforts possible" to meet UNRWA's needs.

The Committee approved the resolution on November 20 by a recorded vote of 110 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention (Israel). The General Assembly adopted it on December 13 by a vote of 124 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention.

Resolutions on Displaced Persons

On November 15 Sweden introduced a "humanitarian" resolution, sponsored by 20 states from all regions of the world. Virtually identical with resolutions adopted each year since 1967, 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 June 1967 hostilities. It also appealed to governments, organizations, and individuals to contribute to UNRWA

"Palestinian Rights" Resolution

to enable the Agency to carry out its duties in this respect. The resolution was approved in the Committee on November 20 by a recorded vote of 112 (U.S.) to 0, with no abstentions. It was adopted in plenary on December 13 by a vote of 125 (U.S.) to 0, with no abstentions.

Another resolution relating to persons displaced in the 1967 hostilities was introduced by Somalia on November 16 on behalf of nine sponsors (eight Afro-Asian states and Yugoslavia). It recalled previous resolutions on this subject and closely paralleled them in most respects. However, unlike its predecessor resolutions it asserted, in a preambular paragraph, that certain Israeli actions in the occupied territories violated the 1949 Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. This resolution was approved by the Committee on November 20 by a rollcall vote of 83 to 6, with 26 abstentions (U.S.); and adopted by the General Assembly on December 13 by a recorded vote of 93 to 5, with 26 abstentions (U.S.).

Speaking in plenary on December 13, Ambassador W. Tapley Bennett, Jr. stated that it was a matter of continuing regret to the United States that 5 years after the 1967 war substantial numbers of the displaced persons including thousands of UNRWA-registered refugees have not been permitted to return to their homes in all the areas occupied by Israel since 1967. The United States had voted for all previous resolutions calling on Israel to permit the persons displaced as a result of the 1967 hostilities to return to their homes, but abstained on this resolution because it alleged a violation of the Geneva Convention without calling on the parties concerned to apply the provisions of that Convention for an impartial determination of the veracity of these allegations.

On November 16 Somalia, on behalf of eight Afro-Asian nations and Yugoslavia, introduced a resolution on self-determination for the Palestinians. Recalling previous resolutions on the subject, which it closely paralleled, the draft resolution in its operative section (1) affirmed that the people of Palestine are entitled to equal rights and self-determination, in accordance with the UN Charter; (2) expressed once more the Assembly's grave concern that the people of Palestine had not been permitted to enjoy their inalienable rights and to exercise their right to self-determination; and (3) recognized that full respect for and realization of the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine are indispensable for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

The resolution was approved by the Committee on November 20 by a rollcall vote of 63 to 21 (U.S.), with 31 abstentions; and adopted by the General Assembly on December 13 by a rollcall vote of 67 to 21 (U.S.), with 37 abstentions.

In explaining the U.S. vote on this resolution, Ambassador Bennett reiterated to the Assembly on December 13 the U.S. position "that the legitimate concerns and aspirations of the Palestinians must be taken into account if there is to be a just and lasting peace in the Middle East." He noted, however, that the interpretation given this resolution by its supporters carried it beyond merely reaffirming this position. The United States had voted against this resolution for three reasons. First, it distorted Security Council resolution 242, which affirms the right of every state in the region to exist with full sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity. Second, it failed to take into account the sovereign existence of the state of Israel. Ambassador Bennett affirmed that "the United Nations should not undertake action inconsistent with the fact of

Israel's membership in the United Nations and its existence as a sovereign state." And third, the resolution said not a word about the subject at hand, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East.

Resolution on Israeli Actions in Gaza

In 1971 the 26th General Assembly had adopted a resolution concerning measures that Israel had taken in the Gaza Strip involving the destruction of some refugee shelters. At the 27th General Assembly the Special Political Committee had before it a report by the Secretary General on Israeli compliance with this resolution which contained the text of a note verbale from the Permanent Representative of Israel and some comments by the Commissioner General of UNRWA. The latter noted, *inter alia*, that a substantial number of refugees were still housed in unsatisfactory accommodations, and that UNRWA's claim for compensation for demolished shelters had been rejected by the Israeli authorities on the grounds that the demolitions were necessary for security reasons and that alternative accommodation had been offered.

The Secretary General's report was the subject of a draft resolution introduced on November 16 by Somalia and sponsored by eight Afro-Asian states and Yugoslavia. The resolution (1) declared that Israeli measures in the Gaza Strip contravened the 1949 Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War; (2) deplored these actions by Israel; (3) called upon Israel to desist from all measures that affect the physical structure and demographic composition of the Strip and to take "immediate and effective steps" for the return of the refugees concerned to the camps from which they were removed and to provide adequate shelters for their accommodation; and (4) requested the Secretary General to report on Israel's

compliance with the present resolution not later than the opening of the 28th General Assembly. The resolution was approved by the Committee on November 20 by a rollcall vote of 83 to 5, with 27 abstentions (U.S.), and adopted by the General Assembly on December 13 by a recorded vote of 95 to 6, with 24 abstentions (U.S.).

Explaining the U.S. position in the Assembly on December 13, Ambassador Bennett stated that the United States had abstained because the resolution alleged that certain acts contravened the Geneva Convention without calling for an impartial determination thereof as provided by that Convention. The United States, he said, understood Israel's legitimate security concerns that gave rise to its actions in Gaza in 1971. The United States regretted that UNRWA was not forewarned well in advance of these operations, and that there had been no progress in the Gaza Strip in regard to the rehousing of the refugees whose houses were demolished in July and August 1971 and who were still living in unsatisfactory conditions. It also regretted that terrorist acts took place in the Gaza area, leading the Israeli authorities to take the action they did. In conclusion, noting that Israel and its Arab neighbors are parties to the Geneva Convention, Ambassador Bennett expressed the hope that all parties thereto would invoke its provisions, especially the sections relating to the appointment of a Protecting Power, as well as Article 19, which prohibits individual or mass transfers or deportations of people from occupied areas.

Expansion of UNRWA Advisory Commission

On November 20 the United Kingdom introduced a draft resolution sponsored by the nine members of the UNRWA Advisory Commission—4 Arab host countries (Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria) and 5 others (Belgium, France, Turkey, United

Kingdom, United States)—which, after noting previous resolutions establishing the membership of the Advisory Commission, decided to include Japan in the membership of the Advisory Commission. This draft resolution was adopted without objection, by the Committee on November 20 and by the General Assembly on December 13.

UNRWA Finances

Continuing concern over the financial situation of UNRWA was underlined not only by the Commissioner General but by the Working Group on the Financing of UNRWA.¹ The Working Group, established by the 25th General Assembly, had had its mandate renewed for one year by the 26th Assembly.

In an October 24 report to the 27th Assembly, the Working Group concluded that although it had been possible to avoid reductions in the Agency's services over the last 2 years, UNRWA's "cash position remains precarious and the financial crisis has not been solved." The Working Group expressed the conviction that the continuation of the present services rendered by UNRWA was "dependent on voluntary contributions from Governments."

The Working Group recommended *inter alia* that (1) efforts continue to obtain contributions from governments that have either not contributed or have contributed inadequately in the past as well as from the traditional contributors; (2) payments be made to UNRWA as early as possible; and (3) UN agencies and organizations be encouraged to support UNRWA "to the extent possible within the framework of their constitutional requirements and budgetary possibilities." The Working Group concluded that "further vigorous and constant fund-raising activ-

ities on behalf of the Agency, in close consultation with the Commissioner General of UNRWA, are essential."

On November 16 Sweden introduced a draft resolution, also sponsored by Belgium, Denmark, Iran, and Mexico, on UNRWA financing. After underlining the continuing seriousness of the financial situation facing UNRWA, it endorsed the Working Group's conclusion that further vigorous fund-raising activities on behalf of UNRWA were essential and requested the Working Group to continue its efforts for another year.

The resolution was approved in Committee on November 20 by a recorded vote of 112 (U.S.) to 0, with no abstentions and adopted by the General Assembly on December 13 by a vote of 122 (U.S.) to 0, with no abstentions.

Pledging Conference

The annual pledging conference for UNRWA was held on November 27. Some 50 governments (mostly UN members, but including Switzerland, the Holy See, and the Federal Republic of Germany) attended. Most of them, including the United States, announced contributions which totaled approximately \$42.9 million in cash, goods, and services in support of UNRWA's 1973 program.

Senator Gale W. McGee announced a U.S. pledge of \$23.2 million in cash and commodities for 1973. He noted as well the total value of U.S. contributions—over half a billion dollars since UNRWA's creation—and the U.S. response to the Secretary General's special appeal in March (see p. 46). He commended the dedication of the UNRWA Commissioner General for his achievements during the year, and underlined the continuing gravity of UNRWA's financial problems. "We sincerely hope," he said, "that the international community will not leave the Agency in a position where it will have no alternative but to curtail its services."

¹ France, Ghana, Japan, Lebanon, Norway, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States.

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

Palestine Conciliation Commission

In 1971 the General Assembly had asked the Palestine Conciliation Commission (PCC)¹ to report to the 27th Assembly concerning the implementation of paragraph 11 (on repatriation or compensation of the refugees) of General Assembly resolution 194 (III). The 26th report of the PCC, covering the period October 1, 1967–September 29, 1972, was circulated on September 29 in a note by the Secretary General. The PCC concluded that the situation described in its previous report—prepared after the June 1967 war—remained "essentially unchanged as regards the circumstances governing the possibilities open to the Commission." The PCC remained determined to resume its endeavors as soon as possible.

On November 9 the delegations of Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria, in a letter to the PCC, requested copies of documents and materials in its possession relating to property in the former Palestine mandate. On November 20 Syria introduced a draft resolution ultimately sponsored by 11 Afro-Asian countries and Yugoslavia. In its operative paragraph the draft

resolution would have had the Assembly instruct the PCC "to provide member states upon request with copies of all documents and materials in its possession as well as in the possession of the Technical Office relating to property in Palestine." On the same day Lebanon, speaking on behalf of the cosponsors, stated that because consultations had begun with the PCC, the sponsors would not insist that the draft resolution be put to a vote immediately, with the proviso that the rapporteur include the text of the draft resolution in the report of the Special Political Committee.

On December 6, after consultations among the members of the PCC, Ambassador Christopher Phillips of the United States (Chairman of the PCC for the period October–December 1972), sent identical letters to the Permanent Representatives of Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria informing them that the Commission had decided that the Permanent Representatives of these four countries or designated members of their staff could have access to copies of (1) microfilms of land registers received from the Mandatory Government of Palestine, (2) forms identifying property parcels, and (3) the index of owners' names. The latter two categories of documents had been developed by the PCC in pursuit of its mandate. Ambassador Phillips' letter noted that information contained in these documents, including tentative valuation figures, could not in any way be considered as representing a final conclusion of the PCC nor as prejudging the rights of the individuals concerned to compensation or repatriation as envisaged in resolution 194 (III).

Speaking in plenary on December 13, the Lebanese Representative thanked the members of the PCC for their cooperation and announced that the cosponsors of the draft resolution would not reintroduce their draft.

¹ The PCC was established by General Assembly resolution 194 (III) of Dec. 11, 1948. The members of the PCC are France, Turkey, and the United States.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

Between November 30 and December 7, 1972, the Special Political Committee devoted 7 meetings to consideration of the agenda item on "Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories." Representatives of over 40 states as well as of the "Palestine Arab delegation" participated in the discussion.

The 23rd General Assembly, in a resolution adopted on December 19, 1968, had established a three-member Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories. After encountering a delay in finding three countries willing to serve, the Secretary General announced in September 1969 that Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), Somalia, and Yugoslavia would comprise the Special Committee. However, the Special Committee has been unable to visit Israel or the occupied territories in the preparation of any reports, because Israel considers the Committee and its mandate biased. In 1971 a 26th General Assembly resolution had called upon Israel to implement the recommendations of the Special Committee and had decided to inscribe the Committee's report on the agenda of the 27th Assembly.

Special Committee Report

Since it was unable to enter the occupied territories, the Special Committee reported that it "had to rely on extensive evidence from eyewitnesses and others, as well as on documentary evidence, in order to keep abreast of developments in the territories." Although based in part on meetings in Geneva in August and September 1972, the report drew heavily on public statements by Israeli Government officials and press articles in Israeli newspapers. It focused on allegations of annexation, transfer of population, expropriation of property,

demolition of houses, deportation, denial of the right to return, and ill-treatment while under detention.

The Committee concluded *inter alia* that the occupying power "consistently invokes reasons of security to justify measures taken by it which, in fact, deprive the civilian population of the occupied territories of the protection which international humanitarian law seeks to ensure for them." The Committee further concluded that "one of the most effective means of safeguarding the human rights of the population of the occupied territories is to provide an arrangement whereby it would be possible to have a direct and on-the-spot investigation of allegations of violations of human rights of the civilian population. . . . The Special Committee feels that . . . it becomes imperative to establish a mechanism whereby effective international supervision is assured in conformity with the spirit of the fourth Geneva Convention [relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War]." The Special Committee did not explicitly call for the implementation of the fourth Geneva Convention because the countries whose territory is occupied consider the invocation of this Convention to be a political act conferring indirect recognition of Israel in its pre-June 1967 boundaries. Rather, the Special Committee called for an on-the-spot investigation of allegations in the spirit of the Convention but without invoking it.

General Assembly Action

On December 4, Mali, Mauritania, and Pakistan (later joined by Afghanistan, Guinea, Indonesia, and Malaysia) submitted a draft resolution which, in its final form, *inter alia* (1) strongly called upon Israel to "rescind forthwith and desist from" policies aiming to change the character of the occupied territories; (2) called upon states, international organizations, and specialized agencies not to recognize or cooperate with or assist in any manner in measures tak-

en by the occupying power to exploit the resources or change the demographic composition of the occupied territories; (3) requested all states parties to the fourth Geneva Convention to do their utmost to insure that Israel respect and fulfill its obligations under that Convention; and (4) decided to include the item again on the agenda of the 28th General Assembly.

The draft resolution was approved in the Special Political Committee on December 7 by a rollcall vote of 60 to 10 (U.S.), with 44 abstentions. It was adopted by the General Assembly on December 15 by a recorded vote of 63 to 10 (U.S.), with 49 abstentions. This year for the first time the number of those voting yes on the resolution on this item exceeded the total of those voting no or abstaining.

After the vote in the Special Political Committee, Robert Mahon, the U.S. Representative, explained that his government had voted against the resolution because of its unbalanced view of human rights violations in the Middle East and because it did not in any way enhance respect for human rights in the area or ease the way toward a just and lasting peace. He urged that the parties to the Middle East dispute apply the provisions of the Geneva Convention, and said that if the appointment of a state as protecting power were not feasible, the United States hoped that the ICRC could assume the role of a substitute for the protecting power. This move would not, in the U.S. view, in any way prejudice the position of the countries whose territories are occupied.

General Political Problems

Membership

No new members were admitted to the United Nations in 1972, and the total membership remained at 132. One state—Bangladesh—applied for admission but a veto prevented favorable Security Council action on its application.

SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION

Bangladesh, previously East Pakistan, became independent as a result of the 1971 hostilities between India and Pakistan and applied for UN membership in a letter of August 8, 1972, from its Foreign Minister to the Secretary General. By that time, more than 80 countries, including the United States, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R., France, and India, but excluding Pakistan and the P.R.C.,

had extended diplomatic recognition to the new country; and it was already a member of a number of the specialized agencies within the UN system.

The Security Council met on August 10 to consider the Bangladesh application. The P.R.C. Representative immediately spoke to oppose consideration of the application "in the present circumstances." He stated that Bangladesh, in collaboration with India, was continuing to obstruct implementation of the 1971 Security Council and General Assembly resolutions concerning withdrawal of troops and release of prisoners of war. This, he said, was in direct violation also of the 1949 Geneva Conventions, and was "totally incompatible" with

the purposes and principles of the UN Charter. The Council, however, decided to consider the application, adopting the proposed agenda by a vote of 11 (U.S.) to 1 (P.R.C.), with Guinea, Somalia, and Sudan not participating.

In the relatively brief discussion that followed, India, the U.S.S.R., and Yugoslavia spoke in support of the admission of Bangladesh, while the P.R.C. reiterated its objections. The Council then accepted its President's suggestion that the Bangladesh application be referred for study, under rule 29 of the Council's Provisional Rules of Procedure, to its Committee on the Admission of New Members, a committee of the whole that meets in closed session.

The Committee held two meetings, on August 11 and on August 21. According to its report to the Council, dated August 23, at its first meeting 11 members spoke in support of the admission of Bangladesh. The P.R.C. reiterated the position it had taken in the Council the previous day, and Guinea, Somalia, and the Sudan indicated a preference for postponement of consideration to "permit more time for consultation and the receipt of further information."

At the August 21 meeting, the P.R.C. Representative presented a draft resolution under which the Council would decide to postpone consideration of Bangladesh's application pending the "full implementation" of the 1971 General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. A second draft resolution recommending that Bangladesh be accepted as a UN member was introduced by India, the U.S.S.R., and Yugoslavia.

When a Japanese suggestion that the Committee adjourn its consideration of the application until September 18 did not prove generally acceptable, the Committee, on the proposal of its chairman, and with the concurrence of the cosponsors of the three-power draft resolution, voted not on

the recommendation of either draft to the Council but on the attitude of its members toward the Bangladesh application. Eleven members were favorable, Guinea was unfavorable, and the P.R.C., Somalia, and the Sudan did not participate in the vote. Explaining its vote, Guinea's Representative in effect endorsed the P.R.C. position, while the representatives of Somalia and the Sudan based their nonparticipation on the contention that the vote should have been on immediate admission or postponement. The P.R.C. Representative took the position, despite the chairman's reference to precedents, that voting on the attitudes of delegations was "in total contravention" to the Council's rules of procedure and therefore "illegal and null and void," and stated that his delegation therefore opposed the recording of the results in the Committee's report to the Council.

The previous day, Pakistan's Permanent Representative, on instructions of his government, had written the President of the Security Council setting forth Pakistan's views on the admission of Bangladesh and requesting that his letter be circulated as a Security Council document. In his letter the Pakistan Representative, after first describing in some detail the Bangladesh failure, as Pakistan saw it, fully to implement the 1971 UN resolutions and the 1949 Geneva Conventions, asserted:

By its failure to carry out the obligations arising from the United Nations resolutions, its negative response to Pakistan's offer of an unconditional dialogue, its untenable stand regarding the Pakistan prisoners of war and its failure to provide security and safety to ethnic and political minorities in the territory under its control, "Bangladesh" is obstructing progress towards peace in the South Asian subcontinent. "Bangladesh" has, thus, by its action and conduct, failed to show that it is a peace-loving state that is able and willing to carry out its obligations, and it does not, therefore, at present qualify for admission to the United Nations.

It was the belief of his government, he said, that

... until the United Nations resolutions of December 1971 have been fully implemented, action on the "Bangladesh" application for membership would not be proper or opportune. It fears precipitate action may serve only to engender fruitless debate in the Security Council and give a set-back to the salutary trend towards reconciliation set in motion in the subcontinent by the Simla Agreement of 3 July 1972.

On instructions from his government, the Chargé d'Affaires of the Bangladesh Embassy in Washington replied to Pakistan's contentions in a letter to the President of the Security Council dated August 23 and asked that his letter also be printed as a Council document. The Chargé's letter took the position that the issues raised by Pakistan "relate to matters of pending bilateral concern to Bangladesh and Pakistan" and that the UN Charter "offers no basis for injecting bilateral issues for considering the application for membership of any state." Noting that in its application for UN membership Bangladesh had undertaken to carry out all the obligations of membership, the letter sought to refute certain of Pakistan's allegations and declared:

In consonance with its policy of seeking peaceful and friendly relations with all nations, Bangladesh will continue to discharge its international obligations and is prepared to settle all its outstanding problems with Pakistan on the basis of the sovereign equality of states, national dignity, respect for territorial integrity and non-interference in each other's affairs. It is Pakistan which is refusing to accept these fundamental principles of inter-state relationship and thereby obstructing the process of promotion of peace in the subcontinent by refusing to accept the reality of Bangladesh.

When the Security Council met on August 24 to consider the report of its Committee on the Admission of New Members, it had before it the P.R.C. draft resolution and the three-power draft, of which the United Kingdom had now become a cosponsor. The

debate that followed, in which the United States did not take part, brought no change in positions, the P.R.C. stating it would "categorically vote against" Bangladesh's admission.

On August 25 the Somali Representative, also on behalf of Guinea and Sudan, introduced an amendment to the four-power draft resolution making the Council's recommendation to the Assembly that Bangladesh be accepted as a UN member "subject to the immediate implementation of those provisions of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 relating to the release and repatriation of prisoners of war and civilian internees as mentioned in Security Council resolution 307 (1971)."

The Chinese draft resolution was put to the vote first and received only 3 affirmative votes (P.R.C., Guinea, Sudan), 3 negative votes (India, U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia), and 9 abstentions (U.S.), thus failing to obtain the necessary majority of nine. The three-power amendment was voted on next, and was defeated 4 (the sponsoring powers plus the U.S.) to 4 (India, U.S.S.R., U.K., Yugoslavia), with 7 abstentions. The vote on the four-power draft resolution that followed was 11 (U.S.) to 1 (P.R.C.), with 3 abstentions (Guinea, Somalia, Sudan). The resolution failed of adoption because the P.R.C.'s negative vote constituted a veto.

Following the vote, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Phillips, expressed his delegation's regret that the Council had been unable to agree to a recommendation for the admission of Bangladesh. He also regretted that it had not been possible to agree on a "further but limited" postponement during which the problems underlying the impasse might have been resolved. He then said:

... we would have been gratified to see the entry into the United Nations of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. The United States recognized Bangladesh on April 4, 1972, and established formal diplomatic relations on May 18.

Previously the United States had maintained an official mission in Dacca since 1949, and over the years many Americans, both in official and private capacities, have derived much satisfaction from their association with the development efforts of the people of Bangladesh. We are pleased with the friendly relations existing between our country and Bangladesh.

... we sincerely hope that progress will continue toward the normalization of relations between the nations of the subcontinent. Such progress we believe can best be advanced by full and speedy implementation of all the provisions of resolution 307 adopted by the Security Council last December. In particular we strongly believe that the provisions of the Geneva Convention regarding prisoners of war should be implemented as soon as possible.

With specific reference to the U.S. vote on the three-power amendment, the U.S. Representative observed:

... In this connection, we realize Mr. President, that in voting for this amendment which was not carried, the effect of this language would have been debatable, given the ruling of the International Court of Justice and the provisions of the Charter. But we regarded the resolution as a recommendation of the Council for admission of Bangladesh nonetheless. We voted for the language contained in the proposed amendment because of the great importance the United States attaches to the release of prisoners of war.

The U.S. Representative was referring to a 1948 Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice that the conditions set forth in article 4, paragraph 1 of the UN Charter ("Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations") constitute an exhaustive enumeration, are not merely stated by way of guidance or example, and must be regarded as the conditions that suffice. However their exhaustive character did not forbid, the Court said, the taking into account of any factor that it was possible reasonably and in good faith to

connect with the conditions laid down in article 4.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

On August 18, the Yugoslav Representative had requested the inclusion of an item entitled "Admission of new members to the United Nations" on the agenda of the 27th General Assembly, citing the Bangladesh application in explanation. When this request was considered on September 21 by the Assembly's General Committee, the P.R.C. Representative, supported by the representatives of Guinea, Libya, and Mauritania, opposed inscription of the item, but the Committee decided to recommend inscription by a vote of 17 (U.S.) to 4, with 3 abstentions. While the Assembly could not act to admit Bangladesh to membership in the absence of a Security Council recommendation, rule 139 of its Rules of Procedure provides that in these circumstances the Assembly may send the application back to the Council for further consideration. This has frequently been done in the past where a favorable Council recommendation has been prevented by the veto. The General Committee's recommendation was accepted without a vote by the Assembly on September 23, although a number of members spoke to explain their positions. These explanations made clear that there had been no change in the positions of those opposing consideration of the Bangladesh application at that time.

When the Assembly took up in plenary session on November 29 the item on admission of new members, the President announced that following extensive consultations it had been agreed that two draft resolutions before the Assembly should be adopted together without debate and without a vote. The first of these draft resolutions, cosponsored by 23 members representative of all regions, expressed the desire of the Assembly that Bangladesh be admitted to UN mem-

bership "at an early date." In the second, cosponsored by a group of 16 members also widely representative, the Assembly, after referring to the December 1971 Security Council resolution, the Simla agreement between India and Pakistan, and the Geneva Conventions of 1949, expressed the desire that the parties concerned make all possible efforts to reach a fair settlement of pending issues and called for the return of the prisoners of war in accordance with the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the relevant provisions of the 1971 Security Council resolution. This procedure, the President said, would express the consensus of the Assembly that Bangladesh should be admitted and indicate that the Assembly also favors implementation of the 1971 Security Council resolution. It would further express the general opinion that the admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations should be viewed along with the overall solution of the existing political, legal, and humanitarian problems.

There being no objections voiced, this procedure was followed and the two resolutions adopted. Twenty representatives, including the U.S. Representative, then explained their positions.

In a brief intervention, Ambassador Phillips commented that for the United States the acceptance of the two resolutions by consensus was "a particularly apt solution, because the procedure followed and the actual texts very much reflect my government's views."

Noting that the United States enjoyed "close and most cordial relations with the leadership and people of Bangladesh," he said the United States took "special satisfaction in our own participation with others in the UNROD operation to coordinate contributions from the international community to relief efforts in Bangladesh" (see p. 91). He reiterated U.S. support for the admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations; declared that the Simla agreement,

which "continues to have our warmest support," gave "promise that old problems will be approached in a spirit of accommodation"; and expressed the hope that "this same spirit will extend to the efforts of Bangladesh and Pakistan to find a basis on which to resolve problems between them." He expressed the view that a "period of calm will be most helpful in permitting the leaders of India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh to sort out their various problems and establish new relationships." These, he thought, were "objectives on which all of us can agree and that is why my government continues to attach such importance to full and speedy implementation of all the provisions" of the December 1971 Security Council resolution.

Peacekeeping

The 26th General Assembly in 1971 adopted a resolution stressing the importance of achieving agreed guidelines on UN peacekeeping operations and urging the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations¹ to accelerate its work to this end. The Assembly requested members to submit their views and suggestions to the Special Committee. While a number of countries responded, the major lines of thought were presented by the United States, the U.S.S.R., and Canada.

U.S. PROPOSALS

On March 30 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Bush, submitted to the Secretary General a memoran-

¹ Members of the Committee of 33 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.

dum containing U.S. views on the establishment and conduct of UN peacekeeping operations. The central feature of this presentation was the proposal for a subcommittee of the Security Council (also including representatives of nations contributing funds, personnel, and logistic support) to provide continuing consultation and advice to the Secretary General on key operational matters after an operation has been authorized by the Security Council. The Secretary General would retain sufficient discretion to assure managerial effectiveness in the conduct of the peacekeeping mission and in adapting it, within the bounds of the mandate from the Council, to changing circumstances. The U.S. suggestions also called for a "reliable and equitable system" for financing peacekeeping and provided that until such a system was agreed the permanent members of the Security Council would undertake to pay their fair share of operations authorized by the Council. The United States also suggested broader geographic participation in providing troops and facilities.

SOVIET PROPOSALS

On March 17 the Soviet Representative submitted a document to the Secretary General containing its views. The U.S.S.R. insisted that the Security Council "shall continue to exercise supreme control with regard to all aspects of the establishment of this [UN peacekeeping] operation and the direction of it throughout the entire operation." The U.S.S.R. noted that under article 47 of the UN Charter, the Military Staff Committee had been established to advise and assist the Council *inter alia* on the employment of military personnel or contingents and the command over them. The U.S.S.R. also suggested that it might be useful to establish, under article 29 of the Charter, a special subsidiary organ of the Security Council to furnish it advice and assistance with regard to the

operation. Decisions of this body would be adopted only if all permanent members of the Council were agreed, thus extending the veto in the Council to operational matters and not only to the authorization and establishment of a peacekeeping mission. The Secretary General would perform only those functions "as are entrusted to him by the Security Council."

CANADIAN PROPOSALS

On October 9 the Canadian Representative submitted his government's views to the Secretary General. In common with the U.S. and Soviet proposals the Canadian memorandum noted that the general control and overall direction of peacekeeping operations would lie with the Security Council. However, Canada then suggested that the Council's responsibilities could be carried out more effectively if operational direction and control were delegated to the Military Staff Committee, supported by an "International Headquarters Staff" to be established under the Secretary General as "a continuously functioning body which would assume the responsibility for detailed planning and for the day-to-day conduct of the authorized missions or operations."

OTHER VIEWS

Illustrative of the views of other members were those presented by the Netherlands and Japan.

The Netherlands memorandum stressed that in addition to any "subsidiary organ" of the Security Council the Secretary General would have to play a role in the conduct of peacekeeping operations and that efficient conduct of an operation as well as adequate planning and preparation required a strengthened Secretariat.

The Japanese memorandum called in part for the delegation of limited power to the Secretary General and/or some subsidiary organ to insure effectiveness and suggested that where

the Security Council failed to act for lack of unanimity the General Assembly should be able to initiate a peacekeeping operation.

COMMITTEE OF 33

During 1972 the Committee of 33 met six times—May 4 and 16, June 28, September 27, and November 8 and 10.

Speaking before the Special Committee on May 16, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador William E. Schaufele, Jr., said the United States shared the general sense of frustration that the Committee had not succeeded in achieving a consensus on rules for the conduct and financing of peacekeeping operations, but noted that the absence of agreement need not and should not stand in the way of *ad hoc* UN action. He reiterated that the United States retained a strong interest in workable multilateral arrangements for maintaining peace around the world.

Recalling that some members of the Committee had indicated that progress might be facilitated by bilateral discussions between U.S. and Soviet Representatives, Ambassador Schaufele noted that such discussions had been initiated early in 1970, and in February of that year the United States made proposals to the Soviets which were later incorporated in the U.S. memorandum of March 30, 1972, to the Secretary General (see above). He reminded the Committee that the crucial difference between the U.S. and Soviet position was with respect to the latitude the Secretary General should retain in managing a peacekeeping mission once its mandate had been decided by the Security Council. He reaffirmed the U.S. conviction that the operational restrictions inherent in the Soviet proposals would make peacekeeping operations unworkable and that no Secretary General could function effectively under them. On the other hand, he said that the U.S. proposals

should reassure all UN members that the operation of a peacekeeping mission would be efficiently carried out while conforming to the overall political consensus that established it.

On June 28 the Committee ended a long impasse over the designation of a chairman and other officers. The Committee had been without a chairman since the beginning of 1971 as the result of the transfer of the former chairman, Ambassador Cuevas Cancino of Mexico. The Nigerian Representative was named chairman; the number of vice chairmen was increased from two to four, with the Representatives of Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, and Japan elected to these positions; the Egyptian Representative continued as rapporteur. The Committee also decided to enlarge the Working Group to include in addition to these six officers the Representatives of Argentina, France, India, Pakistan, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and United States.

Because it did not hold its first meeting until October 10, the Working Group was unable to have fruitful substantive discussions in 1972 before the General Assembly consideration of this question.

SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE

The Assembly's Special Political Committee considered the report of the Committee of 33 at six meetings between November 22 and 30, 1972.

Ambassador Schaufele told the Committee on November 27 that the United States was prepared to carry on discussions in the Committee of 33, its Working Group, or bilaterally, or to explore any other method that offered promise of reconciling outstanding differences. He pointed out that the U.S. position remained as set forth on March 30 since the United States was "convinced that Security Council supervision and responsibility can be insured without resorting to unnecessarily cumbersome and po-

tentially unworkable methods." He said:

We are ready to consider any formula or set of proposals which, in an effective and practical sense, meets our primary concern, namely, that the procedures agreed to reflect a sound balance between the ultimate authority of the Security Council over peacekeeping operations and the responsibilities of the Secretary General to insure operational effectiveness.

Canada, Czechoslovakia, Japan, and Nigeria sponsored a draft resolution that urged the Committee of 33 to accelerate its work, noted with appreciation the efforts of member states that had submitted views and suggestions, and requested the Special Committee to study these views and report to the General Assembly at its 28th session. After discussion of several minor amendments, the Committee on November 30 without objection recommended this resolution to the General Assembly, which adopted it without objection on December 13.

Non-Use of Force

In a letter dated September 15, 1972, Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko asked to have included on the 27th General Assembly's agenda "as an important and urgent question" the item "Non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons." Perceiving a trend toward reduction of tension and peaceful co-existence in current international relations, the Soviet letter maintained that this trend could be strengthened by applying "the principle of the renunciation of the use of force by means of weapons of any type, including nuclear weapons."

The U.S.S.R. ascribed special importance to its initiative and asked that the Assembly consider the agenda item in plenary without reference to a committee. On September 26 the U.S.S.R. tabled a draft resolution in which the operative paragraphs

would have the Assembly (1) declare on behalf of UN members their renunciation of the use or threat of force in international relations and a permanent ban on the use of nuclear weapons, and (2) recommend that the Security Council take a decision to give the Assembly's declaration binding force under article 25 of the UN Charter.¹

The item was debated at eight meetings between November 2 and 15. It aroused relatively little interest in the Assembly although on November 13 the P.R.C. Representative made a strong statement against it, describing it as "a downright fraud" and designed to preserve the U.S.-U.S.S.R. nuclear hegemony. In this connection he also recalled the repeated P.R.C. demand that the nuclear powers undertake the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, particularly against the non-nuclear countries.

On November 27 the U.S.S.R., some of its allies, and a group of non-aligned countries circulated a revised draft resolution which ultimately acquired 23 sponsors. The new text expanded somewhat on the original draft, adding preambular paragraphs (1) linking the "principle of the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by force and the inherent right of states to recover such territories by all the means at their disposal"; (2) reaffirming "recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples for their freedom by all appropriate means at their disposal"; and (3) recalling a resolution adopted in 1961 by the 16th General Assembly, over the opposition of the United States and others, which declared that any use of nuclear weapons constituted a violation of the UN Charter.

The operative paragraph recommending Security Council action was

¹ Article 25 says: "The Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter."

changed to speak of "appropriate measures" for full implementation rather than calling for a decision to give the declaration binding force.

The revised resolution was adopted on November 29 by a rollcall vote of 73 to 4 (Albania, P.R.C., Portugal, South Africa), with 46 abstentions (U.S.). The large number of abstentions indicated that the revised draft had not overcome much of the skepticism and disinterest surrounding the initiative. The United States and others objected to the effort to reformulate primary UN Charter obligations in a resolution. Moreover, the United States did not accept the resolution's implication that Security Council action was required to give effect to such obligations. In explanation of the vote the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Phillips, stated:

While the non-use of force is a laudable objective, the United States believes the Charter of the United Nations remains the basic guideline covering the conduct of nations. We are skeptical about the utility of restating principles of the UN Charter through General Assembly resolutions because we feel that such resolutions tend to detract from the Charter itself. . . .

We also believe that the distinction drawn in the Charter between the threat of, or use of force in accordance with the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense, which is legitimate, and nonlegitimate uses such as acts of aggression, is the key principle governing the use of force in international relations, and we regret that the resolution before us does not explicitly draw that distinction.

Ambassador Phillips stated that the 1961 resolution referred to had no legal basis and that the United States did not accept that the new preambular paragraphs could in any way change the provisions of the Charter regarding the legitimate use of force. He further emphasized that the preambular paragraph on reacquisition of territory taken by force would establish a right to use force beyond the provisions of the Charter, and the United States could not accept the creation of such "loopholes" in

the Charter. Among others, the P.R.C. also explained its vote, taking the same hard line of argument toward the revised resolution as it had toward the original draft.

Strengthening International Security

The question of strengthening international security made its fourth consecutive appearance on the General Assembly's agenda in 1972. The item was introduced by the U.S.S.R. in 1969; the 25th Assembly in 1970 adopted a Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security; and the 26th Assembly in 1971 adopted a resolution requesting the Secretary General to submit a report on measures adopted in pursuance of the Declaration containing *inter alia* communications from member states on their implementation of the Declaration and relevant information from UN organs and other international bodies on compliance with provisions of the Declaration.

Thirty-one states responded to the Secretary General's February 4 request for information. The United States, which had abstained on the resolution requesting the report, did not respond since another series of general reports on this subject seemed pointless and wasteful. ECOSOC was the only UN organ to submit a substantive response. The Security Council gave a nonsubstantive reply, and the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations did not reply.

The First Committee of the 27th General Assembly considered the item at 11 meetings in November and December. Two draft resolutions were put forward. The first, introduced on November 20 by Poland, was sponsored by seven Eastern European states and Mongolia. The second, in-

troduced by Zambia on December 8, was sponsored by 55 states from Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Europe. The sponsors of the 8-power draft decided not to press it to a vote, and the 55-power draft was approved by the Committee on December 12 by a vote of 94 to 2, with 12 abstentions (U.S.).

The resolution, *inter alia*, (1) reaffirmed an urgent appeal to all states to implement consistently and without delay the provisions of the Declaration, (2) expressed a hope for the continuance of favorable trends including creation of zones of peace and cooperation, (3) urged an end to armed conflicts, colonialism, racism, and alien domination, (4) reaffirmed the sovereign right of states freely to dispose of their natural resources, and (5) requested the Secretary General to report to the 28th General Assembly on the implementation of the Declaration and decided to place the item on the provisional agenda of the 28th Assembly.

In explaining the U.S. abstention, Ambassador Schaefele said on December 12:

My delegation is convinced that our organization needs to move away from declarations and resolutions that restate the purposes and principles of the Charter and to take more effective action on the many concrete items on our agenda. . . . we believe it would be unproductive to place this item on the agenda of the 28th General Assembly. We do not believe it is necessary or particularly useful to require the Secretary General and his staff to submit yet another report on the implementation of the Declaration.

. . . We urge all members to suit their actions to the words of the Charter, rather than spending considerable time and energy on the continuation of this item, for we are convinced that the United Nations Charter provides us with the best possible guidelines under which all of the UN membership can take practical, concrete measures to strengthen international peace and security.

The General Assembly adopted the resolution on December 15 by a roll-call vote of 113 to 2 (Portugal, South Africa), with 11 abstentions (Bel-

gium, Canada, France, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, U.K., U.S.).

Strengthening Role of the United Nations

In a letter of September 8, 1972, to the Secretary General, the Permanent Representative of Romania requested the inclusion on the agenda of the 27th General Assembly of a new item, the full title of which was "Strengthening of the role of the United Nations with regard to the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security, the development of cooperation among all nations and the promotion of the rules of international law in relations between states."

The General Committee allocated the item directly to plenary. Romania opened the debate on November 20 and introduced a draft resolution eventually sponsored by 32 states. After five meetings during which the representatives of 25 states spoke, the Assembly adopted the resolution on November 27 without a vote.

The resolution stresses the need to render the United Nations more effective in preventing and suppressing aggression and protecting the independence and sovereignty of all states. It urges member states to fulfill their Charter obligations and to take full advantage of the UN framework to solve international issues of common interest. Member states are invited to communicate their views and suggestions by June 30, 1973, to the Secretary General who will then prepare a report for consideration by the General Assembly at its 28th session.

The United States supported the Romanian initiative, and in a statement of November 24 Ambassador Bush paid tribute to the sponsors of

the resolution for the constructive manner in which they had consulted various elements of the membership in order to achieve a resolution worthy of broad support. He said that the United States believed that the United Nations can and must be perfected so that it can "more effectively protect man from his own destructive power and from the overwhelming consequences of his technological successes." Stressing the need for more effective UN action on concrete items, he cited such specific areas of concern as international terrorism, the establishment of a 25 percent ceiling on the rate of assessment, a successful conference on the law of the sea, and international drug control. He also noted U.S. support for greater use of factfinding missions, more use of good offices, quiet preventive diplomacy, and settlement of disputes through the International Court of Justice, arbitration, and conciliation.

Charter Review

The 27th General Assembly had on its agenda an item entitled "Need to consider suggestions regarding review of the Charter of the United Nations: Report of the Secretary General." A Colombian initiative late in 1969 had resulted in a request to the Secretary General by the 25th General Assembly that he invite member states to make known to him their views and suggestions on Charter review in time for consideration at the 27th session. For any amendment of the Charter, a two-thirds vote of the total membership is required and ratification by two-thirds of the members, including the five permanent members of the Security Council.

BACKGROUND

Article 109 of the Charter provides that if a Charter review con-

ference has not been held by the 10th General Assembly, a proposal to call such a conference is to be on the agenda of that session. When the Assembly considered this proposal in 1955, it decided in principle that such a conference should be held "at an appropriate time" and established a committee of the whole to keep this matter under review. This committee met periodically over a 10-year period without finding that the "appropriate time" referred to in the 10th General Assembly's resolution had arrived. At its last meeting in 1967, the committee recommended only that it be kept in being, on the understanding that any member could request the Secretary General to convene the committee and that he would do so if his consultations indicated that members generally desire a meeting. No such request has been made.

The only substantive amendments of the Charter to date—those enlarging the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council that became effective in 1965—were adopted under article 108 of the Charter which provides for the adoption of specific amendments by the General Assembly on an *ad hoc* basis without involving overall Charter review. The amendment adopted by the General Assembly in 1971 further to enlarge the Economic and Social Council has not yet received the necessary ratifications to become effective.

REPLIES OF MEMBERS

Of the 132 UN members, 32 complied with the Secretary General's request for their views. The replies ranged from outright opposition to any review, expressed by the U.S.S.R., members from Eastern Europe, Mongolia, and Cuba, to support for review, expressed by seven members, most of them from Asia and Latin America. The other replies were essentially negative, with

a number of members indicating a preference for seeking any change in the Charter under article 108 rather than through Charter review. The United Kingdom and France considered any effort at review in present circumstances likely to weaken the United Nations, though the United Kingdom expressed its willingness to consider any specific amendments that are sound and that have widespread support among UN members generally. The P.R.C. made no reply.

U.S. REPLY

On August 17, 1972, the United States reiterated to the Secretary General its long-held reservations with respect to any attempt at overall review of the Charter but indicated, as it has in the past, its willingness to cooperate in such an undertaking if a substantial majority of the UN membership favors it. Recognizing that the UN performance "has admittedly been disappointing on many occasions and in various areas of concern," the United States stressed specific reforms that it believed could and should be made within the organization's present structure. For example, the U.S. reply suggested (1) the possibility of an understanding to permit the more continuous representation of larger powers on the Security Council; (2) further improvement of the General Assembly's organization and procedures, particularly a change in the voting rules to make impossible the adoption of resolutions by the affirmative vote of a small minority of the total membership; (3) establishment of an associate status short of full membership for states that because of their limited population and resources are unable to fulfill their Charter obligations and to participate adequately in the work of the organization; (4) further efforts to enhance the effectiveness of the International Court of Justice and to encourage its

greater use; (5) various measures to increase the UN effectiveness in the peaceful settlement and peace-keeping fields; and (6) reform of budgetary procedures "to give the major contributors a voice in budgetary estimates and decisions commensurate with the financial burden they must assume in implementing them."

Drawing a clear distinction between amendment of the Charter on an *ad hoc* basis and any attempt to rewrite the Charter, the U.S. reply declared:

. . . Wherever the requisite consensus exists or can be developed, it is not only possible but desirable to proceed with amendment of the Charter on a case-by-case basis. This is equally true of possible amendments directed toward adding to or modifying the present Charter or deleting obvious anachronisms from it.

The United States prefers the case-by-case approach because it holds greater prospects of bringing about desirable changes for which there is the required majority support. The United States continues to think that a Charter review conference in present international circumstances is almost certain to result in such disagreement and frustration as further to weaken rather than to strengthen the organization, both internally and in the eyes of the world public. . . .

The United States further pointed out that it must be recognized that

. . . evidence is lacking of any general agreement among the United Nations membership on either the basic objectives of a Charter review conference or on specific changes through which it is hoped these objectives could be attained. Experience with past proposals designed to strengthen the United Nations, even limited ones that do not go beyond the framework of the present Charter, offers little encouragement to hope that member states would be prepared to go further in amending the Charter than they have been willing to go in modifying their present attitudes and modes of operation when lesser steps were required to increase the Organization's effectiveness.

In conclusion the United States observed:

The need to increase the organization's effectiveness, however, remains.

The United States is convinced that the most promising approach toward this objective lies in renewed efforts to strengthen the United Nations within the terms of its present Charter. As the United States has observed before, the Charter is a flexible instrument and the fact that the organization's potential has never been fully realized suggests that the most urgent need is to strengthen the resolve of its members to conform their policies and actions more fully with their Charter obligations while seeking every practical means to increase the organization's effectiveness.

In his September 25 address before the General Assembly, Secretary of State Rogers said, in speaking of the future of the United Nations:

... it is well to keep in mind that it is not so much in institutional reforms as in national wills that the solutions to the problem must be sought. Yet to the extent that better work methods and more realistic institutional arrangements will help, we also must bring them about. For example:

We believe that for the Security Council to maintain its influence and authority, ways must be found to assure representation for states, other than the present permanent members, whose resources and influence are of major importance in world affairs. The absence of Japan, for example, is notable in a body designed to engage the responsibilities of the world's principal powers.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION

When the item on Charter review came before the Assembly's General Committee on September 21, 1972, the Committee decided without discussion to recommend to the General Assembly inclusion of the item. Subsequently, however, the Soviet Representative asked to speak in the Committee to oppose inclusion of the item, declaring that any attempt to review and undermine the principle of the unanimity of the permanent members of the Security Council would undermine the foundations of the United Nations and weaken the forces militating in favor of the maintenance of international peace and security. His delegation, he said, would oppose any review of the Charter, and the follow-

ing day he insisted that the Committee vote on the proposal to allocate the Charter review item to the Assembly's Sixth (Legal) Committee. The vote was 15 in favor (U.S.) to 2 against, with 2 abstentions.

The Assembly considered the first report of its General Committee on September 23 and again the Soviet Representative spoke in opposition to inclusion of the proposed item on Charter review and asked that the proposal be brought to a vote. The Representatives of Hungary and Bulgaria spoke in support of the Soviet position, while the Representatives of Colombia, Japan, and Italy spoke in support of the item's inclusion. By a vote of 55 (U.S.) to 16, with 9 abstentions, the Assembly decided to include the Charter review item on its agenda.

The General Assembly's Sixth Committee considered the item from November 29 to December 7. Some 50 members spoke in the debate, with those in favor of review and those not in favor about evenly divided. Of the permanent Security Council members, the P.R.C., in a brief intervention, defended the idea of review but said it was an important question, which should be solved democratically after all member states had been allowed to express their views, and that the adoption of any amendments should be preceded by serious study. The other permanent members maintained the positions they had set forth in their earlier replies to the Secretary General.

Speaking in the Sixth Committee on December 4, Ambassador Bennett reiterated the U.S. position as set forth in its letter of August 17. He again cited certain specific improvements in the United Nations that, in the U.S. view, were needed and could be made without any change in the Charter. "Far more important, however," he said, "than any of these specific suggestions is the need for states to exhibit the requisite will to make the existing system work." He cate-

gorically denied that the United States opposed Charter amendment per se and reiterated its preference for the case-by-case approach to the question of amendment. "Past history," he said, "indicates that we do not need to launch a new committee on the review of the Charter in order to adopt amendments." The new committee he referred to was that proposed by one of the draft resolutions on this subject before the Sixth Committee. The U.S. Representative concluded his intervention by stating that "while we are not opposed to the concept of Charter review, my delegation shares the doubt of others that this is the time to create a new committee to pursue the matter."

The Sixth Committee had before it two diametrically opposed draft resolutions. The first, cosponsored in revised form by nine Latin American states, four Asian states, six African states, Italy, and Spain, would *inter alia* have (1) established a special 32-member committee on the UN Charter to review the comments received from governments, consider such additional comments and specific proposals as governments might make, consider also other suggestions not necessarily requiring Charter amendment for the more effective functioning of the United Nations, and enumerate proposals that raised particular interest in the special committee; (2) invited governments to submit or update their earlier comments, if possible by May 31, 1973; (3) requested the Secretary General to prepare for the special committee an analytical document containing the comments received from governments and the views expressed during the 27th General Assembly; (4) requested the special committee to report to the 28th General Assembly; and (5) included on the provisional agenda of that session an item entitled "Report of the Special Committee on the United Nations Charter."

The second was a Czechoslovak draft resolution calling on all states strictly to observe the provisions of the Charter, concluding that "it is not desirable at present to take any steps to review the United Nations Charter," and requesting the Secretary General to keep members informed of any further replies he might receive pursuant to the 25th General Assembly's resolution.

A third resolution, originally presented by the Netherlands and subsequently cosponsored by Uruguay and Turkey, was introduced late in the Sixth Committee's debate as a compromise. It requested the Secretary General to invite member states that have not already done so to submit their views and comments by July 1, 1974, and to report on these views and suggestions to the 29th General Assembly. The draft resolution also provided for the inclusion of an appropriate item on this subject on the provisional agenda of the 29th session.

At the Legal Committee's meeting on December 7, the Netherlands Representative requested that priority in the voting be given the three-power draft. The Netherlands motion for priority was adopted by a recorded vote of 57 (U.S.) to 45, with 13 abstentions. The Netherlands draft resolution was approved by a recorded vote of 63 (France, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.) to 33 (P.R.C.), with 20 abstentions, and the other two drafts therefore were not put to the vote.

The Netherlands compromise text was adopted in plenary on December 14 by a vote of 90 (U.S.) to 10, with 25 abstentions, after the adoption of a Mexican amendment by a vote of 103 (U.S.) to 0, with 21 abstentions, requesting the Secretary General to bring up to date as soon as possible the "Repertory of Practice of United Nations Organs."

Part II

*Economic, Social, Scientific,
and
Human Rights Affairs*

Economic Activities

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 of its members have highly industrialized economies, ECE has increasingly become a forum where East and West discuss and act on common problems of trade, environment, and urban planning; exchange technical information; draft technical conventions; and consider economic developments in the region.

The Commission is composed of the European members of the United Nations, the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic, and Switzerland. The German Democratic Republic was admitted to membership December 13, 1972, by the unanimous decision of ECOSOC thus eliminating a political issue which had at times hampered ECE's work. With the exception of certain very small states, all European nations are now members of ECE.

ECE continued its efforts to promote East-West trade in 1972 by holding a weeklong Seminar on East-West Trade Promotion, Marketing, and Business Contacts in Geneva in May. Seminar participants from 21 countries studied the problems involved in the westbound export of four product lines and the eastbound export of three lines and adopted several conclusions and suggestions

relating to the need for increased market research, better commercial representation, closer business contacts, and related matters. The United States prepared basic case studies on sporting goods and outdoor equipment and on food processing equipment. Several meetings of expert bodies were held during the year to continue ECE's work on improvement of international trade documentation and facilitation of international trade procedures.

The Senior Advisers to ECE Governments on Science and Technology, a new body created by the Commission in 1971, held its first meeting at Geneva December 11-14. The United States sent a strong delegation which made a number of suggestions for the future work program, including an examination of energy technological options as a case study for high priority large-scale research and development management. Owing to a last-minute change in position by the Soviet delegation, the Senior Advisers were unable to agree on a comprehensive, long-term program of work. At their next meeting, scheduled for December 1973, they will again try to adopt such a program. Two major science and technology seminars were noteworthy: one on Incentives to and Obstacles Arising in International Transfer of Technology among ECE Countries held in Madrid September 25-28, and the other on the Effective Application of Science and Technology to Industry held in Bucharest October 30-November 3.

Seventeen meetings and conferences were held during 1972 under the auspices of the Committee on Housing, Building, and Planning, another ECE body in which the United

States has a major interest. The Committee's 33d session, which was held in Geneva September 4-8, drew high level participation from both the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development and U.S. industry. Other major meetings during the year were the Second Conference on Urban and Regional Research held at Dublin in October, and a preparatory meeting held at Geneva August 30-September 1 for a Seminar on the Role of Transportation in Urban Planning, Development, and Environment scheduled for Munich in 1973.

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East

ECAFE was founded in 1947 to help promote the reconstruction and economic development of postwar Asia. Its regional members cover that vast and varied area from Iran through Fiji and from Mongolia through New Zealand. The Commission has 30 full members, of which 5 (France, the Netherlands, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and United States) are nonregional members, and 5 associate members. In addition other countries often attend meetings as observers. ECAFE's headquarters are in Bangkok.

The year 1972 marked ECAFE's 25th anniversary, a fact noted by all participants in its 28th plenary session held in Bangkok, March 15-27. A congratulatory message from President Nixon was read to that session by Ambassador Bernard Zagorin, the Chief of the U.S. delegation. The plenary reviewed activities of the previous year and plans for the coming one, adopting significant resolutions on natural rubber in the regional economies, the future of the Asian Institute for Economic Devel-

opment and Planning, problems of landlocked countries in the area, area concerns related to the human environment, and the Asian telecommunications network.

ECAFE, like the other UN regional commissions, has concentrated its activities in recent years on organizing conferences, preparing studies, and establishing semi-independent organizations all of which are designed to further the region's economic development. For example, during 1972 the United States participated in ECAFE conferences and committee meetings concerned with population problems, industry and natural resources, trade, transport and communications, economic development and planning, statistics, water resources, and electric power.

At other meetings, in which the United States did not participate, regional members discussed more specific area concerns. Among these were meetings to coordinate regional policy for the UNCTAD session in Chile (see p. 78), review the possibility of establishing an Asian reserve bank, consider problems related to rubber production, and examine progress on the Asian highway project.

Two new regional projects during 1972 were noteworthy. ECAFE has been fruitful in establishing organizations which, after a time, have moved on to independent or semi-independent status while still working on the specific regional problem for which they were established. The newest of these, the Pepper Community, held its first session at ECAFE headquarters in August and September, 1972. Attending were three members—India, Indonesia, Malaysia—and two observer delegations—the Khmer Republic and Sri Lanka—all regional members of ECAFE.

Second, and also in mid-1972, the Coordinating Committee for Offshore Prospecting, South Pacific, held its first meeting. This group joins a some-

what older and now semi-independent organization named the Coordinating Committee for Joint Prospecting for Mineral Resources in Asian Offshore Areas. The United States participates in both groups.

One of the older regional organizations which ECAFE assisted in founding is the Mekong Coordinating Committee, designed to plan the development of the Mekong River basin. During 1972, the United States gave an additional \$1.5 million to the project. At the end of the year, contributions from all sources to the Mekong Committee totaled more than \$215 million.

Economic Commission for Latin America

ECLA was established in 1948 to assist the economic development and improve the living standards of the Latin American countries. ECLA's members include the 24 Latin American states and Canada, France, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States. British Honduras and the West Indies Associated States are associate members and a number of nonregional countries attend ECLA's biennial plenary sessions as observers.

In addition to its headquarters in Santiago, Chile, ECLA maintains a regional office in Mexico City and branch offices in Rio de Janeiro, Bogotá, Washington, Montevideo, and Port-of-Spain.

ECLA has from its beginning carried out a wide range of important activities. It has undertaken economic studies, normally requested by a member, which apply to an individual country or to a subregion of Latin America (during 1972, nearly 150 such studies were initiated); organized regional and sub-

regional seminars and conferences of immediate interest to the members; and helped develop separate organizations, such as the Central American Common Market and the Latin American Free Trade Association, for specific regional problems.

Of particular note during 1972 was the initiation of a large-scale review of progress in Latin America on the International Development Strategy for the Second UN Development Decade. Part of a worldwide project, the Latin American portion will be taken up in 1973 at the biennial plenary session of ECLA and, in revised form, at each plenary session thereafter. The ECLA secretariat also issued the *Economic Survey for Latin America, 1972*, a widely used annual publication. In the area of conferences, ECLA assisted, for example, a session for Latin American countries to coordinate area policy prior to the UNCTAD meeting in Santiago during April-May 1972 (see p. 78). Subregional seminars were held on such subjects as programming investments in the public sector, use of population and housing census tabulations, administration of public enterprises, and demographic and social statistics.

In March 1972 Enrique V. Iglesias, a Uruguayan banker and economist with a strong background in regional affairs, became ECLA's new Executive Secretary, succeeding Carlos Quintana of Mexico who had completed a 5-year term.

Economic Commission for Africa

ECA was established by ECOSOC 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 meetings as an observer, 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 sent observer delegations to a number of ECA conferences and meetings during 1972. A delegation of experts from five U.S. Departments attended the Third Regional Cartographic Conference for Africa held at Addis Ababa October 30 to November 10 and contributed eight technical papers. Two U.S. development experts attended the Fourth Session of the Conference of African Planners held at Addis Ababa October 4-13, a meeting which dealt primarily with African development problems. The United States was also represented at two ECA meetings on the Trans-African Highway project, a plan for the completion of a transcontinental highway from Mombasa to Lagos. The first meeting was held at Bangui, Central African Republic, April 10-14 and resulted in approval of a corridor for the highway. The second meeting took place in Addis Ababa October 9-12 for the purpose of coordinating offers from developed countries and institutions to finance detailed feasibility studies for sectors of the road. The United States is not assisting directly in these studies.

In addition to the numerous specialized meetings, the two bodies that supervise ECA activities between the biennial sessions of the Conference of

Ministers met during the year. The Technical Committee of Experts met once and the Executive Committee met twice, the latter group approving drafts of seven resolutions to be submitted to the Second Conference of Ministers scheduled for Accra in February 1973.

The United States continued its program of bilateral assistance to the ECA in 1972 by (1) financing internships of young African officials at ECA headquarters; (2) providing U.S. experts to assist the ECA secretariat in areas of trade promotion, livestock development, and agricultural economics; (3) training African officials in the United States; and (4) supplying American consultant services for various ECA meetings. The United States also continued in 1972 to provide the services of a special agricultural adviser to the Executive Secretary.

UN Development Program

The UNDP is the world's largest program of technical assistance. It is the hub for all technical assistance activities in the UN system and disburses over 70 percent of the funds expended by the various international organizations involved. The UNDP responds to requests from member states for technical assistance and pre-investment studies designed to provide public infrastructure for modernization and the necessary basis for the development of sound capital projects that will then be financed by either public or private investment capital. All states that are members of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, or the IAEA are eligible for assistance, and UNDP projects are underway in some 140 countries and territories.

Projects of from 2 to 5 years' duration in such fields as agriculture, education, disease eradication, transpor-

tation, and resource exploration comprise the major part of the UNDP program. In addition, the UNDP undertakes smaller projects designed either to train nationals by means of fellowships or to provide countries with required expertise through the use of advisers. Both types of projects are ordinarily executed for the UNDP by the United Nations or one of the other organizations of the UN system.

The UNDP has its headquarters in New York. On January 15, 1972, Rudolph A. Peterson, former President of the Bank of America and Chairman of the President's Task Force on International Development in 1969-1970, succeeded Paul Hoffman as Administrator of the Program. During 1972 the UNDP's Acting Deputy Administrator was Myer Cohen, also an American.

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 is composed of representatives from 48 countries—21 developed, and 27 developing. The United States has been a member of the Governing Council since the UNDP's establishment.

In addition, the UNDP receives advice from an Inter-Agency Consultative Board (IACB). The IACB, which provides other organizations of the UN system with consultative participation in the UNDP's decision-making and 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.

FIELD ORGANIZATION

At nearly 100 field offices in developing countries, UNDP resident representatives advise their host governments on development planning and UN assistance and coordinate the operation of UNDP-financed programs within their countries of assignment. Designated by the 25th General Assembly as overall leaders of the UN technical assistance teams in their respective countries, many of the resident representatives have on their staffs representatives of the FAO and UNIDO in the roles of senior agricultural and industrial advisers. The initiation of UNDP country programming strengthened the authority of the resident representatives who play an important role in developing these programs. In addition they were authorized in 1972 to approve individual projects up to a level of \$100,000. During the year 15 resident representatives were U.S. citizens.

FINANCING

The financial resources of the UNDP come principally from voluntary contributions pledged by governments. During 1972, 132 governments pledged \$269.4 million, and the assisted governments contributed about \$14.8 million for local costs. The United States, which has always been the highest contributor to the UNDP, pledged \$86.0 million in 1972, subject to the condition that its contribution should not exceed 40 percent of all governmental contributions. In fact,

the U.S. contribution represented 30 percent of total contributions in 1972, down from 36 percent for the previous year.

DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

During 1972, the UNDP had underway approximately 5,000 projects, of which over 800 were large-scale projects costing an average of more than \$2 million each. An additional 1,000 projects had been approved but were not yet operational. Cost of these projects to completion was estimated at \$3.7 billion, with the UNDP providing \$1.6 billion and the recipient governments \$2.1 billion in counterpart contributions. Actual program costs during 1972 totalled about \$274.0 million, while administrative and overhead costs totalled an additional \$66.1 million.

While the majority of UNDP projects relate to a single country, 360 of the 6,423 approved (and not yet completed) as of December 31, 1972, were regional, an additional 166 were interregional, and 5 were research projects with global implications. Of the country and regional projects, 1,616 were in Africa; 1,540 in Asia and the Far East; 1,653 in Europe, the Mediterranean area, and the Middle East; and 1,443 in Latin America. Major sectors of concentration were agriculture, forestry, and fisheries (1,370 projects); industry (1,044); central economic and social policy and planning (882); transport and communications (653); education (475); science and technology (488); health (457); labor, management, and employment (291); social services (264); and natural resources (209).

UNDP REFORM

During 1972, the UNDP largely completed implementation of the reforms called for by the Governing

Council in 1970. Following a broad range of organizational and financial changes undertaken in 1971, the UNDP's country programming got underway with the approval by the Governing Council of 35 country programs.

It also undertook a reordering of its priorities, when the Council approved increased channeling of resources to the least developed countries. In a further effort to increase effectiveness, the Administrator introduced new recruitment and training procedures to improve the competence of UNDP personnel.

UN REGULAR PROGRAM

Provision is made annually in the UN regular (or assessed) budget for a small program of technical assistance. Known as the "Regular Program of Technical Assistance," its funding in 1972 amounted to \$8.7 million, of which \$1.5 million was designated for industrial development projects that were reviewed and approved by the Industrial Development Board of UNIDO. An additional \$5.4 million was for projects in human rights, social development, public administration, development planning, public finance, natural resources, transportation, housing, statistics, trade promotion, and other fields. The remaining \$1.8 million, added to the Regular Program's budget in 1972 as a result of a 26th General Assembly resolution, was designated for a unified system of regional and subregional advisory services.

The UNDP Governing Council provides general policy guidance for the UN Regular Program. As a result of the Council's recommendations, the Regular Program has, since 1970, been concentrating those of its resources not specifically designated by the General Assembly on such areas as human rights and public administration where its distinct contri-

bution could be more readily seen, and restricting its aid to a limited number of countries. In 1972 projects were confined to 11 countries that had been identified as among the world's 25 least developed.

Although sympathetic with the effort to use the Regular Program to provide additional assistance to the least developed countries, the United States has continued to advocate that all technical assistance for development be eliminated from the UN assessed budget and funded through the UNDP. This would restrict the Regular Program to those few programs, such as human rights, for which there are no other sources of funds.

UN VOLUNTEERS

The 25th General Assembly established, as of January 1, 1971, a corps of UN Volunteers (UNV), or international peace corps. The UNDP Administrator is also the UNV Administrator, and Assad K. Sadry, an Iranian diplomat, is UNV coordinator. UNV has its headquarters in Geneva.

During 1972, it sponsored two meetings at FAO headquarters in Rome, in April to consider the involvement of UN specialized agencies in the program and in November to consider ways of increasing the interest of governments in the program both as recipients and donors. In February and October the UNV also took part in working conferences sponsored by the International Secretariat for Volunteer Service (ISVS) which recruits, selects, and trains the participants for the UNV. At the October meeting the UNV set a goal of 300 volunteers in the field by July 1973.

By the end of 1972 the ISVS had placed 125 UN volunteers, about 95 percent of the total, in 11 countries. The volunteers came from 38 countries, and 43 were from the developing nations themselves.

While the living expenses of UN volunteers in their country of assignment are ordinarily borne by the host government, external costs are, as a general rule, borne by the sponsoring organization or agency in their home country. To provide funding for volunteers for whom no such sponsor funding is available, the General Assembly invited governments, nongovernmental organizations, and private individuals to contribute to a special voluntary fund. By the end of October 1972 total pledges to the UNV voluntary fund amounted to \$321,505, including \$200,000 pledged by the United States in 1971.

CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT FUND

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

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

Cumulative resources of the Fund by the end of 1972 totaled \$6.3 million, largely in nonconvertible currencies. The equivalent of approximately \$3.0 million had been paid in against pledges of \$5.9 million. At the 1973 pledging conference held on November 1, 1972, 23 countries pledged \$668,798, compared with \$832,600

pledged by 29 countries for 1972. As in the past, none of the developed countries made pledges.

Pursuant to an UNCTAD resolution of May 19, 1972, calling for special measures for the least developed countries, the Administrator proposed to the Governing Council at its 14th session in June 1972 that the Capital Development Fund be utilized to provide small-scale plants for the least developed countries. This proposal was accepted by the Council, and, by the end of 1972, Fund commitments and identified potential commitments for projects in the least developed countries represented the equivalent of about \$3 million—approximately equal to the amount paid into the Fund by that time.

UN Industrial Development Organization

UNIDO was established by a 1965 resolution as an autonomous organization within the United Nations to promote and accelerate the industrialization of the developing countries. Membership in UNIDO is open to all members of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, and the IAEA. The United States has been a member since the beginning.

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

At the request of the 26th General Assembly, the UN Secretary General early in 1972 appointed a group of

18 high level experts, including a senior U.S. banker, to develop a long-range strategy for the organization as recommended by UNIDO's first Special International Conference in 1971. The United States supported this recommendation. The group of experts met three times in 1972, but had not completed its report by the end of the year.

In December 1972 the Secretary General extended for 2 years the term of office of I.H. Abdel-Rahman, Executive Director of UNIDO. He will thus have served UNIDO for 8 years when his term expires in December 1974. During the year, the Executive Director decided to appoint a Deputy, a move long advocated by the United States, but by the end of the year the position had not yet been filled.

PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

UNIDO carries out its program activities primarily as an implementing agent for industrial development projects funded by the UNDP. As of December 31, 1972, there were 598 projects approved and underway at an estimated total cost of \$192.3 million, of which the UNDP was providing \$75 million and the host governments \$117.3 million. These programs included providing expert advice, equipment, and training facilities in addition to scores of experts to advise in factories, training centers, research and development institutes, and government agencies concerned with industrialization.

In addition to the operational funds from the UNDP and the UN Regular Program of Technical Assistance, a number of countries make direct voluntary contributions to the UNIDO General Trust Fund or pay for specific projects sponsored jointly with UNIDO. Its administrative and research activities are funded through the regular UN budget. Early in 1972 UNIDO negotiated an agreement

with the IBRD, supported by the United States, providing for the two organizations to work more closely on projects which might result in financing by the Bank. A small team, funded largely by the Bank, will work in UNIDO headquarters starting in 1973.

The United States supports UNIDO financially through a voluntary contribution to the UNDP and an assessed contribution to the United Nations. It did not make a direct voluntary contribution to the UNIDO General Trust Fund or have any funds-in-trust projects, but it did participate in an export promotion conference in October, funded jointly by the U.S. Agency for International Development, UNIDO, and the World Trade Center in New York. Over 100 exporters attended from 15 developing countries to consult with buyers from large stores in New York and Chicago on the design and quality required by U.S. purchasers.

UNIDO has been taking an increasingly active interest in the environmental aspects of industrialization and a member of its secretariat staff prepared a paper for the Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment in June on this subject. Later in the year the organization developed, jointly with AID and the University of North Carolina, a special training program on industrial environment to be given in 1973.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT BOARD

The United States is a member of UNIDO's Industrial Development Board (IDB),¹ the 45-state policy

¹Members in 1972 were Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, Federal Republic of Germany, France, Ghana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Kenya, Kuwait, Libya, Malagasy Republic, Malaysia, Mali, Mexico, Netherlands,

formulating body which meets annually to review past activities and approve future programs and budgets. The sixth session of the IDB met at UNIDO headquarters from May 23 to June 2 and the U.S. delegation took an active role in the debates on key issues, including consideration of the relations between UNIDO and the UNDP, the program of work, and the establishment of a new Permanent Committee. The thrust of the major U.S. intervention was that UNIDO should establish priorities and place more emphasis on quality and relevance of programs.

The United States had pressed for the establishment of the Permanent Committee and agreed with the Board's decisions on organizational arrangements, including that the membership should be all states members of the IDB and that the Committee should meet twice a year. However, the Board defined the Permanent Committee's terms of reference to include more than program review and evaluation, which the United States and other industrialized states had advocated, deciding that the second annual session would deal with any items that might be referred to it by the IDB.

Another issue before the IDB was the date of the second General Conference of UNIDO. Despite pressure from the developing countries for an earlier date, the IDB decided, in line with the U.S. position, to keep open the possibility of not holding the Conference until 1975. The later date will enable the Conference to contribute to the UN-wide midterm review and appraisal of the Second Development Decade, an important U.S. objective for the Conference. On December 11 the 27th General Assembly, without

Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Senegal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, Turkey, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Upper Volta, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

a vote, adopted a resolution that approved the holding of the Conference in Vienna in the early months of 1975.

Another major item considered by the IDB concerned the relations between UNIDO and the UNDP. The decision on this issue was generally satisfactory to the United States in that the IDB expressed satisfaction with the recommendation made by the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Cooperation between the UNDP and UNIDO¹ that the two bodies should hold periodic consultations on this issue. The IDB also adopted guidelines worked out by the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the future administration of the Special Industrial Services program (SIS) which is funded by the UNDP. These guidelines, later endorsed by the UNDP Governing Council at its 14th session in June and approved by the 27th General Assembly in a resolution adopted without objection on December 11, recognized the central responsibility of UNIDO in coordinating UN action on industrial development, called for joint UNDP-UNIDO approval of SIS project requests, and urged flexibility in carrying out the program.

UN Conference on Trade and Development

UNCTAD is an organ of the UN General Assembly concerned with the trade and economic development problems of the developing countries. Following the first conference, convened in Geneva in 1964, UNCTAD was established as a permanent organization with a secretariat in Geneva.

¹ Set up by the 26th General Assembly in 1971 and composed of the members of the bureaus of the Governing Council of the UNDP and the IDB.

Membership is open to any country that is a member of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, or the IAEA; 140 countries were members at the end of 1972. The major plenary conferences of UNCTAD are held every 4 years; the second took place in New Delhi in 1968 and the third in Santiago, Chile, April 13-May 21, 1972.

Between conferences UNCTAD's permanent organ is the 68-member Trade and Development Board (TDB), which carries on the work of UNCTAD through five main committees—Commodities, Manufactures, Invisibles and Financing Related to Trade, Shipping, and Preferences—and various subsidiary bodies and special conferences. 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 five main committees.

UNCTAD III

The activities of UNCTAD during 1972 focused on the preparations for and actions following from its third plenary conference. Over 50 resolutions were introduced at UNCTAD III and 47 were adopted. Almost all of the proposed resolutions were the work of the developing countries and had been drafted in 1971 at a ministerial level meeting in Lima, Peru of the 96 developing countries which call themselves the "Group of 77." The developed countries also held prior consultations on UNCTAD III issues at meetings of the OECD in Paris.

Although UNCTAD III did not produce dramatic results, it did achieve progress on some issues. The resolutions adopted by the conference dealt with issues such as international monetary reform, multilateral trade negotiations, the special needs of the

least developed countries, foreign investment and multinational corporations, commodity trade, generalized preferences, and shipping. Work on the matters raised in UNCTAD III continued in the TDB and its committees and subsidiary bodies.

International Monetary Reform

The monetary reform resolution of UNCTAD III required long and difficult negotiations in Santiago. The United States voted for the resolution as a whole, although it abstained on one paragraph which tended to pre-judge that a link would be established between the reserve unit created by the IMF called Special Drawing Rights (SDRs) and development assistance. The key aspects of this resolution recognized the IMF as the central forum for debate and the institution for making decisions on matters concerning the international monetary system and called for effective participation of the developing countries in working out a reform of the system.

At the end of July the Governors of the IMF established a Committee of 20 to deal with the question of reform. (See also p. 130.)

Multilateral Trade Negotiations

UNCTAD III took note in its resolutions of the commitment of the countries with developed market economies to begin during 1973 multilateral and comprehensive trade negotiations within the framework of GATT, giving special attention to the problems of developing countries. UNCTAD recommended that special techniques, modalities, and ground rules be established to insure this special attention, and it requested the UNCTAD Secretary General and the GATT Director General to coordinate their activities in assisting the developing countries to prepare for and participate in the negotiations. In

supporting the resolution the United States indicated that the developing countries not presently members of GATT should be encouraged to participate fully and actively in the negotiations with a view to accession to GATT upon the conclusion of the negotiations if they subscribed to the results. It also stated that the participating developing countries should be willing to offer reductions in their own tariff and nontariff barriers in the course of the negotiations although it would not expect full reciprocity or concessions inconsistent with their development needs.

Since UNCTAD III both the GATT and the UNCTAD secretariats have taken steps to provide special assistance to developing countries for these negotiations.

Least Developed Countries

Four resolutions dealt with special measures to assist the least developed¹ among the developing countries. The list of 25 least developed countries had been drawn up in 1971 by ECOSOC's expert Committee for Development Planning and approved by the General Assembly in a resolution adopted November 18, 1971. The criteria used in selecting the least developed were: (1) annual per capita gross domestic product (GDP) of \$100 or less; (2) manufacturing representing 10 percent or less of GDP; and (3) literacy rate of 20 percent or less of the population over age 15. The UNCTAD III resolutions set forth a detailed program calling for concessional financial assistance, increased technical assistance, lower shipping rates, and other similar benefits for these countries.

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

Foreign Investment and Multinational Corporations

President Echeverria of Mexico addressed UNCTAD III early in the conference and called for a new charter of economic rights and duties of nations. A resolution on the matter sponsored by the Group of 77 established a 31-state working group to draw up the text of a draft charter which would be examined by the TDB as a matter of priority and submitted to the 28th General Assembly in 1973. The General Assembly was invited to decide on procedures for the final drafting and adoption of such a charter. The United States and 18 others abstained on the resolution, primarily because there had been inadequate time to examine the question which had not been raised before the Conference. The United States was designated by the UNCTAD Secretary General as a member of the working group which was scheduled to meet early in 1973. Later the General Assembly on December 19 by a recorded vote of 124 to 0, with no abstentions, decided to enlarge the working group by nine more members also to be appointed by the UNCTAD Secretary General.

Various resolutions sponsored by the developing countries expressed concern over the activities of multinational corporations and their impact on economic development and on national sovereignty. They called for national legislation and an international convention to exert greater control over the actions of the multinational corporations. Concern was expressed over financial outflows associated with foreign investment, and recommendations were also made for a greater transfer of technology from industrialized to developing countries on preferential terms.

In a resolution on restrictive business practices, adopted without opposition, UNCTAD III decided to

establish an *ad hoc* group of experts to study the problem in the context of liberalizing and expanding international trade of interest to developing countries. Subsequently, at the 53d session of ECOSOC, Chile proposed a study of the role of multinational corporations and their impact on the development process. ECOSOC on July 28 adopted by consensus a resolution requesting the UN Secretary General to appoint a study group of 14 to 20 eminent persons from both the public and private sectors to undertake a study of multinational corporations and make recommendations for appropriate international action. ECOSOC recommended that the group be informed of the conclusions of the UNCTAD group of experts on restrictive business practices as well as of the research being carried out by the ILO. (In 1972 the ILO Governing Body convoked a group of experts to consider a report prepared by the ILO secretariat on the social consequences of the activities of multinational enterprises.) The study group is to submit its report to ECOSOC by 1974.

Commodities

Without objection UNCTAD III adopted a resolution calling for the conclusion of an international cocoa agreement by the end of 1972. Subsequently, in September, the second stage of a negotiating conference was held in Geneva (see p. 85).

An important resolution, adopted without dissent, recommended that governments and international agencies give increased attention to helping natural products facing competition from synthetic substitutes. To this end it recommended such measures as (1) increased research and development to reduce costs and improve technical attributes, and (2) trade promotion.

Another commodity resolution, on market access and pricing policy, authorized the UNCTAD Secretary General to organize intergovernmental consultations and *ad hoc* consultative groups on commodities with the aim of reaching concrete results on access and pricing policy early in the 1970's. The United States disassociated itself from the resolution because it seemed to give the UNCTAD Secretary General an excessively broad mandate to organize the consultations and had inadequate safeguards for the activities of other organizations operating in the commodity field.

Generalized Preferences

A resolution adopted by consensus (1) urged developed countries not having a generalized system of preferences (GSP) to seek the necessary legislation during 1972 or early 1973, and (2) established a Special Committee on Preferences as a part of the permanent machinery of UNCTAD. The Committee was charged with conducting consultations which would lead to improvements in GSP systems. The United States reiterated its intention to introduce legislation to implement such a system.

Shipping

UNCTAD III adopted several resolutions on shipping, dealing with such matters as port development, freight rates, the development of the merchant marines of developing countries, and a code of conduct for liner conferences. The latter was the most important and dominated UNCTAD consideration of shipping throughout the year.

In January the Committee on Shipping's 38-member Working Group on International Shipping Legislation had discussed, but came to no deci-

sion on, the drafting of a new code to replace a draft prepared by the Committee of European National Shipowners' Associations which was based on the principle of self-regulation. By the time discussion on the code resumed at UNCTAD III the developing countries had consolidated their views and tabled a draft code. On May 19 UNCTAD III adopted a resolution approving the draft code proposed by the developing countries and requesting the UN General Assembly to convene a conference of plenipotentiaries to adopt such a code as a multilateral convention. The United States and noncommunist developed countries disagreed that an international convention was necessary. They favored, instead, a self-regulatory code such as that proposed by the European National Shipowners' Associations.

On December 19 the General Assembly by a recorded vote of 96 to 0, with 28 abstentions (U.S. and almost all other developed countries) adopted a resolution recommended by its Second Committee calling for the adoption of a "convention or other multilateral legally binding instrument on a code of conduct for liner conferences" and for the necessary preparations to accomplish this in 1973.

Institutional Arrangements

On May 20 UNCTAD III adopted without objection a resolution recommending that the UN General Assembly increase the membership of the TDB from 55 to 68 and, subject to the Assembly's decision, it provisionally elected 68 members to serve until the next Conference. On September 26 the General Assembly without a vote took the action requested by UNCTAD and the enlarged TDB met in Geneva October 3-25 to begin implementation of the resolutions and other decisions of the Conference.

In addition to several resolutions dealing with specific aspects of the work of UNCTAD III, the 27th General Assembly on December 19 by a recorded vote of 121 to 0, with 5 abstentions (U.S.), adopted a lengthy omnibus resolution noting or endorsing the action of UNCTAD III generally. The United States abstained because it did not accept the wording of provisions on the multilateral trade negotiations and sovereignty over natural resources.

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

With the accession of Bangladesh in November 1972, 81 nations were contracting parties to the GATT at the end of the year. 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 multilateral international instrument involving U.S. economic interests in the field of international trade policy.

The GATT consists of (1) a set of general rules to promote the conduct of trade among the contracting parties 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 other contracting parties. 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 promoting their exports.

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 28th Session held November 1-14, 1972, the Contracting Parties, recognizing the importance of further expansion and greater liberalization of world trade, agreed to undertake new and far-reaching multilateral negotiations that will cover both tariffs and non-tariff barriers to trade. A preparatory committee was established with a broad mandate to develop methods and procedures for the negotiations. Its report will be considered by a ministerial-level meeting in late 1973. The Contracting Parties agreed that the negotiations should cover both industrial and agricultural products, including tropical products, and take particular account of the need to find solutions to the problems of developing countries. The Contracting Parties also agreed to reexamine the adequacy of multilateral safeguards, and expressed the hope that these negotiations could be concluded in 1975.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador William D. Eberle, expressed strong U.S. support for the creation of the preparatory committee to de-

fine the scope and goals of the negotiations. He emphasized the need to expand substantially world trade in agriculture and to bring under international discipline the various national instruments of agricultural policy which result in major forms of distortion and disruption of trade. He noted the failure of previous negotiations to deal effectively with this question. In addition, Ambassador Eberle recommended that a multilateral safeguard system should provide for agreed procedures for all countries taking special actions to moderate the pace of domestic adjustment resulting from abrupt changes in the conditions of trade. He also expressed regret over the erosion of the most-favored-nation principle through the proliferation of discriminatory trading arrangements, a practice which runs counter to both the spirit and the letter of the GATT. The magnitude of this problem was outlined in a special study of the subject earlier in the year by the GATT secretariat.

The GATT continued to review the numerous preferential trading arrangements between the European Community (EC) and other nations to determine their compatibility with the GATT rules and procedures governing international trade. In 1972, for example, GATT working parties examined EC agreements with Morocco, Tunisia, Greece, Malta, Turkey, Tanzania, Uganda, and Kenya.

At the 28th Session, the Contracting Parties noted the intention of the EC to open negotiations under the GATT on previous concessions affected by enlargement of the Community as soon as procedures were completed for ratification of accession treaties to the EC for the United Kingdom, Ireland, and Denmark.

The five agreements providing for free-trade areas between the European Community and the European Free Trade Association countries not

joining the Common Market are also to be examined by the Contracting Parties in light of the relevant provisions of the GATT. These agreements are with Austria, Iceland, Portugal, Sweden, and Switzerland (with Liechtenstein adhering to the Swiss agreement). Norway and Finland presently are considering similar arrangements with the community. A separate working group is to be established within the GATT to examine each agreement.

The United States undertook several initiatives in the GATT on specific trade problems affecting its exports, notably the U.K. dollar area quotas and EC compensatory taxes imposed on certain products in excess of rates of duty permitted under the GATT. The majority of the EC compensatory taxes were eliminated on those products of interest to the United States, and consultations are continuing on the dollar area quotas.

The Contracting Parties agreed to retain and enlarge the mandate of the special Group of Three, set up in 1971 to develop specific proposals for dealing with trade problems facing the developing countries. The Group reviewed actions taken by the various contracting parties in the areas, *inter alia*, of generalized preferences, elimination or reduction of import restraints, and trade in tropical products, textiles, and temperate zone products of interest to developing countries.

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 fruits; wine; 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 conferences for the negotiation of formal commodity agreements.

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

Increased attention is being given to tackling the underlying causes of commodity market difficulties through such measures as research and development to improve the competitiveness of natural products with synthetic substitutes, diversification away from products with unfavorable market prospects into those with a better growth potential, avoidance to the extent possible of new production that might lead to world oversupply, and market promotion. To this end, new lines of communication and cooperation between the international development agencies, such as UNDP, UNIDO, and IBRD, and the international commodity organizations are required and are beginning to evolve, as indicated by the developments on jute reported below.

JUTE

Jute is one of the primary products facing serious competition from syn-

thetic substitutes whose position might be considerably improved by an intensive research and development effort to reduce production costs and increase utilization. After discussion in FAO's Intergovernmental Group on Jute, Kenaf and Allied Fibers of a possible international research center, the producing countries requested the UNDP in 1969 to commission a Jute Fact Finding Mission to examine the problems of jute and recommend courses of action to overcome them. The Mission's report, released in mid-1972, contained recommendations for an "action program" to revitalize the jute industry, including establishment of an international jute research center and a variety of supporting national measures. The UNDP decided to convene an international conference of producers, consumers, and interested international agencies in Dacca, Bangladesh, in January 1973 to consider the report and agree on a course of action.

WHEAT

The International Wheat Council met twice in 1972 and considered among other matters the feasibility of negotiating price provisions and related rights and obligations for the 1971 International Wheat Agreement (IWA). These provisions are absent from the IWA because of the inability of the negotiating conference in early 1971 to reach agreement on the selection of a reference wheat and on a desirable price level for internationally traded wheat.

At its meeting in Tokyo, July 5-11, 1972, the Wheat Council concluded that the time was not appropriate for an examination of these questions. A number of countries pointed out that the problems originally preventing agreement on the substantive provisions had become further complicated by the international currency

situation, the impending enlargement of the European Community, and the plans for general trade negotiations in 1973.

The Council again reviewed the question of price provisions at its meeting in London, November 27-30. It judged that the obstacles to a successful negotiation of price provisions had been increased by the unusual market situation resulting from widespread shortages at a time of record demand which had driven wheat prices up to an almost unprecedented level. The Council concluded, therefore, that it would not be possible to negotiate price provisions before the IWA expires on June 30, 1974. A number of countries indicated they would wish to see price provisions included in any new agreement but the question of whether an attempt should be made to negotiate a new agreement to replace the 1971 IWA when that agreement expires was left open.

COCOA

Sixteen years of discussion of a price stabilization agreement for cocoa culminated in the conclusion of an International Cocoa Agreement in October 1972, under UNCTAD sponsorship. During two sessions of the UN Cocoa Conference in March and September-October, an array of unresolved issues was arduously reduced until most participants were able to accept the Agreement. The United States, which participated actively in the Conference, made clear its support of the principles of the Agreement but also made clear that its substantive objections to some provisions of the Agreement made its adherence unlikely. Moreover, it pointed out that, even if the Agreement were fully satisfactory, the schedule calling for entry into force by June 30, 1973, allowed insufficient time for consideration of

the Agreement by the U.S. Congress and this precluded initial U.S. membership. The United States did not sign the Agreement prior to the closing date, January 15, 1973.

The conclusion of the Agreement fulfilled a resolution adopted by UNCTAD III in Santiago in May 1972, which had called on governments to make every effort to conclude a Cocoa Agreement in 1972.

Containerization

The UN/IMCO Conference on International Container Traffic was authorized by a resolution of the 50th ECOSOC in May 1970. During the subsequent 2 years technical and substantive preparations were carried out by a variety of preparatory groups under the auspices of the United Nations, IMCO, ICAO, and the regional economic commissions.

The Conference convened in Geneva on November 13, 1972, and ended on December 2 with the adoption of two conventions—a Customs Convention on Containers and an International Convention for Safe Containers. The United States signed both. The Customs Convention is designed to facilitate the use of containers in international traffic by permitting their temporary importation, repair, and replacement of parts free of import duties, taxes, prohibitions, and restrictions. It also establishes uniform regulations for the transportation of containers under customs seal and provides authority for the movement of foreign containers in domestic traffic by signatory countries. It will enter into force 9 months after the deposit of the fifth instrument of ratification, acceptance, approval, or accession.

The International Convention for Safe Containers is designed to facilitate international movement of con-

tainers by establishing minimum safety standards for their construction. Approval of containers meeting these standards will be granted by the appropriate authority of a contracting state, and each party must then recognize such approval as though given by its own authority. The Convention will enter into force 12 months after the deposit of the 10th instrument of ratification, acceptance, approval, or accession.

The Conference also discussed other subjects related to the international movement of containers, including (1) standardization of containers and (2) documentary requirements and rules of liability for international intermodal transport, including but not limited to containers. The Conference arranged for ECOSOC to establish machinery to consider further possible conventions on these two subjects.

Population

Preparations for the 1974 World Population Year and the World Population Conference to be held in August of that year moved ahead on a number of fronts in 1972.

In June the 52d ECOSOC adopted a resolution that *inter alia* (1) designated the Population Commission¹ as the intergovernmental preparatory body for the Conference and the Year; (2) decided to place a draft World Population Plan of Action on the agenda of the Conference and requested the UN Secretary General to prepare the draft with the help of an advisory committee of experts that

¹ A functional commission of ECOSOC. Its members in 1972 were Barbados, Brazil, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, France, Gabon, Ghana, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, Kenya, Morocco, New Zealand, Peru, Philippines, Spain, Sweden, Tunisia, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Upper Volta, and Venezuela.

had been decided upon by the Population Commission in 1971; and (3) requested the Secretary General (a) to appoint within the UN Secretariat's Department of Economic and Social Affairs a secretary general for the Conference, and (b) to designate the Executive Director of the UN Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) as having responsibility for preparations for the Year. Rafael Salas of the Philippines is Executive Director of UNFPA; in September Antonio Carrillo Flores of Mexico was appointed secretary general of the Conference.

The Population Commission, which ordinarily meets only biennially, held a special session August 7-15 and decided to meet at 6-month intervals through the spring of 1974 in order to carry out its responsibility for the Year and the Conference. At this first special session it discussed a report by the UNFPA Executive Director regarding his assignment to head the Year and approved a first report from the advisory committee of experts on the proposed World Population Plan of Action. Two distinguished U.S. demographers, Dr. Frank Notestein of Princeton and Dr. Conrad Taeuber of the U.S. Census Bureau, are members of the advisory committee. The United States believes that the Plan of Action should be the culmination of efforts by governments to bring action-oriented activities to the fore in dealing with population problems.

Established in 1967 by the UN Secretary General, UNFPA is financed by voluntary contributions from governments. In 1972, 41 countries gave a total of \$30.4 million of which the United States provided \$14 million. The United States had agreed to pledge up to \$24 million on a 48 to 52 basis of matching the un earmarked pledges of other governments, but contributions fell short of the \$50 million goal.

In 1972 UNFPA further developed its role as coordinator of international population activities. At year's end it was underwriting over 470 projects in 78 countries. The majority of the projects were executed by such UN bodies as WHO, ILO, UNICEF, UNESCO, FAO, the regional economic commissions, and the Population Division of the UN Secretariat. The specialized agencies and UNICEF are principally concerned with family planning-related projects while the other UN organizations are more concerned with censuses, demographic aspects of development planning, and economic and social statistics related to population.

UNFPA continues to use its flexibility, which the United States advocated and seeks to preserve, to support a wide range of projects and institutions. It works directly with countries carrying out small projects and jointly with other organizations on larger projects. For example, an agreement with Indonesia, signed in April 1972, provided for \$33 million over a 5-year period to assist the family planning program. Of this sum, 40 percent is a grant from UNFPA, 40 percent a loan from the IBRD, and the remaining 20 percent is provided by the Indonesian Government. A similar consortium arrangement was signed with Malaysia in November 1972.

Another measure of UNFPA's flexibility is its increasing use of non-governmental organizations. Grants were made, for example, to the Press Foundation of Asia, the World Assembly of Youth, and the Law and Population Research Studies in several developing countries. In addition, the International Planned Parenthood Federation received a substantial contribution from UNFPA for program support in less developed countries.

In 1971 the 26th General Assembly had requested the Secretary General to improve UNFPA's administrative

machinery in order to accelerate the delivery of population assistance. As a result, throughout 1972 UNFPA's Executive Director worked closely with the UNDP Administrator to bring the former's administrative machinery more in line with the latter's. In addition the Secretary General submitted a note containing a number of recommendations.

On December 6, 1972, the 27th General Assembly's Second Committee approved, by a recorded vote of 81 (U.S.) to 0, with 23 abstentions, a resolution sponsored by 12 states, including the United States. In its final form, after adopting amendments proposed by several other states, the resolution's preambular paragraphs, *inter alia*, (1) noted that UNFPA's resources and scope of operations had grown to a size which made its supervision by an intergovernmental body desirable, and (2) noted the Secretary General's recommendation that UNFPA be changed from a trust fund of the Secretary General to a fund established under the authority of the General Assembly. The resolution's operative paragraphs, *inter alia*, (1) decided to place the UNFPA under the authority of the General Assembly, (2) decided, without prejudice to the overall responsibilities and policy function of ECOSOC, that the Governing Council of the UNDP, subject to conditions to be established by ECOSOC, should be the governing body of UNFPA and invited it "to concern itself with the financial and administrative policies concerning the work program, the fund-raising methods, and the annual budget of the Fund"; and (3) requested the Governing Council to consider further steps necessary to achieve improvements in the administrative and operational machinery of UNFPA.

The General Assembly adopted the resolution on December 18 by a vote of 106 (U.S.) to 0, with 20 abstentions.

Social Issues

Drug Abuse Control

In 1972 the UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control had its first full year of operational activities, and there was a significant increase in the level of participation by the specialized agencies in the international battle against drug abuse. A Plenipotentiary Conference also met during the year and proposed amendments to the principal international treaty on narcotics.

AMENDMENT OF THE SINGLE CONVENTION

As the result of a 1971 U.S. initiative in ECOSOC, a Plenipotentiary Conference met in Geneva, March 6-25, 1972, to consider amendments to the 1961 Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs.

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 International Narcotics Control Board (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.

In all, 97 UN members participated in the Plenipotentiary Conference, along with 5 observer countries. WHO, INCB, and the International Criminal Police Organization were also represented. The U.S. delegation was headed by Nelson Gross, at that time the Secretary of State's Senior Adviser and Coordinator for International Narcotics Matters.

By a vote of 71 (U.S.) to 0, with 12 abstentions, the Conference voted to adopt a Protocol amending the 1961 Single Convention. The amendments will strengthen the authority of the INCB to act against illicit production and traffic in narcotic drugs, modernize the Single Convention's extradition and penal provisions, and introduce into the Single Convention the concept of education and social reintegration as a means of fighting drug abuse.

The Senate by unanimous vote on September 18 gave its advice and consent to ratification of the Protocol, President Nixon ratified it on October 24, and the U.S. instrument of ratification was deposited with the Secretary General on November 1. By the end of the year 57 states had signed and 4 had ratified the amending Protocol. It will become effective 30 days after the 40th instrument of ratification or accession is deposited.

During 1972 the number of parties to the Single Convention rose to 96.

ECOSOC AND GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

The increasing attention devoted to international drug abuse control within the United Nations was reflected by the actions of ECOSOC and the General Assembly.

On June 1, 1972, during its 52d session, ECOSOC adopted nine resolutions relating to narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances, the most significant of which (1) by a vote of 17 (U.S.) to 0, with 5 abstentions, decided to enlarge the Commission on Narcotic Drugs from 24 to 30 members effective January 1, 1973; (2) by a vote of 18 (U.S.) to 3, with 2 ab-

stentions, endorsed the work of the UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control and urged states, institutions, and individuals to contribute to the Fund; (3) by a vote of 19 (U.S.) to 0, with 3 abstentions, urged states to ratify the Protocol to the Single Convention as soon as possible; and (4) by a vote of 19 (U.S.) to 0, with 3 abstentions, endorsed a resolution of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs which established an *Ad Hoc* Committee on Illicit Traffic in the Near and Middle East to promote more effective cooperation and mutual assistance in suppression of illicit traffic within, from, and into the region.

On December 18 the 27th General Assembly, on the recommendation of its Third Committee, adopted three resolutions dealing with narcotics. The United States cosponsored all three.

The first, adopted by a recorded vote of 113 (U.S.) to 0, with 9 abstentions, declared that to be more effective the measures to fight drug abuse must be coordinated and universal and that the developing countries should receive adequate technical and financial assistance to fulfill their obligations under the Single Convention.

The second, adopted by a recorded vote of 111 (U.S.) to 0, with 9 abstentions, called on all countries, provided they have not already done so, to adhere to the 1961 Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, the 1972 amending protocol, and the 1971 Convention on Psychotropic Substances.

The third, adopted by a recorded vote of 114 (U.S.) to 0, with 8 abstentions, *inter alia* appealed to governments for sustained support of the UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control and invited the specialized agencies and other interested intergovernmental organizations to pay special attention in the formulation of their own programs relating to the socio-economic

consequences of drug abuse to appropriate means to combat it.

FUND FOR DRUG ABUSE CONTROL

The UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control, established April 1, 1971, by the Secretary General, played a leading role in the UN drug abuse control program in 1972. Headed by Ambassador Carl W. A. Schurmann of the Netherlands as Personal Representative of the Secretary General, the Fund was established in the recognition 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. During 1972 the United States contributed another \$1 million and by the end of the year contributions and pledges totaled over \$4,500,000. In addition to money, contributions in kind will also be accepted.

The Fund finances projects to combat drug abuse carried out by the competent UN bodies. These projects have 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 prevention programs against drug abuse in high-risk populations.

During 1972 the Fund's first major project, a 5-year program aimed at

reducing opium production and rehabilitating addicts in Thailand, became operational. This program involves replacing opium poppy cultivation with other economic activities, expanding facilities for the treatment and rehabilitation of drug addicts, and creating drug education and information programs. The Fund is expected to contribute over \$2 million to the program. This program complements bilateral cooperation between the United States and Thailand.

Development of a similar program for Afghanistan is being considered. On invitation of the Royal Afghan Government, a joint UN/FAO mission, financed by the Fund, visited Afghanistan from September 17 to October 8 to explore possibilities of assisting the government in its efforts to establish a program for drug abuse control. The Mission's report is being considered by the Afghanistan Government, the United Nations, FAO, and the Fund.

During the year the Fund also dispatched missions to the Middle East and Burma to explore the possibilities for additional programs.

AD HOC COMMITTEE ON ILLICIT TRAFFIC

In a move to improve regional cooperation and mutual assistance in this field, the Commission on Narcotic Drugs in 1971 established an *Ad Hoc* Committee on Illicit Traffic in the Near and Middle East composed of Iran, Pakistan, Turkey, and Sweden. Afghanistan also participated in the Committee's work. The Committee undertook a study tour of Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, and Turkey from October 2 to 14, 1972, and issued a report later in the year that contained a series of recommendations aimed at increased technical and operational coordination among the states of the area in suppressing illegal traffic in narcotic

drugs. It also recommended converting the *Ad Hoc* Committee into a permanent subcommission of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs. The United States supported this proposal which was to be considered by the Commission and ECOSOC in 1973.

SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

There was a significant increase in the involvement of the specialized agencies in the UN drive against drug abuse during 1972. This has been a priority objective of the United States.

The FAO played a leading role in the Afghanistan survey financed by the Fund (see above) and is associating its on-going programs in Thailand with the Fund's major project there.

UNESCO's General Conference endorsed a U.S. initiative to give drug abuse control higher priority by calling for (1) member states to share historical and cultural data that might assist in solving drug problems; (2) in-depth research on motivations for drug use; (3) identification of international experts to assist UNESCO efforts in this area; and (4) development of innovative programs in primary prevention. In addition UNESCO sponsored a meeting in Paris in December on "Education in More Developed Countries to Prevent Drug Abuse." This meeting adopted recommendations on programs and methods of drug eradication in schools, programs for young people out of school, and methods of research and evaluation relating to drug education.

Finally, WHO decided to expand its program on drug dependence, subject to a grant from the Fund, to include a worldwide study designed to define with more precision the nature and magnitude of the problem, to detect changes in worldwide drug abuse patterns and trends, and to establish

methods for conducting medico-social surveys on drug abuse. Expert advisory panels will provide regular reports on drug dependence in various geographical areas and monitoring systems will be developed. In other actions, WHO called on member states to initiate or increase efforts to promote drug abuse prevention, epidemiological studies, and treatment and rehabilitation of narcotic addicts. WHO is also assisting the Fund in that portion of the UN Thailand program relating to the treatment of drug abusers.

Disaster Relief

The United Nations undertook an unprecedented number of relief activities during 1972. Its capability to respond to disaster situations was greatly enhanced by the establishment in Geneva of a UN Disaster Relief Office (UNDRO). Under the leadership of Coordinator Faruk N. Berkol of Turkey, this office became involved in relief efforts in a number of countries including Mauritius, Malagasy Republic, Peru, Haiti, the Philippines, Fiji, Afghanistan, and Nicaragua. The Nicaraguan earthquake disaster on December 23 gave UNDRO its first opportunity to utilize newly established machinery. Within hours of receiving telegraphic reports of the disaster, action was taken to inform other international relief agencies. An UNDRO staff member was promptly sent to the disaster scene and provided guidance to potential donors regarding required assistance. UNDRO maintained its emergency operations for 10 days and was able to coordinate actions of other UN agencies.

The Coordinator had earlier reported to the 27th General Assembly that he was giving priority attention to building working relationships with

various UN agencies, donor countries, and nongovernmental organizations. More than 30 delegations took part in the discussion in the Third Committee on November 24 and expressed confidence and support for UNDRO's activities. The U.S. Representative, Mrs. Jewel Lafontant, noted "the excellent manner in which the Disaster Relief Coordinator has been dealing with the very complex and difficult tasks assigned to him. We assure him of the continuing strong support of the United States Government in his endeavors." A resolution, approved by a vote of 102 (U.S.) to 0, with 7 abstentions, authorized the Secretary General to draw on the Working Capital Fund in the amount of \$25,000 to assist countries in the elaboration of national disaster plans. The Assembly adopted the resolution on December 12 by a recorded vote of 112 (U.S.) to 0, with 7 abstentions.

Because of special circumstances, other bodies within the UN system took the lead in responding to certain disaster situations, an example being the UNHCR operation in resettlement of refugees in the Sudan and Uganda (see pp. 93 and 94).

The most comprehensive relief program ever initiated by the United Nations, the UN Relief Operation in Dacca (UNROD), under the direction of Sir Robert Jackson of Australia continued its activities throughout 1972. Owing to the response of member governments and the efforts of the people of Bangladesh, UNROD helped to avert a serious threat of famine and achieved its fundamental objective of sustaining the lives of the 75 million people of Bangladesh. By March virtually all of the 10 million refugees had been repatriated to Bangladesh from India. Millions of other Bengalees who had fled their homes during the civil disturbance and hostilities between India and Pakistan and had sought refuge

in urban areas were returning to their villages. A massive resettlement occurred, with some assistance from the international community, and international efforts were instrumental in restoring an adequate food distribution system, the transportation and communications infrastructure, and industrial capacity.

In the critical period following cessation of hostilities, UNROD stepped up its activities in the acquisition and movement of relief supplies. By the end of the year the UNROD staff numbered 130, including representatives from UNICEF, UNDP, WHO, FAO, IBRD, and IMF. In all, some 37 nations contributed cash, food, food supplies, equipment, and other supplies for Bangladesh, either through UNROD or bilaterally in response to appeals from the UN Secretary General in February, May, and November. By the end of the year, response from the world community had exceeded \$1.2 billion¹ of which the United States, including the public sector, contributed more than \$319 million.¹

Although these multilateral efforts in 1972 were of major significance, there was still concern regarding the food situation in 1973. UNROD was established as an emergency relief operation with a scheduled termination date of March 31, 1973. By the end of 1972 it was expected that it would be necessary for the United Nations to continue to undertake some essential tasks but that these, including scheduling and handling food grain deliveries, would be gradually transferred during 1973 from UNROD to the Bangladesh Government, according to a plan to be agreed upon by the parties.

¹ Includes contributions from Dec. 16, 1971.

UN High Commissioner for Refugees

The basic tasks of the UNHCR² 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 falling within the scope of the statute of his office as defined by the General Assembly in 1950, and (2) refugees whom he assists through his good offices under General Assembly resolutions or at the request of the Secretary General.

An Executive Committee of 31 states, including the United States, reviews and supervises the UNHCR activities.

LEGAL AND POLITICAL PROTECTION

The Commissioner's most important function is the international protection of refugees, the primary element of which is assuring asylum and preventing forcible repatriation. The basic legal tools for protection are the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol which extends the application of the Convention by removing the limitation on eligibility to persons who became refugees "as a result of events occurring before 1951." By the end of 1972, 63 states were parties to the Convention and 52, including the United States, to the Protocol.

These instruments define the refugees' status and rights, which include (1) the right of employment, (2) freedom of religion, (3) the right of self-employment, (4) access to elementary education for refugee children, (5) right to receive social security and welfare when appropriate or

² Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan (Iran) is the High Commissioner for Refugees.

necessary, (6) free access to the courts, (7) right to leave and return to the country of asylum, and (8) right to equal treatment and protection of the law. Possession of these rights protects the legal, political, and social position of refugees in the countries of refuge and facilitates their re-establishment on a basis of self-support.

SPECIAL SUDANESE PROJECT

Shortly after an agreement was reached early in 1972 ending 17 years of civil conflict in Sudan, the Sudanese Government appealed to the United Nations for help in creating conditions in southern Sudan that would promote the return of those who had fled their homes during the hostilities. On May 8 the Secretary General requested the UNHCR to coordinate a 1-year immediate relief program for the southern Sudan and requested the Administrator of the UNDP to serve as central point for longer-term assistance. On July 3 he appealed to governments and other sources for voluntary relief contributions; the United States responded immediately and generously.

The UNHCR, with the cooperation of both governments and private organizations, arranged for the airlift of food and other necessities, and provided such other assistance as equipment for road repair and tools to help the refugees become self-supporting. By mid-October 30,700 refugees had returned from neighboring countries, and 220,000 displaced persons had emerged from temporary settlement locations within their own country.

MATERIAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

Since its inception in 1955, the High Commissioner's program of material assistance to refugees has had

four aspects: (1) emergency relief, (2) facilitation of voluntary repatriation, (3) promotion of resettlement of refugees, and (4) integration of refugees in their country of residence. In allocating his resources, the UNHCR must take into account both the urgency of the situation and the ability of the host country to handle it. In 1972, therefore, the trend of recent years continued with a decreasing need for assistance in Europe, Asia, and Latin America, and increasing assistance required in Africa.

Europe

With the exception of Spain, where the High Commissioner continued to carry out programs of local settlement, counselling, emergency relief, and temporary accommodations, the UNHCR has reduced its material assistance in Europe to the lowest possible level. The flow of refugees from Eastern Europe continued throughout the year, but the UNHCR needed to provide only minimal programs on their behalf. Host countries and voluntary agencies readily came to the aid of the refugees and the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM) and the U.S. Refugee Program facilitated the resettling of most of the refugees in other countries.

Asia

The major 1972 project in Asia was the repatriation of millions of Bengali refugees from India to Bangladesh; with the cooperation of various governments and private organizations this was completed within a few months. Some material assistance funds were allocated to help refugees of European origin temporarily residing in Hong Kong on the way from mainland China to their countries of final settlement. In addition,

the UNHCR continued to assist a project administered by the Vietnamese Red Cross for the rural settlement of over 3,000 refugee families in the Republic of Viet-Nam and provided limited assistance to improve the facilities at a refugee reception center in the Khmer Republic. Other assistance was provided in the Middle East, mainly Lebanon, to facilitate the emigration or local settlement of individuals and small groups of refugees.

Latin America

Some 107,000 refugees coming under the UNHCR mandate live in Latin America. A majority are of European origin, but some are Latin Americans who have been forced to emigrate. In Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Venezuela, the principal reception countries, the UNHCR established revolving funds to provide loans, vocational training, rehabilitation, pensions, and medical care for the refugees. The establishment of these revolving funds has enabled the UNHCR to limit the extent of his material assistance in Latin America.

Africa

Well over 60 percent of the UNHCR material assistance budget was allocated to Africa in 1972.

Two new major refugee problems developed there during the year. The first occurred when refugees from Burundi fled into Rwanda, Tanzania, and Zaire (see p. 31). More than 40,000 of these refugees came under the High Commissioner's mandate, and the UNHCR not only provided emergency assistance but when it became clear there would be no early return of the refugees to Burundi undertook a long-term settlement program in the countries of asylum.

The UNHCR also undertook to assist the 6-7,000 Asians who were ex-

pelled from Uganda (see p. 31) and were not recognized as citizens of any country. Under the direction of the UN Secretary General the UNHCR negotiated agreements with governments to grant temporary asylum to these refugees and undertook to assist in locating permanent homes. A number of governments, particularly the United States, contributed some \$2 million to the UNHCR and the ICEM for the care, maintenance, and transportation of these stateless Asians to countries of final settlement. The United States admitted more than 1,000 of the Asians.

During 1972 Zaire received the largest share of Africa's UNHCR material assistance. At the beginning of the year some 475,000 refugees from Angola, Sudan, Rwanda, and Zambia were temporarily in that country. Most of the Zambian refugees have been repatriated; the rest are fast reaching self-sufficiency. Other UNHCR projects in Africa include assistance for refugees from Malawi in Zambia; from Mozambique in Tanzania; from Rwanda and Zaire in Uganda; from Chad and Zaire in the Central African Republic; from Guinea in Senegal; from Angola in Botswana; and from numerous countries in Kenya.

FINANCES

The UNHCR administrative expenses are included in the regular UN budget and its programs are financed by voluntary contributions. The funds for the 1972 UNHCR program of \$7,968,900 came from 68 governments, including the United States, and various nongovernmental sources. At the 23d session of the Executive Committee, held in Geneva October 9-17, 1972, \$7,839,400 was budgeted for 1973. In addition, the High Commissioner has a \$500,000 Emergency Fund, authorized by the General Assembly in 1957 to enable

him to act quickly to meet situations which by their very nature cannot be predicted. This fund is regularly replenished by the repayment of refugee loans and by voluntary contributions.

The United States contributed \$1 million toward the regular UNHCR program, over \$10 million in cash and commodities for assistance to Sudan, and \$500,000 to the UNHCR for the Uganda Asians. In addition, it provided funds through other channels to refugees of concern to the High Commissioner, including \$3 million for refugees from Eastern Europe, \$139 million for Cuban refugees in the United States, \$500,000 for Chinese in Hong Kong and Macao, \$33,000 for southern African refugee students, and \$2.35 million in food for various categories of refugees.

COOPERATION WITH OTHER UN BODIES

The High Commissioner continued his very close cooperation with other UN bodies whose expertise and resources were made available for the benefit of needy refugees. These agencies included the WFP and UNICEF which furnished food and supplies; UNESCO which helped to educate and train refugees; the UNDP which helped incorporate refugees into the country program plans of host countries; and such specialized agencies as ITU, FAO, and WMO which provided technical assistance in their respective fields.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

Many delegations expressed their confidence in the High Commissioner and their appreciation of his work during the course of the Third Committee's consideration of his report, November 20-22. On the latter day the Committee approved by acclamation three draft resolutions which were subsequently adopted unanimously by the General Assembly on

December 12. The United States was a cosponsor of all three.

The first resolution, *inter alia*, requested the High Commissioner to continue to utilize the expertise and experience of his office, at the invitation of the Secretary General, in UN humanitarian endeavors and to continue to provide international protection and assistance to refugees of his concern.

The second resolution decided to continue the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees for a further period of 5 years from January 1, 1974, and decided to review the matter again no later than the 32d General Assembly to determine whether the Office should be continued beyond December 31, 1978.

The third resolution commended the UNHCR for his efficient role in coordinating the relief and resettlement operations in southern Sudan and urged governments and the organizations in the UN system to render all possible assistance to Sudan in the relief, rehabilitation, and resettlement of refugees from abroad and other displaced persons.

Crime Prevention and Control

There were two important events in the United Nations in the field of social defense during 1972. The Committee on Crime Prevention and Control held its first session and a Working Group on the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Offenders was formed. Americans participated in both groups.

COMMITTEE ON CRIME PREVENTION AND CONTROL

The Committee was established by ECOSOC in December 1971 on the recommendation of the Commission

for Social Development in an effort to provide a broader level of expertise on social defense questions. Norman A. Carlson, Director of the U.S. Bureau of Prisons, is a member of the Committee which consists of 15 experts appointed to 3-year terms by ECOSOC on the nomination of the Secretary General.

The Committee held its first session in New York May 8-16. Representatives from the UN Secretariat's Division of Human Rights and Division of Narcotic Drugs, the UN Social Defense Research Institute, UNICEF, and WHO attended the meeting. The Government of Canada, which will host in Toronto in 1975 the Fifth UN Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders sent its Coordinating Officer for the Congress; several non-governmental organizations were also represented.

The principal topics on the agenda were criminality and social change, an international plan of action for crime prevention, human rights in the administration of justice, drug abuse and criminality, and social development aspects of crime prevention.

The Committee stressed the need to recognize crime prevention as an inseparable part of broader social and economic development projects and urged the United Nations to consider establishing bodies in developing countries to provide technical assistance on this question. Recognizing that the problem of crime has different characteristics in different parts of the world, the Committee cautioned against the false inference that there are proven remedies that can be applied. It emphasized the need for an international plan of action, but suggested that such a plan should focus on solving practical problems and should have three main areas of concern: (1) world cooperation and coordination; (2) growing efficiency

and flexibility in the services concerned with law enforcement, criminal justice, and penal systems; and (3) an economic and social policy. Such a plan would require cooperation from various UN bodies and its implementation should be preceded by a study of ways in which it can be coordinated with other UN programs.

The Committee concluded that as strategies of crime prevention develop, attention must also focus on human rights. Effective controls must be placed on police action to achieve a balance of human rights among offenders, victims, and the general public. The Committee recognized that the use of electronic devices, computers, data banks, and other technological advances were necessary to increase efficiency in the fight against crime, but it also noted that they could threaten privacy and basic human rights. Although the Committee reached no firm conclusions on these questions, it advised member states conducting studies on human rights to include crime prevention considerations in their projects.

The Committee agreed that one of the most critical crime problems was drug abuse. Countries must develop their own internal plans to meet specific needs while international efforts should focus on cooperative programs to prevent the trafficking in drugs that feed underground markets. The Committee believed that regional institutes could have a positive impact on programs of this nature, provided international agencies made maximum use of their resources.

The United States advocated that new research programs in the field of crime prevention should be undertaken only if they sought solutions to practical problems and that all social defense programs should include elements of drug abuse prevention. In addition, it continued to take the position that recommenda-

tions for crime prevention and control should be incorporated into the on-going projects of the Social Development Commission.

TREATMENT OF PRISONERS

The United States fully supported the establishment of a working group to reexamine the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners. The Fourth UN Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, held in Kyoto, Japan in 1970, had recommended that such a group be formed to (1) undertake an international evaluation of needs, means, and results for an effective implementation of the Rules; (2) devise a system to insure that information received from states would be both pertinent and comparable; (3) study the desirability of dividing the Standard Minimum Rules into a "general part" dealing with general principles that might form an international convention and a "special part" dealing with technical aspects of the treatment to which amendments and additions could be made in light of experience; (4) study implications of a possible "internationalization" of remedies open to detained persons claiming they have not received the benefits and guarantees established by the Rules; and (5) undertake an amendment of the Rules to insure their application to all prisoners whether charged with or convicted of crime.

The Working Group, composed of seven experts¹ appointed by the Secretary General, considered these issues at a meeting at UN Headquarters September 25-29. The Group concluded that at the present time the Rules should not be revised but means

¹ Professor Herman G. Moeller, Coordinator of Correctional Services, East Carolina University, Greenville, N.C., was one of the experts.

should be found to help member states implement existing concepts in the document. To this end they engaged a consultant to prepare a draft commentary on the Rules as a guideline for their implementation. The Group also reached the consensus that translation and dissemination of the Rules should be as extensive as possible. The Working Group submitted its report to the Committee on Crime Prevention and Control for inclusion on the agenda of the Fifth UN Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The Third Committee of the 27th General Assembly considered the question of crime prevention on December 7 and 8. On the latter day it approved by a vote of 101 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention, a resolution that *inter alia* (1) invited member states to inform the Secretary General of the situation concerning crime prevention and control in their countries by the end of 1974 so that he might make a final report to the Assembly at its 31st session in 1976; (2) urged governments and international organizations to strengthen international cooperation in crime prevention and to insure the availability of technical aid to countries desiring it; (3) requested the Secretary General to ascertain the views of member states on the advisability of holding an international conference of ministers to review problems and identify methods of crime prevention and control at the international level; (4) requested the Secretary General to prepare for the Fifth UN Congress on this subject in 1975; and (5) instructed the Committee on Crime Prevention and Control to report to the 31st Assembly on the methods most likely to be effective in preventing crime and improving the treatment of offenders.

The General Assembly adopted the resolution on December 18 by a vote of 125 (U.S.) to 0, with no abstentions.

Advisory Social Welfare Services

The United States in 1972 again provided technical advisers, training, and assistance in demonstration projects throughout the world as part of the UN program of Advisory Social Welfare Services. The program is financed from the UN assessed budget as part of the Regular Program of Technical Assistance. The Social and Rehabilitation Service (SRS) of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is the major host agency in the United States for UN Fellows in this field.

During 1972, 37 Fellows from 16 countries studied in this country. Twenty-five were from Asia, 6 from Africa, 4 from Europe, and one each from New Zealand and Latin America. The Fellows came primarily from ministries of health, welfare, labor, and education and from community development organizations. Others came from university faculties and a few were from voluntary agencies. They spent from one month to a year observing and studying social welfare activities and in academic programs related to such special interests as welfare of children of minority and tribal groups; community development; planning and administration of government programs; and therapeutic treatment of individuals and families.

Many institutions throughout the country contributed to the Fellows' programs. Over three-fourths studied at universities, often in special interdepartmental programs organized to meet their needs. National educational, social, and human rights agen-

cies; research and training programs; juvenile courts and probation programs; institutions for juveniles; schools for special groups; child care centers; rehabilitation and counseling programs; and family and child care agencies gave generously of time, thought, and interest to the visiting Fellows. Government offices at all levels—local, state, regional, and national—conferred with the visitors, helped guide their programs, and provided reference materials.

During 1972, seven U.S. specialists served as UN social welfare advisers to governments in East Asia, South Asia, and at UN Headquarters. For example, a social work educator from California assisted the Government of the Philippines in establishing the Regional Social Welfare Research and Training Institute in Manila and an expert from Hawaii provided advisory services for the South Pacific Commission. Technical assistance was given by a U.S. adviser in connection with plans for emergency services in Bangladesh.

An American specialist in social work education on the staff of ECAFE had an important role in organizing and conducting in November 1972 a regional seminar on Developmental Aspects of Social Work Training Curriculum. A UN official conducted a briefing session during the International Symposium on Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention held in Washington in June 1972. Sponsored by SRS, the symposium brought together representatives from eight countries where research in this field is contributing to social policy development.

Four international conferences concerned with social welfare took place in the Hague during August 1972. Faculty members from schools of social work in the Netherlands, Israel, India, Pakistan, and Panama—all former UN Fellows who had studied in the United States—played active roles

in the first three: the Council of the International Federation of Social Workers, the International Congress of Schools of Social Work, and the International Conference on Social Welfare. The fourth was one of a series of UN Regional Conferences of Ministers for Social Welfare. The United States sent an observer delegation to this conference which was concerned with evaluating alternative solutions to social problems in industrialized states. Emphasis was given to regionalization, integration of national social service systems, decentralization, and the practical role of the national authority in developing local programs related to current needs.

UNICEF

The UN Children's Fund was established by the General Assembly in 1946 as a temporary body to provide emergency assistance after World War II. In 1953 the Assembly made the Fund permanent and charged it with giving assistance in the development of permanent child health and welfare services. Its activities are directed by an Executive Board of 30 states¹ which meets annually. In 1972 it met in New York from April 24 to May 5.

An important problem for UNICEF has been the proper division of its efforts and resources between emergency relief and long-range assistance. Although the Executive Board reaffirmed in 1972 its general policy to aim always at long-term as-

sistance, no other UN agency has its experience in relief operations and it must continue its dual role. To this end UNICEF established at its headquarters a small unit to be specifically concerned with emergencies and to cooperate with the UN Disaster Relief Coordinator.

PROCEDURAL CHANGES

Over the years UNICEF's administrative procedures have adapted to changing needs. There were two major innovations in 1972. Procedures for approving projects and allocating funds were radically revised to curtail the presentation to the Executive Board of minutiae of ongoing programs, and to focus on new and large areas of aid.

In its field operations, UNICEF has been moving steadily since 1961 from a discrete project approach to the needs of children in developing countries toward the provision of services related to national development goals. The initiation in 1971 of country programming of UNDP resources provided a comprehensive framework for this approach and a mechanism for a more systematic coordination of all international aid. UNICEF participated fully in formulating several of the first group of country programs that were presented to the UNDP Governing Council in January 1972.

PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

New commitments for program assistance totalling \$42.1 million were made in 1972 for 73 projects in 58 countries. With previous commitments this provided UNICEF assistance for children in 111 countries. Approximately 43 percent of the commitments were for health services, 22 percent for education, 11 percent for nutrition, 7 percent for family and child welfare services, and 9 percent for emergency aid. Other supported

¹ Members in 1972 were Algeria, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, China, Costa Rica, Egypt, Federal Republic of Germany, France, Gabon, India, Indonesia, Italy, Malawi, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Sierra Leone, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, Turkey, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

activities included integrated services for children, country planning, and projects preparation.

UNICEF support to the 25 least developed countries averaged 20 cents per child, compared with 10 cents per child for other assisted countries.

Within the health field, progress in family planning was the highlight of 1972. A document describing jointly sponsored WHO and UNICEF activities in family planning formed the basis of the Board's discussion. These programs have increased substantially, and the cooperation between the two agencies has grown closer. Several countries previously either noncommittal or opposed to family planning now favor it and stress the concept that UNICEF should insure the incorporation of family planning into its program of maternal and child health.

Aid to education, which has increased rapidly since its addition to UNICEF's program in 1961, was given a thorough review and evaluation in 1972. At its annual meeting the Board considered two papers on this topic: a review of UNICEF's policy since 1968 on aid for education, prepared by a highly qualified British consultant, and a set of joint recommendations by the Director General of UNESCO and the Executive Director of UNICEF setting out guidelines for the future relationship of the two organizations. The cooperative relationships between UNICEF and UNESCO and other UN organizations such as the UNDP and IBRD were spelled out in considerable detail along lines advocated by the United States. UNICEF will no longer fund secondary school projects. Instead, it will concentrate on preschool and primary school children, especially deprived children in rural areas, urban slums, and shanty towns.

Child nutrition, always a concern of UNICEF and of particular interest to the United States, received major consideration in 1972 that resulted in strengthening programs of supplementary child feeding. It had become apparent that methods in use—aid for dairy plants, processing of weaning foods, increased village-level production of foods, and nutrition education—could not in the foreseeable future adequately reach the preschool child in the weakest socioeconomic groups. Recommendations to the Board by the UN Protein Advisory Group, chaired by Dr. Nevin Scrimshaw of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, formed the basis of the Board's decision to supplement present programs with assistance to countries to develop their own child feeding programs.

FINANCIAL SITUATION

In 1972 UNICEF's income, excluding contributions designated as funds-in-trust, was \$70.7 million of which \$49.2 million was contributed by 131 governments. The United States contributed \$15 million plus an additional \$2.3 million worth of Public Law 480 commodities and shipping. Contributions from non-governmental sources were \$11.7 million, the profits from the sale of greeting cards was \$6 million, and \$3.8 million came from other sources. In spite of the greater income—\$9.9 million more than in 1971—a large backlog of "noted projects" remain. These are projects that the Board has approved in principle but not been able to fund. In 1972 there were 9 such projects, totaling \$5,229,000, which may receive support from UNICEF National Committees, other private groups, or governments.

Youth

The Third Committee of the 27th General Assembly considered the agenda item on "Youth, its education in the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, its problems and needs, and its active participation in national development and international cooperation" at five meetings between November 30 and December 7. In the course of the debate it became clear that a majority of states favored more active participation by young people. The United States stressed that youth should be involved in development on the local, national, and international level and emphasized the need to involve a cross-section of youth in the development process, including labor leaders, political leaders, and young people in the professions.

On December 7 the Committee approved three resolutions subsequently adopted by the Assembly on December 18. The first, sponsored by 34 states including the United States, in its final form *inter alia* requested the Secretary General to (1) continue utilizing existing and establish new channels of communication with youth and youth organizations; (2) evaluate existing UN programs and projects in order to enable youth to participate fully at appropriate levels of policy formulation and project implementation and evaluation; and (3) convene an *ad hoc* advisory group on youth to advise him on activities that should be undertaken by the United Nations to meet the needs and aspirations of youth.

The Assembly further decided to re-examine the question of channels of communication with youth not later than its 30th session. The resolution was approved in committee by a vote of 94 (U.S.) to 0, with 9 abstentions, and adopted by a recorded vote of 115 (U.S.) to 0, with 8 abstentions.

A second resolution, also sponsored by 34 states including the United States, was adopted unanimously in both committee and plenary. It (1) requested member states, UN organs, and the specialized agencies to give greater attention to the implementation of the Declaration on the Promotion Among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding Between Peoples (adopted by the General Assembly in 1965), especially when establishing their policy and programs regarding youth; and (2) appealed to all states and international and nongovernmental organizations to foster among youth "respect for all peoples, irrespective of nationality, race, sex or religion, regard for human values, and devotion to the ideals of peace, freedom and progress and to the cause of human rights."

The third resolution, sponsored by 14 states and adopted unanimously in both committee and plenary, endorsed the employment of more young people in the UN Secretariat and requested the Secretary General to broaden the base of employment for qualified youth, with equitable geographical distribution and taking into account the need to secure the highest standards of efficiency, competence, and integrity.

Science and Research

Human Environment

UN CONFERENCE ON THE HUMAN ENVIRONMENT

The UN Conference on the Human Environment, the first worldwide conference ever held on this subject, met at Stockholm, June 5-16, 1972. One hundred and thirteen countries sent delegations. The United States was represented by a 62-member delegation that included four members of the House of Representatives and seven Senators. The delegation was headed by Russell E. Train, Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality. The People's Republic of China (P.R.C.) was represented by a 17-man delegation, but the U.S.S.R. and all of the socialist countries of Eastern Europe except Romania and Yugoslavia declined to attend on the ground that no arrangements had been made for the participation of the German Democratic Republic on an equal footing. (In a resolution adopted December 20, 1971, the General Assembly had decided to invite "states members of the United Nations or members of specialized agencies or of the International Atomic Energy Agency to participate in the Conference." The German Democratic Republic did not belong to any of those organizations.)

Maurice Strong of Canada, the Secretary General of the Conference, addressed its opening session. At the same session, Ingemund Bengtsson, the Minister of Agriculture of Sweden, was unanimously elected President, and Keith Johnson, Permanent Representative of Jamaica to the United Nations, was elected Rapporteur General. Mr. Train was elected one of the 27 Vice Presidents.

Few conferences in UN history had been preceded by such intensive preparations. The basic decision to hold the Conference was taken by the General Assembly in 1968 on Swedish initiative. In the intervening period, a small secretariat headed by Mr. Strong had guided the preparations through four series of preparatory committee meetings and many special panels and working groups. The work of the Conference was greatly facilitated by this preparatory work.

The Conference met in continuous plenary session and was addressed by almost every delegation present, many international nongovernmental organizations working in the environmental area, the heads of all of the specialized agencies and the IAEA, the UN Secretary General, and the heads of many subsidiary UN bodies.

In addition to the plenary, the conference work was carried on in three committees and a working group. Committee I dealt with (1) the planning and management of human settlements for environmental quality, and (2) educational, informational, social and cultural aspects of environmental growth. Committee II considered (1) environmental aspects of natural resources management, and (2) development and the environment. Committee III considered (1) identification and control of pollutants of broad national significance and (2) international organizational implications of action proposals.

Finally, the Conference, on a proposal of the P.R.C., assigned the draft Declaration on the Human Environment to a working group for preliminary consideration prior to its consideration in plenary. The United States and many other delegations stated their concern that this action could

result in endangering a closely balanced Declaration which had been negotiated over a period of 8 months prior to the Conference, but nevertheless did not oppose the creation of the working group if it was generally felt desirable.

Discussion and debate were of a generally high quality. Although political issues intruded from time to time, such issues were muted. Delegations focused their presentations on overriding concern for problems of the human environment and the necessity for concerted international action. The problem of atmospheric nuclear weapons tests entered the discussions more than had been anticipated, however, primarily because the Conference coincided with France's nuclear tests in the South Pacific.

The Conference took a number of major decisions.

It adopted unanimously a Declaration on the Human Environment containing 26 principles to guide nations in developing approaches to the solution of problems of the human environment. It was unable to reach agreement on a 27th principle concerning the obligation of countries adequately to inform one another of potential environmental effects of their activities and decided, therefore, to refer it to the General Assembly for further consideration.

It unanimously adopted an Action Plan containing 109 recommendations for international action and referred an equal number to countries for action at the national level. Among its significant proposals the Plan recommended: (1) completion in 1972 of a global convention to restrict ocean dumping; (2) steps to minimize release of such dangerous pollutants as heavy metals and organochlorines into the environment; (3) a global "Earthwatch" program, coordinated by the United Nations, to monitor and assess environmental

trends in atmosphere, oceans, land, and human health; (4) early completion of conservation conventions, including the World Heritage Trust for natural and cultural treasures and a convention restricting international trade in endangered species; (5) world programs to collect and safeguard plant and animal genetic resources; (6) strengthening the international whaling convention and a 10-year moratorium on commercial whaling; (7) creation of an environmental referral service to speed exchange of environmental know-how among all countries; (8) steps to prevent national environmental actions from creating trade barriers against exports of developing countries; (9) higher priority for environmental values in international development assistance, e.g., more emphasis on conservation, land use planning, and quality of human settlements; and (10) greater emphasis on population policy and accelerated aid to family planning in countries where population growth threatens environment and development goals.

The Conference unanimously adopted a resolution addressed to the General Assembly proposing the following institutional arrangements: (1) a 54-state Governing Council of the UN Environment Program with responsibility to provide general policy guidance for the direction and coordination of environmental programs within the UN system; (2) a small UN environment secretariat, headed by an executive director, to provide support for the Governing Council, be the principal instrument of coordination, and administer a new voluntary environment fund that would finance partially or wholly the costs of new environmental initiatives; and (3) an Environmental Co-ordination Board chaired by the executive director in which all members of the UN family of organizations engaged in environmental activities

would be represented for the purpose of achieving a fully cooperative, coordinated UN environment program.

The Conference did not make a recommendation concerning the proposed location of the new environment secretariat. During the course of the Conference, however, London, Geneva, Madrid, New York, Valletta, Nairobi, Kampala, New Delhi, Mexico City, and Vienna were all offered as sites. The decision on location was left to the General Assembly.

Although not formally a part of the resolution adopted by the Conference, it was generally agreed during the Conference's consideration of institutional arrangements that the environment fund should have as its goal \$100 million over an initial period of 5 years, as had been proposed prior to the Conference by President Nixon. The President had indicated that should such a fund be established he would propose to the Congress that the United States contribute up to \$40 million on a 40-60 matching basis. Other countries indicating firm pledges to the environment fund were Australia, Canada, and the Netherlands. Countries indicating intention to pledge were Austria, Botswana, Denmark, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Japan, Nigeria, Norway, Panama, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom.

By a vote of 50 to 15, with 13 abstentions, the Conference recommended the establishment of an international fund to improve the quality of human settlements. The United States voted against this resolution on the grounds that it addressed problems that were essentially national in character for which other forms of financing should be utilized.

By a vote of 56 to 3, with 29 abstentions, the Conference adopted a resolution condemning the continuation of nuclear weapons tests. The United States abstained on this re-

solution, explaining that, although it supported the principle of an adequately verified total weapons test ban, the wording of the resolution was ambiguous regarding its applicability to underground weapons testing. The United States believed that its underground tests were in consonance with prudent safeguards since the United States paid scrupulous attention to minimizing the environmental effects of its tests. In any event, the solution to this sensitive and highly complex arms control matter should be dealt with in a more suitable forum.

The Conference adopted by vote of 75 (U.S.) to 1, with 3 abstentions, a proposal recommending that the General Assembly consider the desirability of holding a second Conference on the Human Environment, the time and place to be decided by the General Assembly.

It adopted unanimously a resolution designating June 5 as World Environment Day.

The Stockholm Conference concluded with the adoption of a final report on its proceedings to the General Assembly for appropriate action by that body.

Summing up the significance of this first worldwide Conference on the Human Environment, President Nixon, in accepting Chairman Train's report, said, after noting several of the specific objectives achieved at the Conference,

However, even more than in the specific agreements reached, I believe that the deepest significance of the Conference lies in the fact that for the first time in history the nations of the world sat down together to seek better understanding of each other's environmental problems and to explore opportunities for positive action, individually and collectively.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

ECOSOC considered the report of the Stockholm Conference at its 53d

session and forwarded it to the General Assembly for appropriate action.

Following extensive consideration in its Second and Fifth Committees, the General Assembly on December 15 adopted 11 resolutions related to the environment conference. The most important, cosponsored by the United States and adopted by a vote of 116 (U.S.) to 0, with 10 abstentions, approved the institutional arrangements recommended by the Stockholm Conference with only one significant change—an increase in the size of the Governing Council from 54 to 58 members.

The most significant of the other resolutions follow.

A resolution adopted by a vote of 115 (U.S.) to 0, with 10 abstentions, dealt with the principle of the draft Declaration which the Stockholm Conference had left unresolved (see above, p. 103). In its resolution the General Assembly (1) emphasized that in the exploration, exploitation, and development of their natural resources states must not produce significant harmful effects in zones outside their jurisdiction, and (2) recognized that cooperation between states in the field of the environment would be effectively achieved if official and public knowledge was provided of the technical data relating to the work to be carried out by states within their national jurisdiction with a view to avoiding significant harm that may occur in the human environment of the adjacent area.

A general resolution, cosponsored by the United States and adopted by a vote of 112 (U.S.) to 0, with 10 abstentions, noted with satisfaction the Conference report, drew the attention of governments to the Action Plan and particularly to the recommendations for action at

the national level, designated June 5 as World Environment Day, and referred the question of a second Conference to the new Governing Council for Environmental Programs.

A resolution adopted by a vote of 110 to 0, with 16 abstentions (U.S.), stressed that environmental programs that might accelerate the economic development of developing countries should receive special consideration and recommended that any resources for environment programs be additional to resources being made available for developmental assistance programs. The United States abstained on the grounds that it could not support resolutions appearing to call for aid above presently approved levels.

A resolution adopted by a vote of 93 to 5 (U.S.), with 27 abstentions, endorsed in principle the establishment of an international fund or financial institution for human settlements and requested the Secretary General to prepare a study on the establishment and operation of such a fund. The United States voted against the resolution for the same reasons it had voted against the proposal at Stockholm.

The Assembly adopted unanimously a resolution deciding to locate the environment secretariat in Nairobi, Kenya. In the Second Committee the United States had voted against the designation of Nairobi explaining that it believed the coordinating responsibility of the new environment secretariat could best be discharged either in New York or Geneva. In joining in the unanimous decision in the plenary, however, the United States declared its intention to do all in its power to help insure the success of the new program at its Nairobi headquarters.

Also on December 15 the General Assembly elected 58 members to the

new Governing Council,¹ and on the recommendation of the UN Secretary General elected by acclamation Maurice Strong as the first executive director for a term of 4 years. Finally, the General Assembly provided \$2 million for the new Environment Program in the UN regular budget for 1973.

The recommendations adopted at Stockholm and subsequently endorsed at the 27th General Assembly constitute a long stride toward the achievement of worldwide action in tackling the world's environmental ills. Subsequent to the Conference, two conventions of the type recommended at Stockholm were adopted. Both had originally been proposed by President Nixon in his environmental message to Congress in February 1971.

On November 13, 1972, at a pleni-potentiary conference in London, representatives of 80 nations, including all the major maritime nations, agreed on a convention to control the dumping of wastes at sea. Fifty-seven nations, including the United States, signed the treaty the same day. The treaty bans the disposal at sea of a limited number of toxic wastes and other harmful substances and requires parties to establish a permit-issuing system in order to control ocean dumping of all other waste matter.

¹ Argentina, Austria, Australia, Brazil, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chile, P.R.C., Czechoslovakia, France, Gabon, Federal Republic of Germany, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guatemala, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Malagasy Republic, Malawi, Mexico, Morocco, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tanzania, Tunisia, Turkey, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

Three days later on November 16, 75 nations attending the 17th session of the UNESCO General Conference in Paris adopted a World Heritage Convention designed to preserve the most important features of man's natural and cultural heritage. (See p. 140 for details.)

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 and his environment. Radiation in this context covers both natural and manmade environmental radiation (i.e., radiation from atmospheric and surface nuclear weapon tests, nuclear power plants, and peaceful nuclear explosions), and medical and occupational exposures.

Dr. Richard H. Chamberlain, Director, Department of Radiology, Hospital of the University of Pennsylvania, is the U.S. Representative on UNSCEAR. The 15-member Committee² held its 22d session at UN Headquarters in New York, March 13-24, 1972.

At its two previous sessions UNSCEAR had reviewed drafts of the report it planned to make to the 27th General Assembly. In 1972 it concluded the work on its third comprehensive report³ to the General Assembly which reviews human exposure to radiation from all sources, genetic effects of radiation, radiation

² Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, France, India, Japan, Mexico, Sweden, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and United States.

³ The Committee submitted comprehensive reports in 1958 and 1962, and shorter specialized reports in 1964, 1966, and 1969.

carcinogenesis, and effects of radiation on the immune response. Unlike previous reports, this was submitted without the technical annexes in which the evidence considered by the Committee is discussed in detail and in which the bases for the Committee's conclusions are fully documented; however, the annexes were released as a separate publication at the same time as the report. The Committee also agreed that it could continue to discharge its responsibilities without meeting annually. Accordingly, it requested to be relieved of the obligation to report to the General Assembly before the 29th session and, subject to the acceptance of its request, would make no plans to meet before the end of 1973 unless asked to undertake new tasks in connection with the environment program or to respond to some other special demand.

The United States cosponsored with 16 other nations a draft resolution which was approved without objection by the Special Political Committee on October 6 and adopted without a vote by the plenary Assembly on October 17. The resolution, *inter alia*, (1) commended UNSCEAR for the valuable contributions it has made to wider knowledge and understanding of the levels and effects of atomic radiation; (2) requested UNSCEAR to continue its work, including its coordinating activities, to increase knowledge of levels and effects of radiation from all sources; (3) concurred in UNSCEAR's request that it be relieved from the obligation to report to the General Assembly before the 29th session; (4) requested UNSCEAR to report to the 29th General Assembly on the understanding that the General Assembly will then decide, taking into account the Committee's recommendation, on the convening of the next session; and (5) welcomed UNSCEAR's readiness to

play a role in the future UN environmental program.

Science and Technology for Development

COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY FOR DEVELOPMENT

Terms of reference for the Standing Committee on Science and Technology for Development, established by ECOSOC in 1971, were unanimously adopted in July 1972 by ECOSOC at its 53d session. Among other things the Committee is authorized to (1) promote international cooperation in the field of science and technology; (2) review and analyze, on a continuing basis, the policy aspects of science and technology for development; (3) assist ECOSOC in helping the intergovernmental bodies of the UN system plan programs and activities; (4) maintain liaison with other organizations doing relevant work; (5) assist ECOSOC in coordinating science activities in the UN system; and (6) assess and make recommendations on the conclusions of ACASTD and utilize the expertise of ACASTD in the performance of its duties.

In addition, the terms of reference affirm that the Committee will take into account the interests of all countries, but particularly the developing countries, and that it will be the main body assisting ECOSOC in the field of science and technology for development.

The Committee will have 54 members, most of whom have already been elected. Membership is on a geographic pattern as follows: 14 African, 11 Asian, 10 Latin American, 13 Western European and other, and 6 Eastern European states. The United States has been elected to the Committee.

The Committee will meet biennially; the first session was scheduled for New York in March 1973.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

The Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development was established by ECOSOC in 1963. Comprised of 24 experts from all geographic regions who serve in their individual capacities and not as governmental representatives, its purpose is to study and make recommendations to ECOSOC on applications of science and technology to development. Dr. George Harrar, retired president of the Rockefeller Foundation, was a member during 1972.

At its 16th session, held in New York April 5-13, 1972, ACASTD reviewed its work on (1) the World Plan of Action (which identifies problem areas and makes specific recommendations for applying science and technology to the needs of developing countries); (2) protein malnutrition; (3) global research projects; (4) case studies for developing countries; and, (5) the reports of its regional groups for Africa, Latin America, Asia, and Europe. ACASTD also endorsed a proposal to establish an international registry of potentially toxic chemicals and drafted a statement for its chairman to present at the UN Conference on the Human Environment.

At its 17th session, held in Geneva October 23-November 1, 1972, ACASTD reviewed its work on (1) transfer of technology, (2) computer technology for development, (3) protein malnutrition, (4) the role of modern science and technology in development, and (5) human rights and scientific and technological developments.

Of major interest to ACASTD is the World Plan of Action for the Application of Science and Technology to Development. Published in 1971

the World Plan is ACASTD's principal contribution to the Second UN Development Decade. In the Plan, ACASTD selected 15 priority areas in which the development and application of technology could promote economic progress. ACASTD has agreed to keep the World Plan under continuing review and has set up a permanent working group to concentrate on promoting the implementation of the Plan.

In the future, ACASTD reports will be submitted in the first instance to the Committee on Science and Technology for Development.

On July 28 the 53d ECOSOC unanimously adopted a resolution reiterating its view that the World Plan of Action prepared by ACASTD is an important contribution to the implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Second UN Development Decade and referring the Plan and the recommendations on it by the Committee on Science and Technology for Development to the 28th General Assembly for consideration in depth.

Natural Resources

The ECOSOC Committee on Natural Resources (CNR) is among the newer UN bodies. It was established in July 1970 to advise ECOSOC on the programming and implementation of UN activities for the development of water, energy, and mineral resources; to prepare guidelines on services to member states for the development of natural resources; to exchange technical information; and to assist in coordinating UN activities in the field of natural resources.

Following the CNR's first session, held in New York in 1971, ECOSOC voted to enlarge the committee's membership to a total of 54 countries as of January 1, 1972. In that form, the CNR held its second session in

Nairobi January 31–February 11, 1972. The United States and five other nations attended this second session as observers. Although not a member of the CNR the United States has regularly participated in its meetings as an observer.

Among several noteworthy actions at its 1972 session, the most important was the approval by the CNR of a document entitled "Guidelines for Action in the Development of Natural Resources." The committee thus took a major first step toward defining its own role and the general relationship between member states and UN activities in the field of natural resources.

In addition, the CNR undertook an initial review of all UN activities related to natural resources, the assumption being this would be the basis for the coordinating function given to the CNR.

The CNR's second session strongly endorsed the principle of "permanent sovereignty over natural resources of developing countries"; endorsed in principle the convening of a UN water conference, recommending that ECOSOC organize an intergovernmental panel to prepare a draft agenda; and agreed in principle to the establishment of a UN revolving fund for natural resources exploration, directing that a working group prepare detailed recommendations for ECOSOC.

Both of the recommended working groups were established and met later in 1972. The United States, which opposed the establishment of the revolving fund, declined membership on that working group. Although the working group prepared recommendations, ECOSOC postponed further consideration of the subject until its 54th session in the spring of 1973.

The working group on the proposed UN water conference of which the United States was a member, drafted an agenda, suggested that

the conference take place for two weeks in 1976 in Argentina, and made an estimate of conference expenses. The United States, largely because of other scheduled water conferences that would duplicate the proposed UN conference, opposed calling this conference, particularly if it was to be held as early as 1976. Final action on this question was also expected at the 54th ECOSOC session.

Statistical Activities

ECOSOC's Statistical Commission,¹ which provides overall guidance for UN statistical activities, held its 17th session in Geneva, November 13–24, 1972.

COORDINATION

Emphasis continued to be given to improving coordination in international statistical activities.

At the preceding session the Statistical Commission had agreed on a new approach to be followed in the preparation and presentation of the integrated 5-year plan for international statistical programs. The U.S. Representative and others had believed that the plan presented at each session as a basis for consideration of coordination problems failed to focus on the major economic and social issues of concern to member states. For the 1972 session the 5-year plan was organized in terms of major strategies of statistical development and provided an increased amount of background information on the organization and work of the international

¹ Members in 1972 were Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Ghana, India, Ireland, Kenya, Libya, Malaysia, Morocco, Panama, Philippines, Poland, Spain, Thailand, Uganda, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, and Venezuela.

statistical system within each major strategy. The Commission thought that the new approach provided a clear and well-structured statement of the statistical programs of the organizations concerned and was an effective basis for long-term planning.

The Commission recognized the increasing importance of the Working Group on International Statistical Programs and Coordination established by ECOSOC in 1968 and agreed that its terms of reference should be redefined so that in addition to dealing with questions of policy, coordination, and the establishment of priorities, it could (1) serve as a contact with the UN Statistical Office between the Commission's biennial sessions, (2) consider questions regarding electronic data processing of economic and social statistics, and (3) examine questions in respect of statistics required for evaluating and appraising the Second Development Decade. It was further concluded that the composition of the Working Group should be enlarged to include, in addition to the present members, one representative from a developing nation in each of the regions of ECAFE, ECLA, and ECA and that the Working Group should meet annually.

The Commission considered developments and potential coordination problems in the uses of electronic data processing equipment by the United Nations and the specialized agencies. Since the last session of the Commission the International Computing Center (ICC) had been established in Geneva and much of the electronic data processing formerly done in New York, such as international trade and national accounting statistics, had been transferred to the ICC. Various members, including the United States, expressed disappointment at the delays in receiving trade statistics since this transfer. It was agreed that further transfers of data

processing operations would be halted, and the Director of the Statistical Office at UN Headquarters would review all pertinent factors during the next 6 months and report his findings.

STATISTICS OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

An item of high priority on the Commission's agenda at its 17th session was consideration of the statistics required for the review and appraisal of the objectives and policies of the Second UN Development Decade. The goals and targets of the Decade had been agreed upon by the appropriate agencies; the task before the Commission was the selection of the indicators and series needed for judging progress toward these targets. The Commission discussed at considerable length a preliminary list of economic and social indicators. Although it believed that these indicators furnished a useful starting point, it expressed grave misgivings about the appropriateness of some of them, the concepts involved, and the general feasibility of the developing countries producing such extensive data. It was agreed that a new list of indicators should take into account practicality and reliability and that a definitive list of indicators should be completed by 1973 in time for the mid-decade review and appraisal.

NATIONAL ACCOUNTS

The Commission reviewed developments since its 16th session and considered future work in several areas of national accounts and balances. These included (1) further work on a draft system of statistics on the distribution of income, consumption, and accumulation that would be complementary to the system of national accounts, (2) the establishment of a similar system that would be suitable for the use of the

developing countries together with a technical manual directed to their needs, (3) development of guidelines for a system of price and quantity statistics and a study of national accounting practices in constant prices for index numbers, and (4) revision of the international recommendations on statistics of the distributive trades and services and preparation of a technical manual on surveys for the distributive trades.

DEMOGRAPHIC, MANPOWER, AND SOCIAL STATISTICS

At its 16th session in 1970 the Commission had taken the first steps toward the development of a system of demographic, manpower, and social statistics related to the system of national economic accounts. The Commission noted that substantial progress had been made on the development of the system. A framework had been developed, and the basic statistics, classifications, and social indicators of the subsystem had been listed and coordinated with the framework. It was agreed that work on the system should proceed with further delineation of the social indicators, preparation of a preliminary comprehensive technical document on the subject, and development of a draft version of the system suitable for use by the developing countries.

OTHER SUBJECTS

As a result of action taken at its 17th session, the Commission anticipates further progress in its efforts to improve the adequacy and international comparability of the statistical data available for all countries. A second draft of a revision of the Standard International Trade Classification (SITC) was before the Commission for consideration and comments. The final draft is expected to be presented for the Commission's approval at its next session. The Com-

mission was also informed of work undertaken by an ECE working group on the establishment of a correspondence key between SITC and the trade classification of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance. The Commission agreed that all efforts should be made to establish relations between the various nomenclatures of goods and services and their production.

The Commission had concluded at its 16th session that a review should be undertaken of international migration statistics with a view to amending or extending the standards, which had not been changed since their adoption in 1953, and that consideration should be given to developing recommendations for internal migration statistics. At its 17th session it reviewed proposals on both categories of statistics and concluded that two studies should be made on national practices in these fields. The revised standards on international migration and the guidelines on internal migration should then be redrafted on the basis of these studies.

UN Institute for Training and Research

Appearing before the Second Committee of the 27th General Assembly on November 22 as the new Executive Director of UNITAR, Dr. Davidson Nicol of Sierra Leone summarized UNITAR's guiding principles as approved by its Board of Trustees and reported on its major programs.

UNITAR's primary purpose, he noted, was to improve the effectiveness of the UN system, and that purpose was the touchstone for selecting subjects and determining where to allocate resources. Both research and training activities should be essen-

tially practical and designed to facilitate decision and action. Accordingly they are oriented to actual problems rather than the formulation or testing of theory. Moreover, UNITAR sought to integrate its research and training activities, so that studies were used for training purposes and research needs identified in seminars and conferences became the basis for new study projects.

Among significant training activities sponsored by UNITAR, Dr. Nicol mentioned courses and seminars on (1) procedures for peaceful settlement of disputes, (2) the organization and functioning of the UN system, (3) the functions and procedures of the General Assembly, (4) programs and procedures of UN development agencies, (5) international procurement, and (6) international law. In the research field, he noted that studies were underway, or had been completed, on (1) measures for increased cooperation between UN bodies and other international organizations, (2) methods for monitoring the implementation of UN recommendations, and (3) procedures for the settlement of disputes. With regard to the latter, several other related reports were underway evaluating UN experience and methods in factfinding, investigation, and peace observation; reviewing procedures of settlement in regard to boundary and frontier disputes; and analyzing settlement techniques applicable to economic controversies.

Recalling that the UNITAR Board of Trustees had in 1971 approved in principle the establishment of a Commission on the Future to serve as a "lookout tower" for the UN system, Dr. Nicol said that UNITAR had thus far undertaken only tentative and preliminary study of the implications for the United Nations of future developments. Sharpening the Commission's terms of reference and appointment of its members depended

on further study as well as the assurance of adequate financial resources.

The Executive Director stressed that UNITAR's activities had been limited by the relatively meager funds contributed to its regular budget. Its resources had, however, been supplemented by special purpose grants from some governments and foundations, by funds provided by other UN agencies for specified services, and by the cost-free services of members of the diplomatic and academic communities. Such sources were intermittent and not always reliable, and Dr. Nicol urged governments to consider increasing their financial support.

Thirty-five states took part in the one-day debate. Most endorsed UNITAR's record and commented favorably on aspects of its program of particular concern to them. Several of the developing countries called for increased attention to the training of developmental assistance personnel and to the problems of transfer of technology from developed to less developed areas and of the "brain drain." The U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europeans charged UNITAR with neglecting their countries in both staffing and substantive issues and with failing to utilize their research institutes and scholars.

Speaking for the United States, Mrs. Julia Rivera de Vincenti endorsed the guiding principles enunciated by Dr. Nicol, particularly the increased concentration on projects directly related to the improvement of the UN performance. The United States hoped that continued attention would be given to peaceful settlement of disputes under UN auspices and to improvement of General Assembly and ECOSOC procedures for decisionmaking. Mrs. Vincenti noted special U.S. interest in the proposed Commission on the Future as a potentially useful tool in helping

the UN system cope with future demands not yet clearly identified. The United States hoped that UNITAR would receive special purpose grants to launch this promising work.

Noting that the United States had provided about 35 percent of total contributions to UNITAR's regular budget since its inception, as well as funds for fellowships, she urged other UN members to increase their support.

The Second Committee approved without objection a draft resolution noting with satisfaction UNITAR's increasing effectiveness and expressing the hope that it would have greater and wider financial support. The General Assembly adopted the resolution without objection on December 11.

UNITAR was also involved in the Fifth Committee's consideration of the Secretary General's proposal to budget \$150,000 as the UN share of the costs of the first year's operation of a UN staff college. The concept of the staff college to operate under the direction of UNITAR to train higher level officials of agencies in the UN system had been approved in principle by the General Assembly in 1971. The Secretary General had endorsed the revised terms of reference which would establish the staff college as a joint venture of UN organizations to train officials in areas of common concern and interest. The annual budget was estimated at \$425,000, to be financed by contributions of \$150,000 each from the United Nations and the UNDP, and smaller amounts from the specialized agencies.

During the Fifth Committee's discussion a number of states reiterated their support of the staff-college concept. However, after noting several technical questions raised by the ACABQ and the UNDP Administrator's expressed doubt that the expected benefits to his agency would

justify an annual contribution of \$150,000, the Committee decided on December 12 to defer action until the 28th Assembly. The Committee requested the Secretary General to submit a further report on the staff college project, including its financial, administrative, and budgetary implications. A passage to this effect was proposed by Brazil for inclusion in the Fifth Committee's report and was adopted by a vote of 58 (U.S.) to 4, with 12 abstentions. On December 18 the General Assembly took note of this decision of the Committee.

United Nations University

On December 11 the 27th General Assembly by a vote of 101 (U.S.) to 8, with 4 abstentions, adopted a resolution deciding to establish a United Nations University (UNU). The decision, taken on the recommendation of the Second Committee, came after 3 years of consideration and preparatory work by the General Assembly, ECOSOC, UNESCO, UNITAR, and a UN Panel of Experts. Legal and statutory details will be dealt with by a Founding Committee which will draft the Charter of the UNU and further define its objectives. The Founding Committee will consist of not more than 20 experts, half to be appointed by the UN Secretary General and half by the Director General of UNESCO. The draft Charter will be reviewed by UNESCO, ECOSOC, and the General Assembly in 1973.

The UNU will not be a university in the traditional sense, but rather a decentralized, international university system with a programming and coordination center and affiliated research and training units in various countries. It will undertake research

and training on problems having a global and multidisciplinary character at the postgraduate level, and will facilitate more active collaboration between existing universities. It will not be an intergovernmental organization, nor will it assume that character.

At the time the concept was under discussion in UNESCO, the United States expressed certain reservations with respect to a possible overlapping of the UNU's proposed research activities with those of existing institu-

tions. It is hoped that the Charter of the UNU will resolve this potential problem.

Capital and recurring costs, including administrative costs, will be met from voluntary contributions from governments and nongovernmental sources, but the UNU is authorized to receive specific project assistance from UN bodies. The United States has consistently advocated the voluntary financing formula that was finally adopted.

Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms

During 1972, as in recent years, the United Nations focused most of its attention in the field of human rights on just a few topics, such as racial discrimination, that have a strong political appeal, while other equally important topics, such as religious intolerance or equality in the administration of justice, continued to be ignored or postponed. ECOSOC's Commission on Human Rights,¹ the UN body primarily concerned in this field, held its 28th session at UN Headquarters from March 6 to April 7. Aspects of its work were further considered in ECOSOC and the General Assembly.

The problem of the imbalance in

the Commission's work received special attention from ECOSOC during its 52d session. With the support of the United States and most others, ECOSOC on June 2, 1972, adopted a resolution which generally urged the Commission to arrange its heavy agenda in a better fashion so that it might be able to take up a greater number of items at each of its annual sessions. The Commission was particularly urged to find sufficient time to give adequate consideration to the reports of its Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

Elimination of Racial Discrimination

Racial discrimination continued to occupy the largest part of the Commission's attention. A resolution ultimately sponsored by 14 states called

¹ Commission members during 1972 were Austria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Chile, Ecuador, Egypt, France, Ghana, Guatemala, India, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Lebanon, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Netherlands, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Tanzania, Turkey, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela, and Zaire.

for continued international action through the organization of a "Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination." The resolution requested the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities at its next session (August 1972) to prepare a draft program for such a decade and suggested wide-ranging guidelines for the program at the UN, international, regional, and national levels. The resolution was adopted on March 15 by a vote of 30 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention. The United States joined in supporting the resolution because of its desire to see an end to racial discrimination, even though it believed that some of the resolution's suggested guidelines were overly political and beyond the legitimate scope of the Commission.

The Commission also considered a draft convention on the suppression and punishment of the crime of apartheid, which had been introduced by Guinea and the U.S.S.R. at the 26th General Assembly and referred to the Commission. A principal effect of this convention would be to make criminal any action by individuals, including government representatives, falling within the convention's definition of apartheid. On March 14 a competing draft in the form of a protocol to the 1965 Race Convention¹ was submitted to the Commission by Nigeria, Pakistan, and Tanzania. It was similar to the draft convention but provided additional implementation provisions employing the machinery of the special Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination which was already operating under article 8 of the Race Convention (see p. 116). On March 23, by a vote of 22 to 0, with 5 abstentions (U.S.), the Commission adopted

¹ International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, done at New York, Dec. 21, 1965; entered into force Jan. 4, 1969.

a resolution sponsored by Nigeria and the U.S.S.R. requesting the Secretary General to circulate both draft instruments to governments for comments so that the General Assembly, at its 27th session might give priority to the question of adopting an international instrument for suppressing and punishing the crime of apartheid. The United States abstained because it does not believe there is any need for a new convention. In the absence of an international penal jurisdiction, the new convention would add nothing to the protection already afforded by the Race Convention which already effectively outlaws apartheid.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

Between September 28 and October 25 the 27th General Assembly's Third Committee devoted 6 meetings to considering the program for the observance of the 25th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (December 10, 1973) and 19 meetings to considering the elimination of racial discrimination. Over 90 countries took part in the two closely related debates, and five draft resolutions were approved.

On October 4 the Committee approved by acclamation a resolution calling for appropriate special measures on the part of member states, specialized agencies, and other inter-governmental and nongovernmental organizations to mark the anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and deciding to hold a special meeting of the General Assembly on December 10, 1973, to launch the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The General Assembly unanimously adopted the resolution on October 19.

On October 18 the Committee unanimously approved a follow-up resolution requesting the Human Rights Commission to give "highest

priority" to its consideration of the draft program for the Decade that had been prepared by the Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities so that the program might be given "final consideration" by the Assembly at its 28th session. The General Assembly adopted this resolution unanimously on November 15.

During the Third Committee's debate the U.S.S.R., Guinea, and Nigeria circulated a revised draft apartheid convention replacing both previous drafts forwarded by the Human Rights Commission. An important feature of the revision was the substitution of the Commission for the special committee under the Race Convention as the proposed implementing organ. This would mean that the proposed convention would be supervised by a group of states not necessarily party to it. Although adoption of the apartheid convention had been expected to be a major concern of this session of the General Assembly, the Committee's discussion revealed little enthusiasm for the revised draft and numerous delegations expressed doubts about its efficacy. On October 25 the Committee approved by a vote of 84 to 0, with 20 abstentions (U.S.), a resolution referring the revised draft back to the Human Rights Commission for further consideration. The resolution was adopted by the General Assembly on November 15 by a vote of 103 to 1, with 21 abstentions (U.S.). The United States abstained, as it had in the earlier Commission vote, because it did not think the proposed convention was necessary.

Another facet of racial discrimination considered by the Assembly was the situation involving *de facto* discrimination against foreign workers in certain European countries. Incidents of the exploitation of labor through the illicit and clandestine trafficking in workers from countries

in Africa to some European countries had been raised earlier in the year during the summer session of ECO-SOC and had been condemned in a consensus resolution adopted on July 28. The discussion in the Third Committee centered on a draft resolution sponsored by Algeria, 11 other Arab and African states, and Spain. Expressing concern over the discrimination against foreign workers in certain countries of Europe and other continents, the draft in its final form (1) requested the governments concerned to take measures to put an end to such discriminatory treatment, (2) recommended that the Commission on Human Rights consider the question, and (3) invited the ILO to continue its studies on illicit trafficking in foreign labor and to strengthen international machinery for the protection of migrant workers. The resolution was approved by the Committee on October 20 by a vote of 111 (U.S.) to 0, with 4 abstentions, and adopted by the General Assembly on November 15 by a vote of 123 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention.

A final resolution on racial discrimination concerned the report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. A unique experiment in the implementation of a multilateral treaty (the 1965 Race Convention), the 18-member expert Committee receives obligatory reports from states party on their compliance with their treaty obligations and reports annually to the General Assembly. In the three years since its establishment the Committee has been gradually developing its procedures in the light of its experience. On October 20, the Third Committee approved by a vote of 100 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention, a resolution sponsored by Uruguay and Costa Rica that welcomed the Committee's adoption of a new procedure for the consideration of reports submitted by states. Henceforth, the parties will be

invited to be present at and take part in the Committee's discussion when their reports are under consideration. On November 15 the General Assembly adopted the resolution by a vote of 124 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention.

Human Rights in Armed Conflicts

In 1971 the General Assembly had referred to the Human Rights Commission several proposals relating to a draft convention on the protection of journalists engaged in dangerous missions in areas of armed conflict. A French text, originally submitted to the 27th session of the Commission in 1971, formed the basis for the Commission's discussion at its 28th session.

The United States proposed a number of amendments to the French draft in order to render the draft convention more widely acceptable. U.S. substantive differences with France centered chiefly on the extent of the protections that the convention should specify as enjoyed by journalists in areas of armed conflict, the degree of power to be accorded a special professional committee of journalists to be established by the convention, and the manner in which the proposed convention would affect the existing 1949 Geneva Conventions and the work under way to develop protocols to those Conventions. In general, the United States favored a more restricted convention than did the French.

Because its efforts to revise the text were unsuccessful, the United States voted against the French draft which the Commission endorsed on March 31 by a vote of 16 to 2 (U.S.), with 10 abstentions. A procedural resolution forwarding the text to the General Assembly as a basis for further work was approved the same day by a vote of 26 to 0, with 2 abstentions (U.S.).

GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

In 1972, for the first time since it was placed on the Assembly's agenda in 1968, the question of human rights in armed conflicts was not considered exclusively by the Third Committee. Instead, the Assembly's General (or steering) Committee referred to the Sixth (Legal) Committee the Secretary General's report on the results of the ICRC Conference of Government Experts concerned with the development of international humanitarian law applicable in armed conflicts (see p. 204), and to the First (Political and Security) Committee his report on "napalm and other incendiary weapons and all aspects of their possible use" (see p. 10).

The remaining aspect of the question, the protection of journalists, continued to be considered by the Third Committee which devoted 17 meetings between October 23 and November 17 to this question, basing its consideration on the draft articles which had been approved by the Human Rights Commission. In spite of French efforts to secure final approval of a convention, no substantive decision was taken. In the course of the debate a revised text was introduced which met some objections that had been raised, but still did not contain enough substantive changes to enable the United States to support it. Opposition to taking a final decision came mainly from nonaligned states who wanted more time to study the proposed articles. These states pointed out that recent conflicts have invariably occurred in less developed areas of the world, but the journalists have come mainly from the Western countries. In their view, the proposed convention appeared to create an imbalance since benefits would accrue largely to journalists from countries where conflict was less likely, while obligations would be assumed primarily by developing countries.

On November 16 the Committee approved by a rollcall vote of 49 to 38, with 23 abstentions (U.S.), a motion by Ghana to adjourn the debate until the 28th Assembly. On December 12 the General Assembly, by a recorded vote of 102 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions, endorsed this recommendation with the addition that at the 28th Assembly the item should be given high priority.

Human Rights in Occupied Middle East Territories

An example of the politicization of human rights in the United Nations is the item relating to the alleged violations of human rights in territories occupied as a result of hostilities in the Middle East. This matter has been discussed at each session of the Commission on Human Rights since 1968. Another resolution in the series was adopted at the 28th session on March 22 by a rollcall vote of 15 to 4 (U.S.), with 11 abstentions.

The resolution, *inter alia*, (1) listed a long series of alleged acts and policies being carried out by Israel in the occupied territories, (2) strongly called on Israel to rescind such acts, and (3) considered that "grave breaches of the fourth Geneva Convention [see p. 203, footnote 1] committed by Israel in the occupied Arab territories constitute war crimes and an affront to humanity." Speaking after the vote Ambassador Schaufele expressed concern over the continuing reports of human rights violations in the Middle East and said that an end to such violations could best be achieved through a peaceful settlement under the provisions of Security Council resolution 242 of November 22, 1967. He noted that the United States had always considered

that the Geneva Conventions also applied to occupied territories and had always urged the parties to the conflict to acknowledge their applicability. However the United States was unable to support the resolution because some of its provisions, particularly the one last cited above, were too extreme.

This resolution provided the basis for a further Arab initiative taken under the Commission's agenda item on the punishment of war criminals. Egypt proposed a draft resolution that cited the resolution on human rights in occupied Middle East territories and requested the Secretary General to submit to the next General Assembly a note containing UN resolutions concerning the declaration of grave breaches of the fourth Geneva Convention as "war crimes" and the relevant conclusions and recommendations of UN bodies and the ICRC relating to such grave breaches. The resolution was adopted on April 3 by a vote of 13 to 1 (U.S.), with 15 abstentions. The United States opposed it for the same reason that it had opposed the previous Middle East resolution.

Although the Secretary General submitted the requested note to the 27th General Assembly, it did not lead to any further General Assembly action. Assembly debate on human rights in the occupied territories centered on the report of the special investigatory committee established by the General Assembly in 1968. (See p. 52 for consideration of this report.)

Religious Intolerance

At its 17th session in 1962, the General Assembly had requested the Human Rights Commission to prepare a draft declaration and a draft international convention on the elimination of all forms of religious intolerance. A preliminary draft declaration

was referred to the General Assembly in 1964, and a draft convention in 1967. Although the General Assembly gave the draft convention detailed study in 1967 when its Third Committee adopted a preamble and an article on definitions, it has not considered the matter since despite the fact that it has been on the agenda of each succeeding session.

Interest in this matter has been particularly high among nongovernmental organizations and they have been active behind the scenes in encouraging further consideration of the matter. Because the Assembly's 1967 debate on the draft convention had revealed the deeply contentious nature of some of the provisions, many nongovernmental organizations have therefore urged that the Assembly turn its attention to the draft declaration which would be less likely to be controversial.

At the 27th General Assembly the Netherlands, Sweden, and Uruguay, subsequently joined by Costa Rica, Cyprus, Honduras, and Iceland, proposed a draft resolution to accord priority to the completion of the declaration with a view to its adoption as a part of the observance of the 25th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This relatively simple proposal gave rise to vigorous debate and to the tabling of a series of amendments by the U.S.S.R. designed to give priority to work on the convention. Adoption of the Soviet amendments would in fact have impeded progress on the item and prevented the early adoption of a declaration. The amendments were defeated by a series of narrow votes, which indicated a fairly even division among those who supported renewed work on the declaration, those who opposed it, and those not taking a position. The Third Committee on December 5 approved the resolution as proposed by the seven sponsors by

a vote of 73 (U.S.) to 0, with 31 abstentions, and the General Assembly adopted it on December 18 by a recorded vote of 101 (U.S.) to 0, with 22 abstentions. The United States has long favored the adoption of an international instrument on religious intolerance and will press for the rapid completion of work on the draft declaration at the next General Assembly.

Human Rights and Scientific and Technological Developments

The study of human rights and scientific and technological developments is still in a preliminary stage with most concerned UN bodies awaiting further reports from the Secretary General. The Human Rights Commission did not have time during 1972 to take up the question but it was considered at a UN seminar held in Vienna from June 19 to July 1. The seminar was organized under the UN program of human rights advisory services and was attended by experts from 25 countries, including the United States. It engaged in detailed examination of the impact of recent scientific and technological developments on specific human rights and explored possible international measures for insuring that such developments are used to promote human rights with due regard for the legitimate interests of other nations and peoples. Of special interest was a list of proposed ethical standards included in the seminar report and suggested for formulation at the international level.

The 27th General Assembly briefly considered the subject, and adopted

two resolutions. The first, sponsored by Poland and nine other states, noted that the acceleration of scientific and technological progress might add to the risk of debasing cultural values and requested the Director General of UNESCO to communicate to the next General Assembly his views on the problem of the preservation and further development of cultural values, the measures taken by the international community, and the further measures that should be taken. The resolution was unanimously approved by the Third Committee on December 8 and adopted by the Assembly on December 18.

The second resolution, sponsored by Japan and nine others, focused upon the need to avoid duplication in UN work on the various related areas of concern arising under this subject. The resolution requested the Secretary General to accelerate and complete preparation of relevant reports on this subject and requested the Human Rights Commission to accelerate its work with a view in particular to examining the possibility of preparing draft instruments in this field. Amendments sponsored by the Byelorussian S.S.R. and nine other states changed the request to the Secretary General by calling for greater emphasis on economic and social rights as distinct from civil and political rights. Because of the imbalance which would result from the amendments they were opposed by the United States and some others. They nevertheless carried easily and the resolution as amended was approved by the Third Committee on December 8 by a vote of 99 to 0, with 5 abstentions (U.S.), and adopted by the Assembly on December 18 by a vote of 120 to 0, with 5 abstentions (U.S.).

Slavery

The problem of slavery, which continues to persist in various forms and manifestations, has been of concern to the United Nations since its beginning. A number of studies and reports have been produced, culminating in the definitive "Report on Slavery" completed in 1966 by Mohamed Awad (Egypt), the special rapporteur appointed by the Secretary General at the request of ECOSOC. In 1971 Dr. Awad, at the request of ECOSOC, completed a second report highlighting possible measures to implement the international conventions and various UN recommendations concerning slavery and related institutions and practices. The report was considered by the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in 1971 and forwarded to the Human Rights Commission for further action. Although the Commission did not find time to take up the matter in 1972, the report and its recommendations were considered by ECOSOC at its 52d session in May and June, 1972.

On June 2 ECOSOC adopted, by a vote of 23 (U.S.) to 3, with no abstentions, an all-inclusive resolution sponsored by the United Kingdom and France which set forth a full range of possible measures that might be taken to eradicate slavery and related practices. The principal focus was on the International Slavery Convention of 1926 and the Supplementary Convention of 1956 on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery. (The United States is a party to both conventions.) A key provision of the resolution is a directive to the Subcommission to examine the possibility of establishing some form of permanent machinery to improve implementation of the relevant UN instruments.

Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities¹

The Subcommission met in New York August 14 to September 1, 1972. Taking part in his first session was a new expert from the United States, W. Beverly Carter, Jr. This session marked the first time that the Subcommission had exercised the authority granted it by ECOSOC in 1970 to consider private communications. (Prior to this time the Commission on Human Rights was expressly precluded from taking any action on the more than 20,000 private communications concerning human rights received annually by the United Nations.) Under the new procedure authorized by ECOSOC in 1970, a five-member working group made up of expert members of the Subcommission from the Philippines, Morocco, Mexico, France, and the U.S.S.R. met for 12 days prior to the opening of the Subcommission session and examined over 20,000 individual communications. The Subcommission considered the working group's confidential report in closed session and unanimously adopted a resolution that (1) took note of the report, (2) requested the Secretary General to inform governments of the importance attached to such replies as they might wish to make to the private communications transmitted to them (all communications containing references to conditions within a state are referred to the government concerned); and (3) decided that the working group should, at its next ses-

¹ The Subcommission is composed of 26 experts, serving in their individual capacity, elected by the Commission on Human Rights for 3-year terms.

sion, consider other communications not yet examined and reexamine those singled out in its report in the light of governmental replies. In accordance with the procedures authorized by ECOSOC the Subcommission is expected, at its next session, to decide whether the communications reported on by its working group have revealed the existence of any situations involving a "consistent pattern of gross and reliably attested violations of human rights requiring consideration by the Commission" on Human Rights.

The Subcommission devoted most of its time at this session to preparing the draft program for a Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination as requested by the Commission (see p. 115). The Subcommission also received, and briefly considered, progress reports from its rapporteurs carrying on new studies relating to the protection of minorities, the prevention and punishment of genocide, and discrimination against indigenous populations.

Status of Women

ECOSOC's Commission on the Status of Women² held its 24th session in Geneva, February 14-March 3. The principal agenda items considered were (1) international instruments and national standards relating to the status of women, (2) the role of women in the family, (3) program of concerted international action to promote the advancement of women

² Members of the Commission during 1972 were Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Byelorussian S.S.R., Canada, Central African Republic, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Finland, France, Hungary, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Kenya, Liberia, Mauritania, Nigeria, Norway, Philippines, Romania, Thailand, Tunisia, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, and Zaire.

and to increase their contribution to the development of their countries, and (4) protection of women and children in emergency and armed conflict in the struggle for peace, self-determination, national liberation and independence.

INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS

The Commission agreed that legal equality was not enough because there was still a wide discrepancy between law and practice. Two of the major obstacles seen to the implementation of the 1967 Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women were the deeply rooted attitudes of both men and women toward women's traditional roles in society and the lack of adequate education and training to equip them for larger roles.

The United States joined 16 others in sponsoring a resolution urging the employment of more women in senior and other professional positions in the secretariats of UN organizations. The resolution was unanimously approved by the Commission on February 22 and by ECOSOC at its 52d session on June 2, and—after minor revision by the Third Committee—it was unanimously adopted by the General Assembly on December 18. In its final form, after noting the low ratio of women to men in senior and professional positions in the UN system, the resolution (1) noted with satisfaction the recent appointment by the Secretary General of a woman to the post of Assistant Secretary General¹ and hoped that more women would be appointed to high level positions, (2) requested the Secretary General to include in his annual report on the composition of the Secretariat more

comprehensive data on the employment of women in UN system secretariats, (3) urged UN organizations to insure equal opportunities for the employment of qualified women at the senior and professional levels, and (4) called on member states to nominate more women for such positions in the secretariats.

At its 23d session in 1970 the Commission had requested the Secretary General to prepare a report on the extent to which the substantive provisions of the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women were covered in existing international conventions and the implementation measures provided for under the conventions. Although the Commission did not have time at its 24th session to thoroughly study the Secretary General's report, most members were convinced that existing international instruments were inadequate with respect to the status of women and that it would be desirable to adopt a new instrument.

On February 24 the Commission adopted by a vote of 28 to 0, with 1 abstention (U.S.), a resolution to this effect submitted by the U.S.S.R. The resolution (1) asked the Secretary General to prepare a working paper based on the views and proposals of member states for such an instrument, (2) established a working group to meet prior to the next Commission session and begin preparation of a new draft instrument, and (3) requested the Secretary General, the ILO, and UNESCO to assist the working group and the Commission in this task.

The United States abstained because it believed more study should have been given the Secretary General's report before embarking on the preparation of yet another instrument which would duplicate many as yet unimplemented provisions of existing conventions.

¹ On Mar. 27 the Secretary General appointed Helvi L. Sipilä of Finland as Assistant Secretary General for Social and Humanitarian Affairs.

ROLE IN THE FAMILY

One of the Commission's most important resolutions concerned the elimination of legal and social discrimination against unmarried mothers. The Commission had approved such a resolution in 1970 but ECOSOC had submitted it to governments for comment and invited the Commission to reconsider it in light of the replies received. In 1972 the United States, Canada, Norway, Romania, and Uruguay again sponsored a resolution on this topic that the Commission approved by a vote of 22 (U.S.) to 0, with 6 abstentions. The resolution recommended as general principles that (1) maternal filiation should be recognized in law, in all cases, automatically as a consequence of the fact of birth; and (2) unmarried mothers should enjoy the fullest set of rights and duties provided for by law including, *inter alia*, (a) all the measures of social assistance and social security devised for mothers in general and single parents in particular, and (b) no discrimination in employment, education, and training. The resolution further recommended that member states develop programs to increase awareness of the existing double standard in allocating social responsibility for births out of wedlock, in order to bring about a balance in social attitudes toward the sexes with respect to responsibility for such births. On June 2 ECOSOC adopted the resolution by a vote of 23 (U.S.) to 0, with 3 abstentions.

PROGRAM OF CONCERTED INTERNATIONAL ACTION

Many of the Commission's resolutions concerning the program for the advancement of women reflected concern over the limited participation of women in national development programs. The Commission expressed particular interest in the status of

rural women and on March 1 decided unanimously to request the Secretary General, member states, and the organizations concerned, in particular the ILO, FAO, UNESCO, WHO, and UNICEF, to furnish information on the status of women in rural areas so that the Commission might take up the question in 1974.

The United States was one of 16 states sponsoring another resolution for adoption by ECOSOC that (1) recalled the General Assembly's 1970 resolution setting forth a program of concerted international action for the advancement of women, (2) recommended the program's implementation in a manner that would benefit women at all stages of development, (3) urged member states in their programs to promote the advancement of women to take account of the varying needs of women in their countries so they can achieve their maximum potential, and (4) requested the specialized agencies, the UNDP, and other intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations to take account of the needs of women in the programming and allocation of technical assistance. The Commission approved the resolution by a vote of 28 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention, and ECOSOC adopted it unanimously on June 2.

A resolution directed primarily to those organizations in the UN system of special concern to women was unanimously approved by the Commission on February 29 and unanimously adopted by ECOSOC on June 2. It urged the Secretary General to invite the executive heads of the ILO, FAO, UNESCO, WHO, UNICEF, and the UNDP to insure that women are present in all sectors of their secretariats and expressed the hope that they would recommend to member states increased participation of women in activities within the competence of their agencies.

A resolution concerning the UN program of advisory services in the field of human rights asked that two seminars on subjects relating to the status of women be held each year, especially in the years when the Commission does not meet, and urged governments to nominate for UN human rights fellowships women and persons involved in the elimination of sex discrimination. The Commission approved the resolution unanimously on February 29 and ECOSOC adopted it unanimously on June 2.

The United States was one of the 10 sponsors of another resolution that (1) invited interested intergovernmental organizations outside the UN system to consider the establishment of regional commissions on the status of women in order to make more effective the resolutions and measures adopted in favor of women, and (2) invited the UN regional economic commissions to take the necessary action to incorporate in their activities programs to assist the integration of women in the economic and social development of their countries. The Commission approved this resolution, the substance of which has been pressed by the United States since 1970, on February 29 by a vote of 23 (U.S.) to 0, with 5 abstentions, and ECOSOC adopted it on June 2 by a vote of 19 (U.S.) to 0, with 6 abstentions.

On February 29 the Commission unanimously approved a draft resolution which it requested ECOSOC to transmit to the General Assembly for adoption. ECOSOC approved the draft on June 2 and the General Assembly, after consideration and minor amendment by its Third Committee, adopted it without objection on December 18. In its final form the resolution (1) proclaimed 1975 International Women's Year; (2) decided

to devote 1975 to intensified action to promote equality between men and women and to insure the full integration of women in the total development effort; (3) invited all member states and interested organizations to take steps to insure the full realization of the rights of women and their advancement on the basis of the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women; (4) invited governments that have not yet done so to ratify the ILO convention on equal pay for equal work; and (5) requested the Secretary General to prepare a draft program for International Women's Year to be considered by the Commission on the Status of Women at its 25th session in 1974.

PROTECTION IN EMERGENCY AND WARTIME

The Commission again discussed the question of the "Protection of women and children in emergency and armed conflict in the struggle for peace, self-determination, national liberation and independence," which has been on its agenda since 1969. On March 2 it approved by a vote of 18 to 0, with 11 abstentions (U.S.), a resolution that, *inter alia*, (1) requested governments of member states, the UN organs, specialized agencies, nongovernmental organizations and the ICRC to develop ways and means of rendering all possible humanitarian support to women and children in emergency and armed conflict situations and to inform the Secretary General of the steps taken in this respect so he might report to the Commission; (2) requested the Secretary General to report to the Commission each session on the condition of women and children in emergency and armed conflict; and (3) decided to include this

question in the work program of the Commission. ECOSOC adopted the resolution on June 2 by a vote of 23 to 0, with 3 abstentions (U.S.) after amending the resolution so that the Secretary General would report on

the topic only at every other Commission session. The United States abstained because the action called for would largely duplicate measures already being undertaken by other bodies, such as the ICRC.

Organization and Coordination

ECOSOC Enlargement and Reform

At its 51st session in 1971 ECOSOC had approved a "package" of reform measures which included (1) enlargement of the Council from 27 to 54 members, (2) establishment of a standing Committee on Review and Appraisal of the Second Development Decade, and (3) establishment of a standing Committee on Science and Technology (see p. 107). It also agreed that pending enlargement of the Council, ECOSOC's three sessional committees of the whole (Coordination, Social, and Economic) would be expanded to 54 members. The 26th General Assembly in late 1971 approved a Charter amendment to enlarge ECOSOC, the only necessary action on its part to implement the reform package. The amendment will come into effect when it has been ratified by two-thirds of the UN members, including all five permanent members of the Security Council. By the end of 1972, 46 states, including the P.R.C.—a permanent member of the Security Council—had ratified the

Charter amendment. With the establishment of the expanded sessional committees, a new atmosphere was created at ECOSOC attributable, in great measure, to the wider participation of a variety of groups and subgroups.

The Committee on Review and Appraisal held its first session in Geneva June 26–29, 1972. The session was marked by vigorous efforts on the part of opponents of the reform package to reopen problems discussed at the 51st ECOSOC in order to enhance the position of UNCTAD in the review and appraisal process in the belief that that body would be more sympathetic to the aspirations of the developing countries. These efforts were rejected in the Committee discussions, and ECOSOC reaffirmed the primacy of its role at its 53d session.

Although ECOSOC did not during 1972 agree on any further measures for institutional reform of its subsidiary bodies, it unanimously adopted a resolution on July 28 establishing a working group to meet for 10 days in early 1973 to review the terms of reference of all ECOSOC committees, commissions, and other subsidiary bodies to consider whether

some might be eliminated and whether they might meet less frequently. In addition, ECOSOC adopted a series of measures to improve and expedite its working methods by *inter alia* (1) reasserting the desirability of subsidiary commissions and committees meeting no oftener than biennially, (2) setting firm dates for its two annual meetings and requiring the subsidiary bodies to conform to this schedule, (3) calling for the strict enforcement of the 6-weeks rule on advance circulation of documents by the Secretariat (or the automatic dropping of the item from the agenda), and (4) providing for the convening of meetings when only one-fourth of the membership is present rather than waiting for a quorum.

Inter-Agency Coordination

The UN system is making substantial progress toward implementing a concept of coordination founded on the precepts set forth in 1966 by the Committee of 14.¹ The ACC,² in its report to the 53d ECOSOC, stated that coordination is "best achieved when it is a built-in part of substantive activities at each stage of program planning and implementation." Based on an ECOSOC-developed common format for reporting expenditures of the UN system on programs, several specialized agencies have adopted new formats for their planning, programming, and budgeting systems (PPBS).

¹ *Ad Hoc* Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, established by the 20th General Assembly in 1965.

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

Program Budgeting

The United Nations itself, the last of the major organizations still employing an object-of-expenditure budgetary process, decided at the 27th General Assembly on December 19 by a recorded vote of 128 (U.S.) to 0, with no abstentions, to change to a program format of budget presentation, in which all expenditures will be expressed in relation to program activities, and to shift to biennial budgeting, on an experimental basis, beginning with 1974-75. This should point the way to the development of a common budgetary system for the entire UN system. Specialized agencies and other UN organizations should now be able to improve their methods of assuring the elimination of duplicating or overlapping activities by the direct comparability of programs. In other significant action during the year, WHO engaged in a thorough review of its program classification structure and decided to move in 1975 from the organizational unit type presentation to a true PPBS, and the UNESCO 17th General Conference called upon its secretariat to begin an intensive review of the mechanism employed in setting long-term objectives, with the goal of improving its planning, programming, and budgeting efforts.

Information Retrieval and Evaluation

A number of UN groups undertook projects to assist the UN family in both program planning and evaluation. Through the medium of the Inter-Organization Board for Information Systems and Related Activities (IOB), the United Nations and its affiliated organizations began work

on a register of projects and programs undertaken by all the agencies. When completed the register will provide each of the organizations and member governments with rapid access to information from computerized sources. In a related move, a working group of the Statistical Commission began establishing an index of statistical data banks in the various organizations. Finally, the ACC Study Group on Evaluation set up preliminary guidelines on techniques for evaluating the effectiveness of UN system programs. At the 53d ECOSOC the United States strongly encouraged continuation of the group's efforts to achieve compatible evaluation methods for the various agencies.

ECOSOC began in 1972 a new way of reviewing the activities of the specialized agencies. In prior years it had attempted to review the activities of all agencies each year, but the 51st ECOSOC in 1971 called instead for scheduled in-depth reviews of a limited number each year with the remaining receiving more cursory examinations. The first two organizations to be reviewed in depth were WHO and WMO; the ILO, UNESCO, and IMCO were scheduled for 1973. One of the results of the in-depth review was ECOSOC's adoption on July 28, by a vote of 20 (U.S.) to 0, with 3 abstentions, of a resolution sponsored by the United States that expressed the Council's desire to be assured that programs undertaken in the UN system were responsive *inter alia* to the goals of the International Development Strategy for the Second UN Development Decade. It invited the various organizations concerned to continue to

pursue reviews of their programs, particularly those initiated more than 10 years ago, to ascertain their continued pertinency and to report back to ECOSOC the results of such reviews.

Joint Inspection Unit

On November 24, the 27th General Assembly adopted without objection a resolution recommended by its Fifth Committee that decided to continue the Joint Inspection Unit¹ in its present form for 4 years beyond December 31, 1973. This action followed an extensive discussion in the Committee on the future of the Unit, based in part on a paper submitted by the United States setting forth suggestions for strengthening inspection and evaluation within the UN system. The U.S. proposals were not put to a vote at this session, but the Assembly decided to evaluate the Unit's work in 1976 at its 31st session in conjunction with an overall review of "the machinery of the United Nations and of its system for administrative and budgetary control, investigation and coordination." Meanwhile the United States hopes that some of its proposed reforms will be implemented by the Unit itself.

¹ 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. The original U.S. member of the Unit, Robert Macy, retired in 1972 and was replaced by Albert F. Bender, Jr., formerly a member of the U.S. Mission to the United Nations and U.S. member on the ACABQ.

Specialized Agencies and the IAEA

World Bank Group

INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION

The IBRD's membership rose to 122 in 1972 with the addition of Romania, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, and Bangladesh, and IDA's membership rose to 111 with the addition of Trinidad and Tobago, Fiji, Bangladesh, and Equatorial Guinea.

The IBRD approved 72 loans totaling \$2 billion in 39 countries in fiscal year 1972, and the IDA extended 68 credits totaling \$1 billion to 38 countries. For the first time, the Bank's disbursements exceeded \$1 billion for a single year. IDA disbursed \$261 million in fiscal 1972.

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 is also continuing to broaden the scope of its development assistance. Lending has increased for education, industry, population planning, and tourism, and in 1972 the first loans were made for urban development in Senegal and Turkey.

The Bank continued in 1972 to seek solutions for such problems of developing countries as unemployment and debts and to look for projects which would benefit the poorest 40 percent of their population. It analyzed the effects of the world currency realignments on their exports,

debts, and import capacity. In addition, the Executive Directors considered and began implementing a series of policy papers prepared by the IBRD staff on a wide range of issues, including agriculture, employment, urban problems, and industrial policy for the developing countries. These papers form a coherent basis for evaluating the Bank's activities in the sectors covered.

The United States continued to be the largest donor in the IBRD, with subscriptions amounting to approximately one-fourth of the Bank's total. The United States is also the largest contributor to IDA, having provided some 40 percent of the total contributed by donor countries.

The IBRD also uses borrowings in the international capital market for its financial resources. Borrowings continued to increase in fiscal 1972, aggregating \$1.7 billion equivalent compared to \$1.4 billion in 1971. Only \$425 million of this total was borrowed in the United States. The remaining \$1.3 billion was borrowed in Western Europe, Japan, and Kuwait. On the other hand, IDA depends on contributions from its members and on the annual allocation of a share in the IBRD profits. The third replenishment of IDA, calling for annual contributions of approximately \$800 million (1966 dollars) during FY 1972-74, became effective when the United States subscribed its share in September 1972.

Development lending by the IBRD and IDA combined in fiscal year

1972 focused on the following principal areas:

<i>Agriculture</i>		
No. of Loans		36
No. of Countries		27
Amount (\$Millions)		436.3
<i>Education</i>		
No. of Loans		14
No. of Countries		14
Amount (\$Millions)		180.4
<i>Telecommunications</i>		
No. of Loans		6
No. of Countries		6
Amount (\$Millions)		195.5
<i>Electric Power</i>		
No. of Loans		14
No. of Countries		14
Amount (\$Millions)		520.6
<i>Transportation</i>		
No. of Loans		32
No. of Countries		26
Amount (\$Millions)		780.2
<i>Development Finance Companies</i>		
No. of Loans		15
No. of Countries		15
Amount (\$Millions)		251.5
<i>Industry</i>		
No. of Loans		8
No. of Countries		3
Amount (\$Millions)		372.0

INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CORPORATION

With the accession in 1972 of Lesotho, IFC's membership rose to 97. 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.

Its total subscriptions are \$107.2 million. The United States has subscribed \$35.2 million, 32.8 percent

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 1972, IFC borrowed \$60 million from the IBRD and received \$39.8 million from sales of commitments.

IFC investment commitments totaled \$115.9 million in fiscal 1972, of which \$100.5 million and \$15.1 million were for loans and equity investments respectively. (Exchange rate adjustments on existing commitments increased the total by \$0.3 million.) Some of the notable investments during the year were for pulp and paper mills in Iran and Argentina, a cement plant in Brazil, development of a nickel mine in the Philippines, and an experimental agricultural project in Senegal.

International Monetary Fund

Bahrain, Bangladesh, Qatar, Romania, and the United Arab Emirates joined the IMF during the year, increasing the membership to 125 with total quotas of 29.2 measured in billions of Special Drawing Rights (SDRs).¹ The U.S. quota of 6.7 in billions of SDRs remained unchanged.

The IMF continued during 1972 to pursue its basic objectives of promoting international monetary cooperation; promoting exchange and monetary stability; and providing, under appropriate conditions, financial assistance to its member countries with temporary balance of payments problems.

On December 18, 1971, immediately following the Smithsonian nego-

¹ An SDR equals the gold content of one 1944 U.S. dollar.

tiation of an exchange rate realignment among the currencies of major industrial countries, the IMF adopted a decision providing for the use by member countries of "Central Rates" (in lieu of par values) as a means of specifying an internationally recognized reference rate of exchange, and for optional wider margins of market fluctuation of exchange rates up to 2.25 percent from reference rates in lieu of the 1 percent specified in the IMF Articles of Agreement. This decision furnished an orderly and integrated set of specifications around which member countries could organize their exchange rate decisions in the period that followed, and provided a satisfactory framework for the IMF itself to provide advice to members with respect to exchange rate matters and to exercise appropriate international surveillance over the exchange rate measures taken by members in the difficult and sometimes uncertain circumstances prevailing.

During the year SDR 1.6 billion was drawn, or borrowed, from the IMF by 27 member countries, including SDR 200 million by the United States. Repurchases, or repayments, were made by 40 members in the amount of SDR 1.3 billion; the United States was not among the countries repaying.

Under a 3-year decision made in 1969, the IMF issued and allocated to 115 members that were also participants in the Special Drawing Account 2.9 billion SDRs on January 1, 1972. Total issuance of SDRs for the 3 years 1970-72 was SDR 9.3 billion. In 1972, 1.5 billion of the outstanding SDRs were used by participants in a variety of international financial transactions provided for by the provisions governing SDRs, bringing to 3.7 billion the aggregate use of SDRs since the system began.

In addition, the IMF in 1972 intensified its periodic consultations with members on their economic and

financial policies from the viewpoint of their effect on the balance of payments and exchange rates of members. Further, the IMF's provision of technical assistance and training for members, in the fields of central banking, fiscal affairs, financial policy analysis, and statistics, was considerably expanded and strengthened during the year, and these activities now constitute a substantial element of the IMF's overall program of work.

COMMITTEE OF 20

In a vote without meeting, the Governors of the IMF adopted a resolution effective July 26, 1972, to establish a new Committee on Reform of the International Monetary System and Related Issues (Committee of 20). The Committee consists of representatives of both developed and developing countries.

The terms of reference provide that the Committee will advise and make recommendations to the Board of Governors on all aspects of the reform of the international monetary system, including amendments of the IMF Articles of Agreement, and such other issues as the Board of Governors may refer to it from time to time. The Committee will give full attention to existing or prospective arrangements among countries that affect the international monetary system, including those involving international trade, the flow of capital, investment, and development assistance, and that could affect attainment of the IMF purposes under its present or amended Articles. The United States has made clear in a variety of forums its belief that monetary reform cannot be considered in a narrow context, and it considers the Committee's terms of reference adequate to meet U.S. objectives for a comprehensive review of the interrelations between monetary, trade, and other matters.

The Committee's members were chosen by the 20 member-country constituencies that select the 20 Executive Directors of the Fund. (The United States¹ and the four other countries with the largest quotas are represented individually; the other 15 directors are chosen by groups presently consisting of from 3 to 18 nations each.) The Committee members are Governors of the Fund, ministers, or others of comparable rank. Each Committee member was authorized to appoint not more than two Associates and not more than two Deputies.² The Deputies meet separately as necessary to consider detailed aspects of reform and to prepare the work of the Committee itself.

The Committee of 20 and the Deputies held their organizational meetings on September 28 and 29 respectively during the annual IMF meeting in Washington, D.C. At that time, Ali Wardhana, Finance Minister of Indonesia, was elected chairman of the Committee and C. Jeremy Morse, formerly an Executive Director of the Bank of England, was selected chairman of the Deputies on a full-time basis. Mr. Morse was also joined by four vice-chairmen of the Deputies to assist him in carrying forward the work.

U.S. PROPOSALS

On September 26 Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz presented to the annual meeting of the IMF Governors comprehensive U.S. pro-

¹ The U.S. member of the Committee is Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz, who is U.S. Governor in the IMF.

² The U.S. Associates are Arthur F. Burns, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System and Paul A. Volcker, Under Secretary for Monetary Affairs of the U.S. Treasury. The U.S. Deputies are Mr. Volcker and J. Dewey Daane, member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.

posals for reform of the international monetary system. The proposals were presented not as a blueprint for action but as principles representing, in the U.S. view, the best interests of all parties. Secretary Shultz discussed six basic principles underlying monetary reform which already commanded widespread support.

First, there is a mutual interest in encouraging freer trade in goods and services and the flow of capital to the places where it can contribute most to economic growth.

Second, there is a need to develop a common code of conduct to protect and strengthen the fabric of a free and open international economic order. He noted that such basic rules as "no competitive devaluation" and "most-favored-nation" treatment have served well, but he considered that they and others need to be reaffirmed, supplemented, and made applicable to today's conditions.

Third, in shaping this code there is a need for clear disciplines and standards of behavior to guide the international adjustment process, a crucial gap in the previous system.

Fourth, while insisting on the need for adjustment there should still be considerable flexibility left to national governments in their choice among adjustment instruments. Mr. Shultz said that the United States shared the widespread belief that the exchange rate system must be more flexible, but he stressed that exchange rates were not the only instrument of adjustment policy nor, in specific instances, necessarily the most desirable.

Fifth, because the monetary and trading systems are an interrelated complex, the nations must seek to build in incentives for trade liberalization while working to reform monetary rules.

Sixth, and perhaps most fundamental, he stressed that any stable and well-functioning international

monetary system must rest upon sound policies to promote domestic growth and price stability in the major countries.

Secretary Shultz supplemented these general principles with specific and interrelated suggestions on ways to embody the principles in a workable international agreement. These included suggestions regarding the future exchange rate regime; the reserve mechanism, based on an enhanced role for the SDR; guidelines for the balance of payments adjustment process in which the level, trend, and distribution of reserves would play a central operational role so that countries with reserve gains would be involved as well as those with reserve losses; and directing the adjustment process toward encouraging freer trade and more open capital markets. He stressed the U.S. view that the new monetary rules would need to be placed under the guardianship of a suitably altered IMF which would have to be prepared to assume an even more critical role in the world economy.

SECOND MEETING OF THE DEPUTIES

A second meeting of the Deputies was held in Washington November 27-29 to begin substantive discussions on the international balance of payments adjustment process and to plan the work of the Committee.

At this meeting the Deputies agreed on a proposed program of work to be presented to the Committee for its approval. The Deputies also held a general exchange of views on international monetary reform, as well as on particularly important topic areas for the reform. Under the latter heading, initial discussion was held concerning the balance of payments adjustment process, including the central question of how to determine when a country should be expected

to initiate adjustment action and how (e.g., by incentives or sanctions) to assure that adjustment is undertaken when needed. Included in this discussion was the role of the exchange rate mechanism in the adjustment process.

As a contribution to the discussion of the adjustment process, the U.S. Deputies made available a memorandum which elaborated the U.S. proposal, contained in Secretary Shultz' address of September 26, for establishing a system in which nations' reserve movements would serve as quantitative indicators to guide the balance of payments adjustment process.¹

Food and Agriculture Organization

FAO's objectives are to raise levels of nutrition, to improve agricultural production, and to stimulate more effective distribution and utilization of food and agricultural products. These objectives are fully consistent with U.S. agricultural policies. With 125 member states, FAO continues to represent the best tradition of sovereign nations concerting for the achievement of common goals. FAO's task became more urgent in 1972 when, for the second year in a row, due primarily to bad weather, the developing regions of the world fell short of UN targets for increased production. The densely populated East Asian region actually suffered a decline in food production.

In 1972 the United States participated in meetings of the FAO Council

¹The memorandum later became a Supplement to Chapter 5 of the Annual Report of the Council of Economic Advisers, which, together with the Economic Report of the President, was published in Jan. 1973.

and the standing committees on Agriculture, Forestry, Fisheries, Commodity Problems, and Constitutional and Legal Matters; in the five regional conferences; and in a variety of technical conferences, meetings, and seminars. U.S. experts also helped FAO plan and evaluate various economic, technical training, and other activities designed to further both U.S. and other country development objectives. Increasingly close relations developed during the year between bilateral U.S. assistance programs and FAO programs in similar fields which helped maximize the effectiveness of both.

DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH

The FAO has been instrumental in sponsoring vital research on problems of agricultural development. Several years ago, together with the IBRD and UNDP, it supported the establishment of four major international agricultural research centers in developing countries. This was followed by the establishment in 1972 of the World Consultative Group in Agricultural Research, with headquarters in Washington, to coordinate international support for these research centers with a view to solving problems inhibiting agricultural development. In addition to the FAO, IBRD, and UNDP, other members of the Group are the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations, most of the nations of Western Europe and North America, Australia, and Japan. FAO provides the secretariat for the Group's Technical Assistance Committee (TAC) which reviews and makes recommendations on proposed research activities. AID participates in the Group and the TAC on behalf of the U.S. Government. During 1972 the Group decided to establish two additional research institutes. The establishment of the Group and its

network of research centers is one of the most important achievements in international cooperation in agriculture in recent years.

DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

FAO's development assistance continued to expand in 1972 through programs financed largely outside its regular budget. Approximately three-fourths of its funds from all sources were spent on field activities, and FAO is the leading executing agency for the UNDP. During 1972 FAO spent approximately \$86 million in UNDP funds on about 400 large-scale and 1,000 small-scale projects in 110 countries and territories. The total value of UNDP projects being executed by FAO, including both UNDP funds and government counterpart contributions, was \$1.083 billion. The field programs were carried out by 2,272 experts backed up by 1,235 professionals at FAO Headquarters in Rome.

Agricultural field assistance programs covered the full range of FAO's professional interests. Projects, courses, seminars, and fellowships were all utilized in such disciplines as animal production, veterinary medicine, development of high-yielding grains, seed improvement, water management, nutrition, food processing and marketing, agricultural credit institutions, reforestation, soil conservation, and fisheries development. These activities were carried out in cooperation with bilateral aid programs; other UN agencies, such as IAEA, IBRD, and WHO; regional development banks; and philanthropic groups such as the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations.

In addition to its extensive field program, FAO carried out headquarters-based programs which provided direct services to all countries, developed as well as developing.

These services, financed from FAO's assessed budget, provided basic economic, statistical, and technical information to all member governments. The following describes some of the most important.

AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT

Agricultural adjustment is designed to remove impediments to the efficient production and distribution of agricultural products. A major study on this problem served as the principal basis for discussion at FAO's Regional Conference for Europe in 1972. FAO is seeking to identify major problem areas and to recommend possible solutions for consideration by member states. Its work is helpful to the United States in its efforts to gain improved access to foreign markets for U.S. agricultural exports.

COMMODITY TRADE

During 1972 the FAO Committee on Commodity Problems and its specific commodity subgroups provided market information on specific products. Commodity production and trade statistics compiled by FAO are used by the United States and others in developing trade policies and programs. U.S. industry representatives participated actively in meetings of these groups during the year.

FOOD STANDARDS

The Codex Alimentarius Commission, the plenary body of the FAO/WHO Food Standards Program, and its technical committees continued their work of developing international standards to protect health, harmonize national food legislation, and insure fair practices in the food trade. Over 74 international food standards and seven codes of hygienic practice have so far been adopted concerning, *inter alia*, pesti-

cide residue tolerances, labeling of prepackaged foods, and such specific foods as edible fats and oils, processed fruits and vegetables, sugars, and fishery products. The Commission is currently working on about 200 additional standards and codes, and approximately 500 food additives have been toxicologically examined. A joint FAO/WHO Committee of Government Experts has drawn up a Code of Principles for milk and milk products, so far adopted by 71 countries, and standards for the principal milk products, accepted by 45 to 65 countries, depending on the product. At the end of 1972, 99 countries, including the United States, were participating in the Commission.

PLANT PROTECTION

FAO sponsored an International Plant Protection Convention¹ designed to standardize the various quarantine procedures and regulations of all nations and to facilitate a concerted attack on the spread of economically ruinous plant diseases. The United States became a party to the Convention in 1972. This will strengthen protection for U.S. agriculture by providing better information on pest conditions in other countries and by providing the United States with a stronger voice in international plant quarantine matters.

STATISTICAL ACTIVITIES

The production of international agricultural statistics continued in 1972 to be one of FAO's most valuable and dependable contributions to member governments. The decennial world census of agriculture is a prime example. By the end of the

¹ Done at Rome Dec. 6, 1951; entered into force for the United States Aug. 18, 1972. There were 64 parties to the convention at the end of 1972.

year, 70 countries had completed their agricultural censuses.

In order to improve the quality and availability of its statistics on food and agricultural commodities, FAO established during the year a statistical framework of interlinked computer storage and processing of the data. The collection, compilation, and estimation of statistics on production, trade, and utilization of crops; livestock numbers; and livestock products have been oriented on a country basis. FAO is cooperating with other UN organizations in the preparation of a study on "World Comprehensive Demographic Projects as Assessed in 1968-1971." It also began long-term projections of agricultural population and labor force for the period 1970-2000.

POPULATION

FAO is deeply concerned with the UN population program because problems resulting from the population explosion in developing countries are inseparable from the whole subject of agricultural development. FAO projects financed by the UN Fund for Population Activities include an East African demonstration project in Planning for Better Family Living; country studies on food and population questions; seminars, consultations, and workshops on population and agricultural programs; and the provision of statistical and other studies on population questions. A special post has been created in FAO to coordinate population activities throughout the Organization.

ENVIRONMENT

Of the 109 substantive recommendations of the Action Plan adopted at the Stockholm Conference on the Environment, 36 are addressed to FAO directly or in conjunction with other organizations. Major areas of

concern include soils, physical planning of rural areas, conservation of genetic resources, environmental aspects of livestock management, pest control, recycling agricultural wastes, forest resources and management, forest fires and tree diseases, wildlife, and protection of aquatic resources including regional and global institutional management machinery. All of these are areas of continuing concern to FAO.

FISHERIES

FAO's Committee on Fisheries is the leading intergovernmental body dealing with fisheries matters worldwide.

The Committee's role in handling problems of fisheries management was a key topic during its 1972 session. One of the great obstacles to fisheries development is the lack of adequate education and training facilities. In view of this, FAO convened in November 1972 an Expert Consultation on Fishery Education and Training. Several other conferences and seminars were also held during the year, including a Seminar on the Design and Construction of Ferro-Cement Fishing Vessels, in New Zealand; a meeting of the Committee for Inland Fisheries of Africa, in Fort Lamy, Chad; the third session of the Indian Ocean Fishery Commission; the 15th session of the Indo-Pacific Fisheries Council; and the third session of the FAO Fishery Committee for the Eastern Central Atlantic.

FORESTRY

During 1972 FAO's Forestry Department placed increasing emphasis on building and strengthening forestry institutions and, in connection with its forest inventory, on management and silviculture activities with respect to tropical forests. This re-

flected an increasing interest on the part of developing countries in more effectively managing and utilizing their forest resources. Special attention was also given to methods of control of forest fires. In May, one of FAO's regional bodies, the North American Forestry Commission, sponsored an international symposium on forest fires in relation to environmental protection, in Denver, Colorado.

Other international consultations included a meeting of FAO's Committee on Forestry and a series of seminars and courses held for senior members of forest services and the staffs of forestry schools in Africa and Asia. Officials from 16 countries in the Near East and Asia attended an FAO seminar on forestry development and planning. In addition, in October FAO officials made a major contribution to the success of the Seventh World Forestry Congress, organized by the government of Argentina, in Buenos Aires.

PUBLICATIONS

FAO continues to be the world's leading publisher of material relating to international aspects of agriculture, fisheries, and forestry. Major periodicals issued during 1972 included the "Production Yearbook," the "Trade Yearbook," and the "State of Food and Agriculture." All these are widely used in the United States. In addition, a considerable number of more specialized periodical and nonperiodic publications were issued and made available to member states under a quota system. The U.S. quota of all priced FAO publications is sufficient to permit distribution to the libraries in all land-grant colleges and universities, as well as to officials of the government.

Sponsored jointly by FAO and the United Nations, the WFP began in 1963 as an experiment in the distribution of surplus food through multilateral channels to countries for use in development activities. It was put on a continuing basis in 1965 for "as long as multilateral food aid is found to be feasible and desirable." The United States played a major role in creating the WFP and in encouraging other nations to provide resources to it.

The WFP provides food at the request of governments to assist in economic and social development projects and to meet emergency situations such as the December 1972 earthquake disaster in Nicaragua. Priority is given to feeding mothers and children and to labor-intensive and community development projects. The WFP is unique among development assistance programs in providing benefits directly to the people. It thus helps solve the problems of hunger and malnutrition without the inflationary pressures which financial aid sometimes produces.

During the WFP's first decade the number of contributing nations has grown from 29 to 105 and the level of pledges has increased from \$85 million for the initial 3 years to \$288 million pledged during 1972 for the 1973-74 biennium. Total pledges since the program's inception including commodities, cash, and services amount to over a billion dollars. From its inception through December 31, 1972, the WFP approved some 699 projects in 98 countries involving commitments of \$1.3 billion. Included in this total is \$121.8 million for 159 emergency operations.

Through 1971 the United States agreed to match the commodity contributions of all governments up to the target level set by the WFP for

each of the pledge periods. In January 1972, because of the increased capacity of other nations to contribute and to emphasize the multilateral nature of the WFP, the United States reduced its matching ratio for the 1973-74 pledge period to 40 percent. In 1972 it pledged up to \$136 million including up to \$93 million in commodities on the matching basis, \$40 million for ocean transport, and \$3 million cash toward meeting the administrative expenses of the Program.

International Labor Organization

Two new members, Bangladesh and the United Arab Emirates, were admitted during 1972, raising the total membership to 123.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE

The International Labor Conference is the standard-setting body of the ILO. Each member state has the right to be represented by a tripartite delegation of one worker, one employer, and two government delegates, each having a separate vote. The 57th session, held in Geneva June 7-27, 1972, was attended by some 1,200 representatives of 112 member countries. The Conference was shortened to 15 working days, 2 days less than originally scheduled, as an experiment in effecting economies in the conduct of meetings. Dr. Gerard Veldkamp, former Minister of Labor and Public Health of the Netherlands, was elected President of the Conference.

The Conference adopted six substantive resolutions on (1) the contribution of the ILO to the protection and enhancement of the environment related to work; (2) the program of industrial activities of the ILO; (3) conditions and equality of

treatment of migrant workers; (4) women workers; (5) the policy of colonial oppression, racial discrimination and violation of trade union rights pursued by Portugal in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea (Bissau); and (6) labor and social implications of automation and other technological developments. Procedural resolutions were also adopted restoring the right to vote to Bolivia and Yemen (San'a) after both members undertook to make a scheduled repayment of arrears.

Although no new international labor standards were adopted at this Conference, technical committees discussed problems relating to the minimum age for employment, and the social repercussions of new methods of cargo handling on docks. The decision was made to place both items on the agenda of the 58th International Labor Conference in June 1973 for the adoption of standards.

This Conference was noteworthy because of the increased determination of members and Conference officials to enforce adherence to accepted parliamentary standards of debate. The U.S. position—that debate in the Conference should be related to issues before the Conference, and should not be allowed to degenerate into irrelevant political attack—clearly enjoyed increased support. Conference officials exercised stricter control over debate than they had in recent years, interrupting speakers to remind them of their obligation to observe parliamentary restrictions on language and denying the rostrum to them when they refused to comply. Vigorous protests from the socialist countries were overridden as Conference officials firmly held to their positions.

The Conference also adopted an amendment to the ILO Constitution increasing the size of the Governing Body from 48 to 56. The amendment must be ratified by two-thirds of the

members of the ILO, including 5 of the 10 states of chief industrial importance, before becoming effective. The eight new seats would be distributed on the basis of four to governments, two to workers, and two to employers.

GOVERNING BODY

The ILO Governing Body consists of 24 government members—14 elected and 10¹ 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 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 importance are excluded from the government electoral college.

A new Governing Body was elected by the 57th Conference to serve for the period 1972–75. The newly elected government members were: Argentina, Australia, Bulgaria, Dahomey, Gabon, Ghana, Iran, Jamaica, Jordan, Mexico, Morocco, Panama, Poland, and Uganda. At its first session, the new Governing Body elected John Mainwaring, Director of International Labor Affairs in the Canadian Department of Labor, to serve as Chairman for the 1972–73 year.

The Governing Body met four times in 1972. During the first three meetings the question of the U.S. arrears overshadowed most of the discussions, but in the interim between the third and fourth, the United States made two payments totaling \$11,692,580, or somewhat over one-half of the then due and overdue amount. This enabled the Director

¹ Canada, China, France, Federal Republic of Germany, India, Italy, Japan, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States.

General to withdraw a proposal for a supplemental assessment intended to compensate for the effects of the currency revaluations, and he was able to avoid a further reduction in staff.

The Governing Body examined three in-depth reviews of major fields of ILO activity: social security, worker education, and general conditions of work. These reviews were a response to the growing need for better tools to use in analyzing the effectiveness of ILO programs so that the work of the organization can be more effectively planned. The reviews give a history of ILO action in a given field, together with a description of current activity and an outline of the problems to be faced in the future. A revision of the ILO's long-term plan, first drafted in 1970, was also examined. The long-term plan is envisaged as a 6-year forecast showing the expected areas of major activity during that period. Debate indicated that the members wanted the plan amplified to give greater attention to fixing priorities among the various programs, with the closest estimation possible of the financial implications.

Although the Governing Body had, on November 16, 1971, declared the P.R.C. to be the representative of China in the ILO, the P.R.C. did not take any part in ILO activities during 1972.

UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

During 1972 Bangladesh, Oman, the United Arab Emirates, and the German Democratic Republic joined UNESCO; Bahrain and Qatar changed from associate to full members; and Portugal withdrew, bring-

ing the membership by the end of the year to 130 full and 1 associate members.

17TH GENERAL CONFERENCE

UNESCO's General Conference, which meets biennially to approve the program and budget, held its 17th session in Paris, October 17–November 21, 1972. It approved a program for 1973–74 that will continue to emphasize education and the natural sciences, and adopted a budget for the biennium of \$119,954,000. The U.S. assessed contribution will be \$15,504,952 per year, compared with \$12,113,700 in 1972. The United States, along with 12 other member states, voted against the budget because it considered the proposed level, which is an increase of 33.4 percent over that of the 1971–72 biennium, unjustifiably high.

The Conference also decided to enlarge the Executive Board from 34 to 40 members and to reduce the term of office of Board members from 6 to 4 years. Members are elected from regional groupings among UNESCO's member states. The United States continued to be a member of the Board.

Both the Executive Board, which met three times during the year, and the Conference took a number of significant program actions which will be described in the appropriate substantive sections below. In addition, other aspects of UNESCO's wide-ranging program are discussed in other parts of this report. (See sections on Outer Space and Drug Abuse Control.)

EDUCATION

The International Commission on the Development of Education, established by UNESCO in 1971 to analyze trends in world education, concluded its work and submitted to the

Director General a lengthy report which has been published under the title "Learning To Be: The World of Education, Today and Tomorrow." Based on visits to 23 countries by a seven-man team that included Dr. Champion Ward, Vice President of the Ford Foundation, and 75 special reports prepared by international experts, the report diagnoses the weaknesses of education today and considers both different cultural settings and changing conditions. Its recommendations are designed to help developing countries establish priorities for their own educational systems. They will also help to define priorities and coordinate the approaches of UN funding agencies and UNESCO toward more effective cooperation in reaching the targets of the Second Development Decade. The 17th General Conference approved for the next biennium an education program in line with the Commission's recommendations. The United States and most other delegations expressed general agreement with this program.

In preparation for its participation in UNESCO's Third World Conference on Adult Education, held in Tokyo, July 25–August 7, 1972, the United States organized a national planning committee with representatives of major adult education organizations, interested government agencies, and the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO. This committee made suggestions for the conference agenda and assembled basic information on the present status and scope of adult education in this country. Its special report, "Perspectives of Adult Education in the United States and a Perspective for the Future," was distributed to conference delegates. The U.S. planning committee also responded to the UNESCO world survey on trends and developments in adult education

by providing a background paper for the conference.

Among its resolutions, the conference proposed that adult education be recognized as a lifelong process and that governments take legislative and other measures to support this concept. UNESCO was asked to assist these developments in two ways, first by calling regional and international conferences to encourage an exchange of information and experience, and second, by sponsoring research on problems related to lifelong learning.

WORLD HERITAGE CONVENTION

One of UNESCO's most significant accomplishments of the year was both scientific—in that it dealt with environment—and cultural. On November 16, by a vote of 75 (U.S.) to 1, with 17 abstentions, the 17th General Conference adopted the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. The Convention was signed by the President of the General Conference and the Director General on November 23 and will come into force 3 months after the deposit of the 20th instrument of ratification, acceptance, or accession.

The United States took a leading part in the work both of the special committee of governmental experts which met in Paris April 17–28 to prepare the draft convention, and of the General Conference.

In its final form the Convention represented the fulfillment of a proposal contained in President Nixon's environmental message to Congress on February 8, 1971, in which he directed

the Secretary of the Interior, in coordination with the Council on Environmental Quality, and under the foreign policy guidance of the Secretary of State, to develop initiatives for presentation in appropriate international forums to further the objective of a World Heritage Trust.

The Convention requires parties to take appropriate actions to restore and preserve cultural sites and natural areas within their own territories which may have universal significance to mankind, and to develop the scientific and financial resources necessary to protect them from dangers of any sort. It further provides for a World Heritage Committee within UNESCO's framework, composed initially of representatives of 15 states parties to the Convention, to compile (1) a World Heritage List of cultural and natural sites of universal value, drawn from inventories submitted by the parties; and (2) a List of World Heritage in Danger comprised of those sites which require major assistance to avert immediate manmade or natural threats. The Convention also establishes a World Heritage Fund to be utilized by the Committee to provide international assistance for the restoration and protection of sites on the World Heritage List. It provides for either voluntary or compulsory contributions by parties and permits each party, at the time of ratification, to declare whether it will accept the obligation to make compulsory contributions amounting to 1 percent of its contribution to the regular budget of UNESCO.

The World Heritage Committee is to be assisted in its work by a secretariat appointed by the UNESCO Director General and by such expert bodies as the International Center for the Study of the Preservation and the Restoration of Cultural Property, the International Council of Monuments and Sites, and the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources.

NATURAL SCIENCES

After several years of preparation in which the United States was actively involved, the UNESCO Conference in 1972 adopted proposals

for establishing a World System of Scientific and Technical Information—UNISIST—to be a catalyst for promoting exchange of information through the voluntary linking up of information systems and other forms of stored knowledge. In a related move, the Conference also approved the launching of an international geological correlation program in the 1973–1974 biennium so that there can be more effective progress in exploring the world's natural resources.

UNESCO's environmental and ecological program, "Man and the Biosphere" (MAB) made good progress during 1972. In response to a decision taken in November 1971 at the first session of MAB's International Coordinating Council, UNESCO convened six *ad hoc* panels of experts to elaborate the scientific content of MAB projects and to consider methodologies that might be recommended for implementation. Four of the panels pertained to specific project themes. The other two, applicable to all projects, dealt with systems and modelling approaches and the educational and training activities which are to be promoted under MAB. In addition, the MAB Bureau met in June and December to assess progress and to prepare for the next session of the Council. The United States, which plays an active role in this program, is a member of both the Council and the Bureau; American scientists participated on all six of the expert panels.

The 17th General Conference endorsed for MAB 13 international research themes including, *inter alia*, the effect of human activities on grazing lands, arid zones, marshlands, and mountains; energy utilization; effects of engineering works; and perception of environmental quality.

The United States is a member of the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission's 26-state Work-

ing Group for International Oceanographic Data Exchange. Although between biennial sessions, the members, by means of *ad hoc* groups and task teams produced a number of accomplishments during the year. They (1) published an inventory of oceanographic research and survey vessel activities among IOC member nations; (2) completed the first draft of standardized formats for exchange of marine geological and geophysical data, instrumentally recorded wave data, and marine biological data; (3) completed a review of satellite, buoy, and continuously recording instrument technology as related to international data exchange; (4) prepared a list of pollution data amenable to documentation, automation, and international exchange; (5) completed, in response to recommendations of the Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment, a review of pollution information and data activities carried out by the IOC, WMO, FAO, IAEA, and IMCO; and (6) completed a draft proposal on the relationships among world data centers, national oceanographic data centers, regional data centers, and national agencies as related to a global network of oceanographic data exchange.

CULTURE AND COMMUNICATIONS

In accordance with a resolution adopted by its General Conference in 1970, UNESCO organized a ministerial level Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies in Europe which was held in Helsinki in June 1972. Members from both East and West Europe attended; the United States was represented by an observer delegation. Discussion topics ranged from cultural policy trends within individual states to the bases and prospects for cultural cooperation between European members and the rest of the world. The Conference

also took into account a proposed conference on security and cooperation in Europe, in which the United States has had a special interest, and recommended that European members preparing for this conference bear in mind the results of the Helsinki meeting and the contribution that cultural cooperation could make toward European security and mutual understanding.

The issue of Israeli archaeological excavations in Jerusalem was considered at two sessions of the UNESCO Executive Board because of the concern of the Arab States that such excavations were having an adverse effect on the preservation of the traditional and historic character of cultural properties in the city. The United States voted against a resolution in which the Board "reproves Israel's negative attitude" on this matter. The United States believed that in agreeing to receive a cultural expert to be appointed by UNESCO Israel had evidenced its good faith in complying with the provisions of the Hague Convention,¹ and that UNESCO's presence in Jerusalem might contribute to the solution of the situation.

U.S. publishers and libraries enthusiastically participated in UNESCO's International Book Year (IBY) in 1972. Virtually all UNESCO members took part in this project, which was designed to promote better understanding of the role of books in cross-cultural communication and to develop and implement that role more fully. In more than half the member states, including the United States, special national committees were created to coordinate IBY activities, many of which

are being continued in 1973 because of their success. These activities, part of the worldwide effort to expand the free flow of information and materials, generated increased support for libraries and focused public attention on both their needs and services. One of the highlights of IBY was a UNESCO-sponsored symposium on the theme of "Books in the service of peace, humanism and progress," held in Moscow in September. Papers were read by experts from 18 states, including a prominent American, Norman Cousins.

U.S. NATIONAL COMMISSION

The U.S. National Commission for UNESCO placed major emphasis during 1972 on activities in the fields of environment, population, drug abuse, and civic education. As a follow-up to the Stockholm Conference, the Commission organized the fourth in a series of major conferences on environmental education in Houston, Texas, in November. Some 400 persons, mainly from the southwest, took part. In cooperation with the National Park Service of the Department of the Interior, the Commission launched a new Students Toward Environment Education Program to stimulate environmental awareness among American high school students and to establish links between young Americans and their counterparts abroad. Over 500 high school students in the southeast and north-central United States have so far taken part in this program, which is supported by a private grant.

A \$40,000 grant from the General Service Foundation enabled the Commission to launch a 2-year population program in support of UNESCO's general efforts in this field. The program will draw on the resources of the private sector to assist other countries, particularly those in Latin

¹ Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, concluded at the Hague May 14, 1954; entered into force Aug. 7, 1956. The United States is not a party.

America and the Caribbean area, in solving their problems in this field, and it will focus attention in the United States on observance of the 1974 World Population Year.

In order to strengthen relations with nongovernmental organizations, the Commission (1) convened in April a conference for editors of journals of nongovernmental organizations in order to acquaint them with the work of UNESCO and U.S. involvement therein; (2) cosponsored in May with the National Conference of Christians and Jews a human rights conference in Las Cruces, New Mexico on the special problems of Spanish-speaking Americans; (3) helped organize the Fourth International Congress of the International Association of Theater for Children and Young People, held in June in Albany, New York, and Montreal, Canada; (4) cosponsored with the OAS and others, in Washington, D.C. in November, an Inter-American Seminar on Integrated Information Services of Libraries, Archives, and Documentation Centers in Latin America and the Caribbean; and (5) cooperated with the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the National Academy of Sciences in organizing a symposium in Washington in December on "Science and the UN System."

The Commission received over \$40,000 in grants from UNESCO to support American projects in the fields of education, science, and culture. These funds were used to (1) provide an international link to the "University Without Walls" project designed by a consortium of U.S. universities to develop alternative models for undergraduate education; (2) assist the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education in planning a 3-day conference in Kingston, Jamaica, on "Crisis and Change in Teacher Education"; (3) enable the American Library Association to

prepare a bibliography of books recommended for use in Latin American university libraries; (4) strengthen the marine archaeological laboratory capabilities of the Caribbean Research Institute at the College of the Virgin Islands; (5) provide two fellowships for Americans in cultural preservation and international education; and (6) organize a final meeting of IBY in New Paltz, New York. In connection with IBY, Commission member Sammy Davis, Jr., held a benefit concert at UNESCO Headquarters in the fall which netted \$30,000 for UNESCO's "Books for the Blind Program."

World Health Organization

Fiji, Bangladesh, and the United Arab Emirates joined in 1972 raising WHO's membership to 135 full and 2 associate members.

WORLD HEALTH ASSEMBLY

The 25th World Health Assembly took place in Geneva May 9-26, 1972, to review and establish world health policies, approve programs and budgets, and review past activities. The Assembly was attended by 129 of WHO's 137 members. Official observers from the United Nations; other specialized agencies; nongovernmental health, welfare, and environmental organizations having official relations with WHO; the Order of Malta; the League of Arab States; and the OAU were also present. In total over 500 delegates and observers attended the meeting. The Chairman of the U.S. delegation was Dr. Merlin K. DuVal, Assistant Secretary for Health and Scientific Affairs, Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

The Assembly adopted an effective working budget for calendar year

1973 of \$93,174,400, an increase of 8.3 percent over the revised 1972 budget of \$86,034,290. (The budget was later raised to \$96,682,900 to compensate for U.S. dollar devaluations.) The U.S. delegation, expressing concern over steadily rising budgets, voted against its adoption. It was nevertheless accepted by a vote of 97 to 8 (U.S.), with 5 abstentions. More than one-half of the increase was due to inflation and currency realignment costs.

The Assembly recognized the P.R.C. as the only legitimate representative of China in WHO and, at the insistence of some countries wishing to follow the pattern set in the UN General Assembly, expelled the Republic of China. The vote was 76 to 15 (U.S.), with 21 abstentions. The U.S. vote did not represent opposition to the admission of the P.R.C. but to the expulsion of the Republic of China.

The Assembly considered the following wide-ranging program matters: (1) the organization of community health services, with stress on research leading to the most efficient use of available health care services and personnel; (2) the training of national health personnel, centering largely on its suitability to actual conditions and delivery of health care services; (3) smallpox eradication; (4) malaria eradication; (5) water quality in international bodies of water, with emphasis on protection against pollution; (6) the quality, safety, and efficacy of drugs based on a comprehensive approach to insure highest standards and assistance to national health authorities through an international system of drug information; (7) drug dependence; and (8) medical research, with emphasis on cancer and cardiovascular diseases, epidemiological surveillance, data collection, and biomedical research.

The Chairman of the Executive Board, which carries out the highly important preliminary planning for the annual Assembly, was (for the period June 1971–May 1972) the U.S. Representative, Dr. S. Paul Ehrlich, Jr.

PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

WHO is concerned primarily with coordination of international health activities, technical assistance to governments, and the establishment of international health standards. In 1972 WHO made financial provision for over 1,300 projects, of which more than 1,000 were continued from previous years. Fellowships accounted for 165 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 1972 to over \$157 million.

Malaria

Malaria control and eradication continued to command high priority in the WHO program. There has been some reduction in the level of international and bilaterally financed assistance to eradication programs which has further impeded the ability of some governments to pursue anti-malaria activities at levels necessary to achieve eradication. Although about three-fourths of the world's population is protected to some extent against malaria, nearly 300 million persons, mostly in Africa, are still unprotected by organized malarial control activities. In preparation for such activities in those regions, however, WHO is carrying out field research in Nigeria on the epidemiology of malaria in African savanna areas and the possibilities for its control.

During the year WHO held an interregional conference in Brazzaville, Congo, for countries where malaria eradication is not at present practicable, to define the possibilities for control and to plan future action.

Smallpox

During 1972 the number of cases of smallpox increased for the second successive year. About 65,000 cases were reported, some 23 percent more than in 1971 and 95 percent more than in 1970, the lowest year on record. The increase was caused primarily by the upsurge in cases among refugees in Bangladesh. However, the increase was in part more apparent than real, for there was more effective surveillance and reporting which, in 1972, for the first time extended into all endemic areas. The discovery and reporting of many cases that would previously have been unrecorded permitted new outbreaks to be contained before they could spread. The anticipated effect of these efforts is now becoming evident as smallpox incidence during the last four months of 1972 actually declined by 22 percent over that observed in 1971.

The progress of the intensified and coordinated surveillance effort in most endemic regions was very encouraging. This effort will need to be actively pursued for some years to come, with continuing vaccination programs necessary to sustain an adequate level of immunity. The countries in which smallpox was endemic in 1972 were Afghanistan, India, Pakistan, Nepal, the Sudan, Ethiopia, and Somalia. Areas of endemicity have been greatly reduced compared to 5 years ago.

Human Environment

WHO's role in the environmental field is to establish agreed standards and codes with respect to substances

in the environment that influence health and to coordinate epidemiological surveillance, including worldwide environmental monitoring systems. WHO also collects and disseminates information, stimulates research, and assists in the training of personnel in this field.

A WHO Expert Committee on which the United States was represented met in Geneva in April to consider air quality criteria and guides for urban air pollutants. It recommended that (1) governments establish national air quality standards, with consideration not only of health effects, but also of effects on climate, vegetation, animal life, and the esthetic quality of the environment; (2) studies be made on populations subject to comparatively high or low exposure to pollutants; (3) further research be carried out on the mechanism of the action of environmental pollutants; (4) WHO take the leadership in developing reference methods for measuring air pollutants; and (5) WHO continuously collect, review, and disseminate information on criteria and guides for environmental and air quality standards.

Cholera

The cholera pandemic continued during 1972 but its spread was less extensive than in 1970 or 1971. New areas affected by the pandemic were in Angola, Bangladesh, Yemen, Dahomey, Senegal, Turkey, Syria, Bahrain, and the United Arab Emirates. More and more, the emphasis in cholera control lies in improved sanitation and on early treatment by the administration of oral or intravenous fluids, rather than inoculation. Large numbers of doses of vaccine were nevertheless supplied to affected areas. A continuing problem was the reluctance of some infected countries to report cases promptly. WHO continued to render emergency assistance to all affected areas. Its

assistance was aided by generous contributions from the United States and others to its Voluntary Fund for Health Promotion, Cholera Special Account. By the end of the year plans were underway for the development of an expanded global cholera control program.

Drug Control

In light of the current spread of nonmedical drug use, WHO recognized its obligation to provide medical leadership, guidance, and technical assistance in health aspects of drug dependence, especially with respect to education, prevention, treatment and rehabilitation, and research. WHO hopes to get more support for its programs in the future from the UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control.

WHO carries out a variety of activities related to drug abuse control. These include its work to insure the quality, safety, and efficacy of drugs and its establishment of an effective system for the collection, evaluation, and dissemination to national health authorities of information on drugs. WHO made progress in its work on developing a system for tests of new drugs for safety and efficacy, and a continuous surveillance of marketed new drugs, particularly with regard to adverse reactions.

International Civil Aviation Organization

Three additional states, Equatorial Guinea, United Arab Emirates, and Bangladesh, adhered to the Chicago Convention on International Civil Aviation in 1972, thus increasing ICAO's membership to 125 governments.

UNLAWFUL INTERFERENCE WITH CIVIL AVIATION

Much of the work of ICAO in 1972 was devoted to action against hijacking and aircraft sabotage, which continued to endanger the safety of civil aviation. On February 10, in Montreal, the ICAO Council adopted without objection a resolution that "Urges states to refrain from any act likely to interfere with the passage of aircraft engaged in international civil air transport or with the liberty of their passengers and crew when such aircraft, passengers and crew comply with the provisions of the Chicago Convention and its Annexes and national laws and published regulations." The resolution was introduced by the United Kingdom following interference by Libya with a British commercial flight.

At the 19th session of the ICAO Legal Committee, held at ICAO's headquarters in Montreal May 22-June 2, the United States proposed that a draft convention calling for joint action, including air boycotts, against states in certain situations following a hijacking again be given the highest priority on the Committee's work program. This motion was defeated by a vote of 5 in favor (U.S.) to 19 opposed, with 15 abstentions. The prevailing view was that there was no basis for overruling a decision made by the ICAO Assembly less than a year earlier that such priority should not be given. However, on the same day the U.S. proposal was defeated, a massacre of airline passengers took place at Lod Airport in Tel Aviv. Shortly thereafter, a U.S. airliner was hijacked to Algeria with \$300,000 in ransom, and the hijacking of a Czechoslovak aircraft to the Federal Republic of Germany resulted in the death of the pilot. In response to these incidents, the International Federation of Air-

line Pilot Associations (IFALPA) called for a worldwide 24-hour strike on June 19.

On June 19 the United States succeeded in its efforts to have the ICAO Council adopt a resolution proposing a multipronged attack on the problem of unlawful interference. States were requested to implement fully the airport and aircraft security measures adopted at the 17th (Extraordinary) ICAO Assembly in June 1970 and to report no later than October 31, 1972, on their implementation. States were urged to cooperate in the development of ICAO Standards and Recommended Practices dealing with security at the earliest possible date. States were also urged to become parties to the 1963 Tokyo Convention on Offenses and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft, the 1970 Hague Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft, and the 1971 Montreal Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Civil Aviation, and to observe the provisions of these Conventions even before becoming parties. The Legal Committee was directed to convene immediately a special subcommittee to work on the preparation of an international convention to establish appropriate multilateral procedures within the ICAO framework for determining whether there is need for and the nature of joint action against governments which detain passengers, crew, or aircraft after a hijacking or fail to extradite or prosecute the hijacker. This resolution was adopted by a vote of 17 (U.S.) to 1, with 7 abstentions.

Special Subcommittee

The United States invited the special subcommittee to meet in Washington, D.C., September 4-15. Despite the widely differing views of the

15 ICAO member governments¹ that participated, the subcommittee made significant progress on a convention calling for joint action. A working group considered the scope of the convention and agreed on some procedures that would be applicable in determining whether a state was in default of its international obligations. The Jamaican delegate, chairman of the working group, suggested the text for this first, or fact-finding, stage. The subcommittee also decided by a vote of 9 (U.S.) to 4, with 2 abstentions, to forward to the ICAO Legal Committee a U.S.-Canadian-U.K.-Netherlands proposal regarding the joint action to be taken in the event a state is found in default of its international obligations, the second stage of the convention.

ICAO Council

On September 28 the United States introduced a proposal in the ICAO Council requesting that a diplomatic conference on air security be convened as soon as it could be fitted into the ICAO schedule of meetings. The purpose of the conference would be to consider and adopt an international convention on joint action. On November 1 the Council by a vote of 17 (U.S.) to 1, with 8 abstentions, decided to convene a special session of the ICAO Legal Committee January 9-30, 1973, at Montreal to work on the report of the special subcommittee and to provide for the convening of a diplomatic conference on air security August 21-September 11, 1973.

¹ Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Egypt, France, Israel, Jamaica, Japan, Netherlands, Spain, Tanzania, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and United States. Congo and India, which were also appointed to the subcommittee by the Chairman of the Legal Committee, did not participate.

In late November and early December the Council considered security specifications prepared by the ICAO Air Transport Committee and Air Navigation Commission. After states have had an opportunity to comment on them, these specifications are expected to be adopted by the Council as ICAO Standards, Recommended Practices, and Procedures to prevent acts of unlawful interference.

**SEVENTH CONFERENCE
ON JOINT FINANCING
OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC
OCEAN STATIONS**

Fifteen governments parties to the 1954 Agreement on North Atlantic Ocean Stations attended this conference at ICAO's regional office in Paris, March 7-23. The ICAO Council convened the conference after Israel withdrew from the Agreement, Switzerland and Belgium refused to accept any resultant increases in their payments, informal consultations failed, and other more important issues arose regarding this network of ocean stations providing meteorological services. As a result of the conference, Ocean Station Echo operated by the United States will be disestablished as of July 1, 1973, and Ocean Station Alpha operated by Western European nations will be disestablished as of July 1, 1974. The Conference also recommended that the 1954 Agreement be terminated on June 30, 1975, and replaced by a new agreement, under the auspices of the WMO, to come into force on July 1, 1975. For this purpose ICAO was requested to convene, in conjunction with WMO, a large-scale plenipotentiary conference in May 1974.

SEVENTH AIR NAVIGATION CONFERENCE

This conference, held at ICAO's headquarters April 5-28 and at-

tended by 55 member governments, concerned further development of specifications for the ICAO technical annexes in relation to advanced airborne and ground-based electronic systems. The conference reviewed the work of the ICAO Automated Data Interchange Systems Panel and identified areas in which further effort is required prior to introduction of such systems on an international basis to reduce the work load on aircraft flight decks by handling certain categories of communications automatically.

The conference also reviewed ICAO and national studies of the possible use of satellites for aeronautical purposes and identified the many progressive steps which would need to be taken prior to the full operation of such a system in the 1980's. In further development of work initiated by the ICAO Panel on All Weather Operations, the conference recommended a set of operational requirements for a new radio landing aid for aircraft which would initially supplement and ultimately replace the existing standard instrument landing system. The various steps needed in a complex program of re-research, development, and systems evaluation were identified in anticipation of initial operational use about 1980.

Proposals were developed for the characteristics of an automatic radio location beacon for search and rescue. This device would be for use primarily in general aviation aircraft and would complement the survival radio equipment already being carried in the larger commercial aircraft engaged in international operations. The conference was unanimous in its opinion that the primary system for the prevention of collision between aircraft in flight, now and in the foreseeable future, is a well-organized and well-managed air traffic services system. The conference also recog-

nized that a number of airborne collision avoidance systems to supplement air traffic services were being developed, and it produced guidance material concerning the desirable characteristics of such systems.

SONIC BOOM COMMITTEE

The Sonic Boom Committee, which succeeded the purely technical ICAO Sonic Boom Panel, held its first meeting May 9-19 at Montreal. The majority of the Committee, including the United States, concluded that, in the light of all available data, restrictions on supersonic flying over sea by civil aircraft were not necessary except in cases where a state wished to protect its territory. It was agreed that it is impossible to determine generally for populations of different countries, whether and, if so, in what terms and circumstances, sonic booms become unacceptable overland. Regulation of supersonic flying by civil aircraft over its territory is, therefore, a matter for each individual state to determine in the light of its own assessment and circumstances. In considering its Legal Sub-group's report, the Committee concluded that states have the power to regulate, including the right to prohibit, supersonic flights over their territory. States have no power to prohibit supersonic flights of foreign aircraft outside their territory. However, states may wish to enjoy protection for their territory from sonic booms resulting from supersonic flight over the high seas, and the most appropriate means of achieving this result, in the Committee's view, would be for the ICAO Council to amend an Annex to the Chicago Convention. Each state is entitled to enact its own laws and exercise its jurisdiction in respect of providing compensation for damage caused in its territory by sonic boom. In the fall of 1972 a working group met in Paris

to continue work on technical, operational, and legal issues in preparation for the next meeting of the Committee in the spring of 1973.

Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization

Chile, Sri Lanka, and Equatorial Guinea joined during 1972 and the Republic of China ceased to be a member bringing total IMCO membership by the end of the year to 74 full members and 1 associate.

The United States is a member of IMCO's Council (governing body), Maritime Safety Committee (principal permanent subbody), and all other major groups.

IMCO's most important activity during 1972 was the holding of an International Conference on Revision of the International Regulations for Preventing Collisions at Sea, 1960, at its headquarters in London during October. As a result of the Conference new collision regulations were attached to an international convention which set forth formal obligations of the contracting parties and provided procedures for amending the regulations and their technical annexes. In the future the regulations can be kept up to date, as required by rapidly developing technology, without the necessity of convening a full-scale international conference. The United States was one of 19 signatories to the 1972 convention.

In March a Panel of Experts on Maritime Satellites was formed by the Maritime Safety Committee. Under the direction of the Radio-Communications Subcommittee, the Panel is charged with developing technical and operational characteristics for an international maritime tele-

communications satellite service. Such a service is expected to produce substantial economic and safety benefits for the world's merchant fleets through greatly improved and more reliable communications between ships and shore stations. The Panel is expected to complete its work in 1974.

The Maritime Safety Committee's new Subcommittee on Standards of Training and Watchkeeping held its first session in May. Organization of this Subcommittee was the first step taken by IMCO to establish an international standard related to the competence of mariners. The success of this venture will increase safety at sea as well as reduce pollution-producing collisions and groundings caused by inexperienced and poorly trained marine officers and crews.

Because of the continuing importance of their work, two of IMCO's working groups were elevated to the stature of full committees during 1972. The Facilitation Working Group became the Facilitation Committee and continued its role of promoting, updating, and proposing international norms, standards, and recommended practices through the 1965 Convention on Facilitation of International Maritime Traffic. The United States is one of 32 states now party to that convention.

In November the former Working Group on Technical Assistance met for the first time as the Committee on Technical Cooperation. This Committee oversees the technical guidance of UNDP projects in various national or regional programs. Current programs under consideration by the Committee include the establishment of maritime training institutions in East and West Africa and the operation of the Eastern Mediterranean Marine Pollution Surveillance and Information Center. Overall technical assistance programs administered by IMCO have tripled since 1970.

The Subcommittee on Lifesaving Appliances began a new approach to saving lives once a vessel must be abandoned. The longstanding practice of piece-by-piece evaluation of life-saving equipment is being replaced by a systems approach to evaluate a vessel's entire outfitting of life-saving equipment, taking into account the interrelationship of the various pieces.

Throughout the year IMCO continued to prepare for the October 1973 international conference to adopt instruments relating to the prevention of ocean pollution from ships. Simultaneous activity in both the technical and legal fields, through the Marine Pollution Subcommittee of the Maritime Safety Committee and the Legal Committee, resulted in a fourth draft text for the proposed convention. Expanding on IMCO's announced goal of complete elimination of intentional discharge of oil into the sea, the draft convention now proposes to regulate a host of other noxious and hazardous substances as well.

In May the IMCO Council adopted by a vote of 14 to 0, with 3 abstentions, a resolution recognizing the P.R.C. as the only government having the right to represent China in IMCO. The United States did not take part in the vote in view of article 11 of the IMCO Convention which provides that "no state or territory may become or remain a member of the organization contrary to a resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations." Following the vote, the U.S. Representative stated that his government welcomed P.R.C. participation, but regretted the exclusion of the Republic of China, which had been an active member of IMCO from its creation.¹

¹ The P.R.C. deposited its instrument of acceptance of the IMCO Convention with the Secretary General and became a member of the organization on Mar. 1, 1973.

International Telecommunication Union

The accession of Oman, Tonga, and the United Arab Emirates to the ITU Convention in 1972 brought Union membership to 143. 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 ITU Administrative Council which held its 27th session in Geneva, May 27–June 16, 1972. The Council approved a 1973 budget of 34,826,200 Swiss francs, of which the U.S. share of the assessment on member countries is approximately 11.5 percent. The Council adopted a resolution to restore all rights to the P.R.C. in the ITU and to recognize the representatives of that government as the only legitimate representatives of China at the ITU. The Council also examined matters relating to future conferences of the Union, including determination of the duration and site for the 1973 Plenipotentiary Conference, and determination of the agenda, duration, date, and place for the 1973 World Administrative Telegraph and Telephone Conference and for a 1974 World Administrative Radio Conference for the Maritime Mobile Services. In anticipation of the 1973 Plenipotentiary Conference, the Council had previously invited governments to express their views on the ITU's future. Several responses were

received and the Council's discussion, while indicating general satisfaction with the ITU's structure and functions, highlighted continuing concern over the growth of the budget and the size of delinquent accounts. The Council also reviewed construction costs, time of anticipated occupancy, and installation and furnishing requirements of the ITU's new headquarters building. After consultation with all ITU members, the Council fixed a limit to expenditures on the project.

The Council approved the text of an agreement between the ITU and the OAU which calls for mutual consultation, reciprocal representation and exchange of information, and technical cooperation with a view to accelerating the development of telecommunications in Africa. The Council also took action on a number of other staff, organizational, operational, and financial matters. 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 Telegraph and Telephone Consultative Committee (CCITT), the International Radio Consultative Committee (CCIR), and the International Frequency Registration Board (IFRB)—were active during 1972.

The fifth Plenary Assembly of the CCITT met in Geneva December 4–15, following 3 weeks of study group meetings. The Plenary, on the basis of study group proposals, issued recommendations on technical operating and tariff questions with respect to telegraphy and telephony. Although not binding on its members, the technical standards established by the CCITT's recommendations largely govern the operation of the world's telecommunication system.

The Plenary also considered a report on the results of a meeting of

the *ad hoc* group established by the CCITT's World Plan Committee in 1971 to develop recommendations for improvements in the structure, work methods, and product of the World Plan Committee. The function of the World Plan Committee is to provide information to members to assist in the conduct of their bilateral and multilateral telecommunications agreements. The *ad hoc* group, which met at Geneva in July 1972, reaffirmed this role and recommended a simplification of the procedure for data collection that would permit more frequent collection and possible electronic processing. The revised procedure will advance the orderly development of telecommunications on a worldwide basis. The Plenary also approved a study program for the next 4 years.

The 13 study groups of the CCIR met in two sessions during April and July, 1972, with approximately half of the groups meeting in each session. Attention was given to updating and extending CCIR studies in light of the decisions of the 1971 World Administrative Radio Conference for Space Telecommunications. Particular study is being directed toward matters related to the technical and operating aspects of communications satellites (fixed and aeronautical/maritime mobile), space research, and broadcasting satellite services.

The essential function of the IFRB is the technical examination and registration of radio frequency notifications, including those for space satellite telecommunication systems, 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 im-

prove their telecommunication capabilities by the establishment and staffing of training institutes; a program of technical telecommunication seminars; and the recruitment of technical experts from developed countries, including the United States, to advise on specific telecommunications projects and to conduct studies in developing countries.

Universal Postal Union

Tonga joined the UPU during 1972 bringing total membership to 146.

The year 1972 was the third in the 5-year cycle between meetings of the UPU Congress, which is next scheduled to convene in May 1974. Accordingly UPU activity centered in the 31-member Executive Council and the 30-member Consultative Committee for Postal Studies. The United States is a member of both. Among other matters, the Executive Council took action concerning compensatory payment to countries for handling an excess volume of incoming international mail. It began to develop proposals on the handling of printed matter and on the international postal rate structure for consideration at the 1974 Congress.

INTERNATIONAL POSTAL COMMUNICATIONS MATTERS

At the 1971 Executive Council meeting the United States had suggested that payment for an excess volume of incoming international mail between two countries be calculated on the basis of the difference between costs incurred for services rendered rather than solely on the imbalance of weight as was the current practice. Consulted by questionnaire in 1972, the UPU membership by a vote of 65 to 18 (U.S.) decided in favor of the current system, that

is, simply multiplying the weight of excess incoming mail by the rate of payment.

In view of the rapidly expanding volume of international mail traffic involving periodicals and other printed matter, the Executive Council drafted a questionnaire to be sent to all member states looking toward the development at the 1974 Congress of proposals to modernize the international printed papers service.

Inasmuch as most UPU member countries have already raised their international postage rates close to the authorized ceiling, all UPU administrations were consulted by questionnaire on rate increases to be considered at the 1974 Congress. The results of the questionnaire will be reviewed by the Executive Council in 1973.

Among the studies undertaken by the Consultative Committee for Postal Studies during 1972 were those concerning computer usage in postal services; standardization of the address location on regular and window envelopes; security of high value items, especially those conveyed by air; the properties of envelopes and items affixed to them as they pertain to the use and effectiveness of optical character reading and bar code reading equipment; and development of a UPU member country identification code.

ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS

The developing country members of the UPU continued their efforts to induce the developed countries to meet a larger share of the expenses of the organization. Mainly as a result of this pressure, the Executive Council voted in 1972 to recommend to the UPU Congress in 1974 the creation of a maximum contribution unit, twice the size of the current unit. However, at the insistence of the United States and other major con-

tributors, the recommendation retains the current practice of voluntary assumption of contributory class. In 1972 the United States contributed 4.2 percent of the total UPU budget.

Other organizational matters acted upon by the Executive Council included approval of new financial and staff regulations to bring UPU practice into line with procedures followed in the United Nations and other specialized agencies; authorization for the Council itself to appoint the Deputy Director General, in consultation with the Director General (the previous practice permitted the Director General to appoint his Deputy without reference to the Council); and approval of amended rules of procedure to permit each language group to decide on the apportionment of interpretation costs among the members of the group. Previously these costs were borne only by members of the group represented at a UPU meeting, although all members of a particular language group benefited from the regular translation of UPU documents thus provided.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

UNDP-financed in-progress postal projects at the end of 1972 had a total estimated cost of \$55.4 million. Of these funds \$5.0 million derived from UNDP resources and the balance from the recipient countries. This program involved 67 separate projects including 3 interregional seminars, 8 regional projects (1 in Latin America, 2 in Asia, 2 in the Middle East, and 3 in Africa), and 56 individual country projects.

POLITICAL MATTERS

The question of Chinese representation in the UPU was decided in 1972. As the result of the UN General Assembly resolution of October 25, 1971, recognizing the P.R.C. as the

representative of China in the United Nations, a postal ballot was circulated to all UPU members on whether this resolution should be considered applicable in the UPU. The result was 66 in favor to 11 opposed (U.S.), with 5 abstentions and 64 members that had not answered by the deadline of April 12, 1972, and were considered as abstaining. The proposal was therefore adopted and the decision took effect immediately. The P.R.C. representatives are now regarded as the sole representatives of China in the UPU.

World Meteorological Organization

GLOBAL ATMOSPHERIC RESEARCH PROGRAM

In 1967 WMO in cooperation with the International Council of Scientific Unions established a global, long-range research program to study the hemispheric circulation of the atmosphere. Planning and equipment testing for this program's first major observational experiment, the Atlantic Tropical Experiment, reached final stages in 1972. Its objectives are to study the structure and evolution of weather systems in the tropical eastern Atlantic and to assess the extent these tropical disturbances affect the behavior of the whole atmosphere. The United States is the principal participant in this experiment which is scheduled for execution in 1974.

Preliminary planning began for the second major experiment, the first global experiment, scheduled for 1977, in which the United States will also have a leading role.

WORLD WEATHER WATCH

The World Weather Watch (WWW) was approved by the WMO in 1963 for the purpose of obtaining, assessing, and communicating meteorological data on a worldwide basis in order to improve substantially the domestic weather forecasting of member states.

The Voluntary Assistance Program was established in 1967 and, with the support of voluntary contributions from member states, is designed to fill gaps in the global meteorological network. Adopting recommendations of the Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment the scope of the WWW has been expanded to include global and regional monitoring of air pollution. Several monitoring stations were established in 1972.

During 1972 the United States contributed \$1,500,000 to this program—\$150,000 in cash and the remainder in equipment, services, and long-term fellowships.

HYDROLOGY

To implement its 1971 decision to establish the WMO as the international organization responsible for coordination of work in the field of operational hydrology, WMO appointed a committee to draft the required changes in its Convention. This decision will clarify responsibility in the hydrological field within the UN family of organizations and should serve to eliminate jurisdictional overlaps.

OCEANOGRAPHY

WMO's role in oceanography is principally in areas of direct relationship to meteorology, including the use of radio frequencies, programs in ocean-atmosphere interaction, and other air-sea activities. All of these

involve meteorology to some degree as a science, a service activity, or both. Most of WMO's oceanographic activities are carried out in collaboration with UNESCO's Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission.

BUDGET

The Sixth WMO Congress in 1971 adopted an assessment budget for the 4 years 1972-1975 of \$17.3 million plus a \$0.4 million supplement for 1972. This supplement is primarily attributable to the 1972 currency revaluation. The U.S. rate of assessment was maintained at 23.8 percent. Within the quadrennial budget, the 1973 budget is \$4,782,100.

ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS

David A. Davies of the United Kingdom continued as Secretary General and Mohammed Fathi Taha of Egypt as President. The Permanent Representative of the United States to the WMO is Robert M. White, Administrator of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. He also serves on the Executive Committee.

On February 24, 1972, the Organization by ballot of the membership, recognized the People's Republic of China as the only legitimate government of China.

International Atomic Energy Agency

With the accession of Bangladesh, IAEA's membership rose to 103 during 1972. The IAEA was established in 1957 as a result of President Eisenhower's atoms-for-peace proposal before the General Assembly in December 1953. Since that time the

Agency has actively pursued its broad statutory objectives of promoting the peaceful uses of atomic energy throughout the world and insuring, 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.

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 United States has transferred to the IAEA the responsibility for safeguarding most of the nuclear material which it has sold or leased abroad. By the end of 1972, the Agency was responsible for 53 safeguards agreements with 35 countries, 24 of which concerned safeguards arising out of U.S. bilateral Agreements for Cooperation.

In addition the IAEA Board of Governors had approved safeguards agreements under the Nonproliferation Treaty with 31 countries and the European Atomic Energy Community, and it was negotiating such agreements with 25 other countries. Under the provisions of article III each nonnuclear weapon state party to the treaty undertakes to place all its source or special nuclear material in all peaceful nuclear activities under IAEA safeguards.

The IAEA, with vigorous U.S. participation, supported a safeguards research and development program aimed at coordination of national programs and its own modest efforts toward the improvement of safeguards techniques and instrumentation. A series of expert panel meetings is being conducted on the application of safeguards to the complete fuel cycle.

With the rapidly increasing attention being given by the international community to the protection of the human environment, the IAEA took steps to maintain its leading role as the international organization responsible for providing guidance for the evaluation and control of the environmental impacts of nuclear programs. The IAEA has had extensive experience in the environmental fields of radiological safety, waste management, and nuclear safety. The United States actively supported IAEA work in these particular areas and believes that the IAEA should continue to expand and strengthen its environmental programs, in cooperation with other interested UN agencies.

As a followup to recommendations made during the 1972 UN Conference on the Human Environment the IAEA, in cooperation with WHO, undertook a study of the feasibility of developing a register of releases to the biosphere of significant quantities of radioactive material. The IAEA also initiated studies to determine the extent of data required to assess and control the total environmental impact of nuclear industry.

The United States participated in the Agency's important panel meeting in November 1972 to consider the establishment of international waste storage sites for high level radioactive wastes. The panel recommended that the IAEA (1) develop a manual of suggested practices for storing and eventually disposing of high level wastes, and (2) establish a register of locations, types, and quantities of high-level wastes currently being stored in individual countries. The panel also suggested that the Agency review existing international rules on transportation of radioactive materials in order to provide, where necessary, for specific shipping require-

ments with respect to certain high-level wastes.

NUCLEAR POWER AND REACTORS

The number and capacity of nuclear power plants on order or being built throughout the world continued to grow in 1972 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 continued with its studies of the financing of nuclear power in the developing countries, and of the technical and economic characteristics of nuclear reactors that could be used in the smaller electrical grids of these countries. Recognizing that by 1985 there might be a considerable market for small and medium sized nuclear reactors in these countries, the IAEA undertook a market survey in 13 interested developing countries to determine the future demand for reactors below 500 megawatts of electrical output. The survey defined the nature, size, and timing of the likely market and it could assist the nuclear manufacturers in standardizing and reducing the costs of nuclear plants.

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 IAEA activities in this area might be expanded.

The IAEA continued to follow developments relating to potential benefits of peaceful nuclear explosions (PNEs) and to study ways and means of establishing an international service for application of PNEs under international control. The United

States participated in the study and in a panel meeting on PNE technology.

ISOTOPES AND RADIATION SOURCES

The IAEA's programs in food and agriculture, life sciences, and physical sciences, implemented by means of research contracts, meetings, publications, and technical assistance, are of keen interest to the developing countries, which constitute two-thirds of the membership.

The food and agriculture program, operated jointly with FAO, utilizes both nuclear and conventional techniques in its work on soils, irrigation, and crop production; plant breeding genetics; animal production and health; insect eradication and pest control; pesticide residues and pollution; and food preservation.

The objective of the life sciences program is to develop methods for the application of radioisotopes in medicine and biology. This consists of work in dosimetry (in both medical and industrial applications); the use of isotopes in clinical medicine and medical research; and radiation biology.

The physical sciences program deals with nuclear physics; those aspects of chemistry involved in the production of nuclear energy, radioisotopes, and radio pharmaceuticals; industrial uses of radioisotopes and radiation; isotope hydrology; and the dissemination of nuclear data information and coordination of national nuclear data programs.

NUCLEAR INFORMATION

The International Nuclear Information System (INIS), which the IAEA launched in 1970 with strong U.S. support, moved to full subject scope during 1972. Under INIS, the Agency received reports of new nuclear literature from members, pre-

pared bibliographic indexes, assigned keywords, and made them available to members in both published and computer format. One component of INIS supplied member states with microfiche copies of all reports received by IAEA from its member states.

By the end of the year, 44 countries, including the United States, and 11 international organizations were participating in INIS. These participants published more than 90 percent of the world's literature on nuclear science.

Although of interest to all members of IAEA, INIS had particular value for the developed countries, including the United States, which were its heaviest users.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

During 1972, the IAEA provided expert services, equipment, and fellowships to 64 of its member states—18 in Africa, 5 in the Middle East, 14 in Asia, 16 in Latin America, and 11 in Europe. The Agency organized three interregional training courses and three study tours for participants from developing countries. One tour went to Germany, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, and the U.S.S.R. to study radiological protection; one to the United States to study mass rearing of insects by the sterile male technique; and one to the U.S.S.R. to study the use of isotopes and radiation in genetics and plant breeding. One training course, concerned with the Production and Quality Control of Radiopharmaceuticals, was held in the United States in 1972 at the University of Southern California, June 5-30.

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 1972 the cash contribution was \$945,600 and the value of the contributions-in-kind was \$604,400. In addition, the United States urged all member states 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 16th General Conference of the IAEA, September 26–October 3, 1972, adopted an assessed budget for 1973 of \$16,750,000, an increase of 8.8 percent over 1972, and a total regular budget of \$18,127,000. It also approved a scale of assessments under which the United States will pay 31.805 percent, compared to its 1972 rate of 31.716 percent. The General Conference further adopted an operational budget for 1972 of \$3,741,000 of which \$3,000,000—the same as in 1972—was the target for voluntary contributions, with the remainder to be funded from special contributions and other sources.

Part III

*Trusteeship
and Dependent Areas*



Trusteeship System

The Trusteeship Council held its 39th session in New York, May 23–June 16, 1972. 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 automatically members under the UN Charter. Although Trusteeship Council membership passed from the Republic of China to the People's Republic of China (P.R.C.), the Chinese declined to take their seat at the 39th session, citing lack of sufficient staff. Ambassador W. Tapley Bennett, Jr., of the United States and Paul Blanc of France 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 Islands¹ 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 Terri-

tory of the Pacific Islands. The 27th General Assembly adopted a resolution concerning New Guinea on December 14.

Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands

The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands is composed of more than 2,000 islands with a combined land area of approximately 700 square miles. The islands are located in the western Pacific Ocean just north of the Equator, ranging from about 1° to 22° north latitude and 130° to 172° east longitude, and are divided into three large groups: the Marianas (with the exception of Guam) in the northwest, the Carolines to the south running from west to center, and the Marshalls in the east. The total population is estimated at 114,015.

Prior to World War II, Japan administered the islands under a League of Nations mandate. As a result of the war they passed under U.S. administration. On July 18, 1947, the United States and the Security Council concluded an agreement making the islands a strategic trust territory. It is the only strategic trust territory, 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 24 to June 2, Frederick H. Sacksteder, Jr., served as U.S. Representative and Edward E. Johnston, the High Commissioner of the Trust Territory, served as Special Repre-

¹ Article 82 of the Charter provides that in any trusteeship agreement part or all of the trust territory may be designated as a strategic area, and under Article 83 the Security Council exercises all functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas.

sentative. Senator Andon Amaraich and Representative Polycarp Basilius, members of the Congress of Micronesia, the territory's legislature, were chosen by that body as special advisers to the U.S. delegation.

U.S. REPORT

In reporting on the future political status of the territory, the U.S. Representative, Mr. Sacksteder, reviewed the progress in the Micronesian status negotiations during the previous year. At the third round of talks, held at Hana on the island of Maui in Hawaii in October 1971, broad agreement was reached between U.S. and Micronesian representatives on several issues of principle that had previously divided the two sides. The United States suggested that a compact of association be freely entered into by the people of Micronesia through a sovereign act of self-determination at the time of termination of the trusteeship. This compact would define the terms of the future association between the United States and Micronesia, including the rights and responsibilities of both parties. It was agreed that the rights of the people of Micronesia to govern their own internal affairs would be fully recognized and protected, and that the United States would have responsibility for foreign affairs and defense. In recognition of the "vital significance" of land to the Micronesians, all Micronesian land would be under the control of Micronesians and the United States would not have eminent domain authority.

The U.S. Representative noted that a principal issue unresolved at the Hana talks was the question of the method by which the future relationship between Micronesia and the United States might be modified or terminated. The U.S. flexibility on this issue at the next round of talks, at Koror in the Palau District of the

trust territory in April 1972, prompted the chairman of the Micronesia Joint Committee on Future Status to state:

The Micronesian Delegation believes that United States acceptance of Micronesia's right of unilateral termination, combined with previous acceptance of Micronesia's control over laws and lands, constitute the basis of an eventual agreement with the United States.

Mr. Sacksteder explained to the Council the U.S. decision to respond affirmatively to the request by Marianas representatives at the Palau talks for separate negotiations leading toward close and permanent union between their district and the United States. He explained that, while it had been U.S. policy to develop all of Micronesia toward a common future status, events in the Marianas during the previous decade had plainly demonstrated that full implementation of that policy was not feasible. The people and leaders of the Marianas had shown through referenda, petitions to the Trusteeship Council and to the U.S. Government, and repeated resolutions of their district legislature that they preferred much closer bonds to the United States than did the other districts. For the United States to have responded other than positively to the Marianas initiative could have led ultimately to an imposition upon the people of that district of a political status they had made abundantly clear over a long period of time that they did not want. It remained U.S. policy to see the trusteeship terminated simultaneously in all districts.

The Special Representative, Mr. Johnston, outlined economic progress in the territory. He noted that the amount of annual grant funds supplied to the trust territory by the U.S. Congress had reached a new high of \$60 million in fiscal year 1971. He called attention to the increased participation of the Congress of Micronesia and the six district legislatures in

determining the manner in which the funds should be spent.

Mr. Johnston made specific reference to the signature into law by President Nixon of an amendment to the Airways and Airports Improvement Act of 1970 which made the trust territory eligible for federal funds to improve and update the system of airports throughout Micronesia.

He also mentioned the increasing number of Micronesians holding high level positions in the territory's administration and noted that the territory had achieved significant progress in developing its marine resources, tourism, and agriculture.

The Special Representative drew the Council's attention to several important pieces of legislation adopted at the second regular session of the Fourth Congress of Micronesia. The first created a committee to study and set up procedures for the establishment of a Bank of Micronesia. The second granted the Congress of Micronesia "advice and consent" authority on key appointments to the Executive Branch of the Government, including all cabinet officers, district administrators, and their deputies. The third measure created a new Trust Territory Public Service System, establishing a system of personnel administration to build career service in the Executive Branch of the Trust Territory Government.

The special advisers, in statements that were unusually critical of the U.S. administration of the territory, stressed the steps they believed must be taken to solve the social and economic problems of Micronesia and to insure that the people of Micronesia will exercise true political self-determination. Senator Amaraich asserted that there were many troublesome areas which might hamper the reaching of an agreement between Micronesia and the United States on Micronesia's political future. He stated that the United States had avoided

discussing the proposition of independence for Micronesia and that continued avoidance of this subject would spur the growth of sentiment for independence. He expressed the opinion that the Congress of Micronesia should be called upon to approve the separate negotiations of the United States with the Marianas. Special adviser Basilius, *inter alia*, criticized past U.S. efforts to develop Micronesia's economy and expressed the hope that economic growth would be pursued, not as a goal in itself, but with the objective of "self-sufficiency of the inhabitants."

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 recalled the hope expressed at its 37th and 38th sessions that the financial authority of the Congress of Micronesia would be progressively extended to include appropriation of U.S. financial subsidies and noted that such extension had not yet occurred. The Council welcomed the further appointment of Micronesians to senior positions in the local civil service during the previous year.

In the area of economic advancement, the Council deeply regretted that a bill to exempt Micronesian products from U.S. tariffs had not been adopted by the U.S. Congress. The Council was impressed by the growth in the volume of development fund loans and guarantees, which had increased sevenfold. It noted with interest that the increase of \$5 million of the capital available to the Economic Development Fund, recommended by the 1970 Visiting Mission

and considered in 1971, had been authorized by the U.S. Congress.

In order to continue both social and educational advancement, the Council expressed the hope that the decline in the number of Peace Corps volunteers would be checked, and it recommended that continued stress should be placed on improving dispensaries and first-aid posts and increasing their number, particularly on islands that are far from hospital centers. The Council noted the efforts being made in the field of vocational education, which it considered very important in the next few years.

With respect to future political status, the Council noted that at the third and fourth rounds of talks on future political status, agreement had been reached that the future relationship between Micronesia and the United States would be determined by a compact based on the sovereign right of the people of Micronesia to choose their own future. The Council appreciated the concern of the special advisers regarding the exact scope and nature of the authority that the United States would have in the future with respect to handling foreign affairs. The Council believed it important to insure that in those areas of international relations which are of direct and immediate concern to Micronesia, Micronesian interests should be fully and adequately represented.

With regard to the question of a separate status for the Marianas District, the Council recalled the view expressed previously by the Micronesian Future Political Status delegation that it would not oppose a political union involving the Marianas District if it reflected the freely expressed desires of the majority of the people of the District. The Council considered it essential that a separate future political status for the Marianas be submitted to the people of the Marianas District for ap-

proval, as well as to the legislatures concerned.

The Council reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Micronesia to self-determination, including the right to independence, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the Trusteeship Agreement, and the General Assembly resolutions of December 14 and 15, 1960, concerning colonial countries and peoples.

POLITICAL STATUS NEGOTIATIONS

Subsequent to the annual Trusteeship Council meeting, at a fifth round of negotiations in Washington in July 1972, agreement was reached on draft language for those titles of a compact of free association covering foreign affairs, defense, and internal affairs. However, at a special session of the Congress of Micronesia in August, considerable dissatisfaction with the partial draft compact emerged, and the Micronesian negotiators were instructed to negotiate with the United States an independence option concurrently with their negotiations for free association. The sixth round of negotiations in Hawaii in October 1972 adjourned after useful exploratory discussions, but without further negotiations on the language of the remainder of the proposed compact, so that each side could further assess its position. A preliminary, largely ceremonial, round of talks between the Marianas and the United States was held in Saipan in December.

COMMITTEE ON COLONIALISM¹

The Committee on Colonialism again considered the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands during 1972. The United States holds that the

¹Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

Committee lacks competence to consider the trust territory since 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, has delegated responsibility to the Trusteeship Council. The United States did not, therefore, take part in the Committee's discussion.

On the recommendation of its subcommittee concerned with Pacific territories, the Committee on August 11 adopted a report whose conclusions and recommendations *inter alia* (1) reaffirmed the inalienable right of the peoples of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands to self-determination in conformity with the Declaration on Colonialism, (2) reiterated its serious concern that a U.S. representative was not present during the consideration of the territory and urged the United States to comply with the repeated requests of the Committee for U.S. cooperation, (3) urged the United States not to pursue any policy which tends to keep the territory dependent on it, and (4) again stressed the importance it attached to visiting missions to territories and noted the persistent refusal of the United States to agree to such a visit by the Committee.

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, 1971, the indigenous population consisted of an enumerated population of

1,795,602. At the census of June 1966, the nonindigenous population numbered 20,265.

Australia administers the territory in union with the neighboring Australian non-self-governing territory of Papua.

A visiting mission composed of representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, Afghanistan, and Yugoslavia (the latter two selected by the President of the Council after consultation with the Chairman of the Committee on Colonialism) had visited the trust territory from February 17 to March 15, 1972, to observe the elections to the Papua New Guinea House of Assembly. The Trusteeship Council during its 1972 session considered both the report of the visiting mission and the report of Australia.

The Australian Representative said that in 1972 for the first time his government had submitted reports on Papua New Guinea as a whole, and not simply the Trust Territory of New Guinea. He noted that while the Council had responsibility only in regard to New Guinea, the country was administered as one with the agreement of the United Nations. Papua New Guinea, he said, had moved further toward becoming an international entity in its own right; having previously become an associate member of ECAFE and the Asian Development Bank, it had now been admitted to associate membership in WHO. Papua New Guineans were being trained for future work in their own country's foreign service and an International Relations Section in the Administrator's Department was being built up to become the nucleus of a Foreign Ministry.

The Australian Representative remarked that Australia's relationship with Papua New Guinea was changing fundamentally as the latter moved from an administered country to independence. In commenting on the

report of the visiting mission to observe the 1972 elections, and in response to a question concerning the adjustments that necessarily have to be made by the expatriate (nonindigenous) population, he remarked that it was the policy of the Government of Papua New Guinea that political education applied to all people there, expatriates as well as the local population, and that the Government of Papua New Guinea was supportive of national unity and self-determination. He concluded by asserting that Australia was not seeking to delay self-government and independence for Papua New Guinea, and would be ready whenever that country was.

COUNCIL REPORT

The Council's report generally commended Australia for the manner in which it was carrying out its trusteeship obligations and noted with satisfaction the formation of the first indigenous national government.

The report also contained a number of conclusions and recommendations on the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the territory as it moved toward internal self-government. With regard to the future political status of the territory, the Council noted with satisfaction the election of an almost entirely indigenous House of Assembly, as well as the establishment of an embryonic cabinet. The Council also noted that in accordance with the recommendations of the House of Assembly's Select Committee on Constitutional Development, Australia had drawn up a program outlining the action yet to be taken before the achievement of full self-government.

The Council noted that Australia stands ready to discuss the program, including the setting of target dates, with the elected leaders of Papua New Guinea, on the assumption that

self-government will be achieved in the lifetime of the present House of Assembly. The Council fully appreciated that the drawing up of a detailed timetable for independence might not yet be possible and endorsed the Australian view that the wishes of the people of Papua New Guinea should be decisive in this respect.

COMMITTEE ON COLONIALISM

The General Assembly's Committee on Colonialism also considered New Guinea together with Papua. On August 11 it adopted a report that *inter alia* (1) noted with satisfaction the 1972 elections which enabled the territory to take a further step toward achievement of self-government and self-determination, and (2) noted Australia's stated determination to help and encourage Papua New Guinea in achieving that goal as soon as possible.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The Assembly's Fourth Committee (Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories), after considering both the Trusteeship Council and Committee on Colonialism reports, approved without objection on December 6 a resolution which *inter alia* reaffirmed the right of the people of Papua New Guinea to self-determination and independence and reaffirmed the importance of insuring that the unity of Papua New Guinea be preserved throughout the period leading to independence. It welcomed the establishment of a timetable for the attainment of full self-government by Papua New Guinea and called upon Australia to prepare, in consultation with Papua New Guinea, a further timetable for independence.

The Australian Representative stated that Papua New Guinea in September had set a target date for

the assumption by the territory of full internal self-government. The only powers remaining to Australia after the target date of December 1, 1973, would be defense and foreign affairs and these would be exercised

in fullest consultation with the Papua New Guinea Government.

The General Assembly in plenary session on December 14 adopted without objection the resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee.

U.S. Territories

The Committee on Colonialism annually considers conditions in those territories which, in the view of the General Assembly, have not achieved independence in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Its work forms the basis for most of the General Assembly action in this area. In 1972 over 30 territories, mostly small, were considered.

The United States was a member of the Committee until 1971 when it informed the UN Secretary General of its decision to withdraw. However, it said it would continue, in accordance with its obligations under article 73(e) of the Charter to submit information to the United Nations on the non-self-governing territories under its jurisdiction and would participate in the Committee's discussions 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 concerned with 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 on July 5 by the U.S. Representative, Ernest C. Grigg III, on recent developments. The U.S. Representative highlighted the two most significant recent political developments for the Virgin Islands—the enactment of legislation by the U.S. Congress providing for a nonvoting delegate in the House of Representatives from the Virgin Islands, and the holding of a Constitutional Convention which had begun its work on September 7, 1971.

He noted that the new alien certification procedure, implemented in May 1970 and discussed before the subcommittee in 1971, had resulted in a sharp curtailment of the influx of nonimmigrant aliens. Tourism continued as a leading industry, with over one million tourists having come during the previous fiscal year.

On August 28 the Committee adopted without objection a report recommended by its subcommittee which *inter alia* (1) reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of the territory to self-determination and independence in conformity with the Declaration on Colonialism adopted by the General Assembly in 1960; (2) reiterated its view that the question of size, limited population, and re-

stricted resources should in no way delay the full implementation of the Declaration on Colonialism with respect to the territory; (3) expressed its deep concern that the proposals of the Constitutional Convention to be put before the electorate for approval in a general referendum on November 7 tended to perpetuate the territory's association with the United States; (4) urged the United States to encourage the people of the territory to begin discussing all the alternatives open to them with respect to their political future; (5) stressed the importance that the Committee attached to the dispatching of a visiting mission to the territory and urged the United States to reconsider its position on the question; and (6) stressed the continuing need to improve labor relations in the territory.

The U.S. Representative expressed a general reservation with respect to the Committee's report, particularly those portions that stated or implied that the United States had not sufficiently encouraged the territory to seek a future political status apart from the United States.

Guam and American Samoa

These territories were considered together by the subcommittee concerned with Pacific territories. 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 on July 7 by the U.S. Representative on recent developments.

The U.S. statement noted the enactment of legislation by the U.S. Congress during the past year which had provided for Guam, like the Virgin Islands, a nonvoting delegate in

the U.S. Congress. The U.S. Representative also noted that the economy of Guam was in a healthy state—with an expanding tourist industry, emphasis on diversification, and the institution of major programs of economic development. With regard to American Samoa, he noted in particular that a Samoan chief had been elected to the newly created post of Delegate-at-Large to provide the territory with representation in Washington and the Samoan Constitution had been modified to establish a full-time salaried legislature for the territory.

On August 11 the Committee on Colonialism adopted without objection a report in which it, *inter alia* (1) reaffirmed the inalienable right of the peoples of American Samoa and Guam to self-determination in conformity with the Declaration on Colonialism; (2) reiterated its view that the question of size, isolation, and limited resources should in no way delay the speedy implementation of the Declaration on Colonialism in the territories of Guam and American Samoa; (3) reiterated its view that the dependence of the territory of Guam on military bases should be brought to an end; and (4) noted with concern the tendency of the United States to perpetuate its association with these territories.

The U.S. Representative again expressed a general reservation on the report and made a number of specific reservations. He pointed out that it was in fact the territories themselves that had opted for their association with the United States and that their status was not imposed by the United States. He stated that the report placed undue emphasis on the military, that the economy of Guam was in fact not dependent on the military base there, and that the United States was making efforts toward further diversification of the economy.

General Assembly Action

The General Assembly's Fourth Committee on December 8, 1972, approved a resolution on 17 small territories¹ including American Samoa, Guam, and the U.S. Virgin Islands.

In its operative paragraphs the resolution *inter alia* (1) reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of these territories to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Declaration on Colonialism; (2) reaffirmed that questions of territorial size, geographical isolation, and limited resources should in no way delay the implementation of the Declaration; (3) called upon the administering powers concerned to reconsider their attitude toward receiving visiting missions and to permit access by such missions to territories under their

administration; and (4) strongly deprecated the establishment of military bases in the territories as being incompatible with the purposes and principles of the UN Charter and of the Colonialism Declaration.

The draft resolution was approved on December 8 by a recorded vote of 84 to 4, with 13 abstentions (U.S.). The General Assembly in plenary session adopted the resolution on December 14 by a recorded vote of 100 to 4, with 17 abstentions (U.S.).

The United States abstained because, as in previous years, it found a number of the provisions in the resolution unacceptable, including the failure to take into account the special problems of small territories and the sweeping unsubstantiated allegations about military bases in territories.

Namibia

Security Council

During its session at Addis Ababa (see p. 26) the Security Council on February 4 adopted two resolutions concerning Namibia. The first, sponsored by Argentina and incorporating a proposal it had put forth in 1971, constituted a significant departure for the United Nations in dealing with the persistent problem of Namibia. Adopted by a vote of 14 to 0, with the

P.R.C. not participating, the resolution (1) invited the Secretary General, in consultation and close cooperation with a group of the Security Council, composed of Argentina, Somalia, and Yugoslavia, 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 and independence; (2) called on South Africa to cooperate with the Secretary General; and (3) requested the Secretary General to report to the Council on the implementation of the resolution not later than July 31, 1972.

The second resolution dealt with the problem of Namibia in more general terms. Sponsored by the

¹ 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 U.S. Virgin Islands.

Council's three African members and Yugoslavia, the resolution (1) strongly condemned South Africa's refusal to comply with Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on the subject; (2) reaffirmed that South Africa's continued occupation of Namibia was illegal and "detrimental to the interests of the people"; (3) called on South Africa to end repressive measures against African laborers in Namibia and to abolish any system of labor which might be in conflict with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; (4) called on states whose nationals and corporations operated in Namibia to insure that their hiring policies conformed with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; (5) considered South Africa's occupation "detrimental to the maintenance of peace and security in the region"; (6) called on South Africa to withdraw immediately its police and military forces as well as its civilian personnel from Namibia; and (7) decided that in the event of South African failure to comply with the resolution the Council would meet immediately to determine effective steps or measures to secure its full and speedy implementation. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 13 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions (France, U.K.).

At a press conference in New York on February 7, Secretary General Waldheim characterized the Argentine-sponsored resolution adopted at Addis Ababa as a "real breakthrough" and as a mandate for him to make direct contacts with the South African Government. At a press conference on February 10, he said that he had received a formal invitation to visit South Africa and that he would do so. It was subsequently announced that he would visit South Africa and Namibia during the period March 6-10 and that South Africa had attached no condi-

tions to his visit. During his visit the Secretary General met with Prime Minister Vorster and other South African officials, and during his three-day tour of Namibia he met with representatives of a broad cross section of the population.

SECRETARY GENERAL'S FIRST REPORT

Following consultations with the Security Council's group of three and further contact with the South Africans, the Secretary General reported to the Security Council on July 17. The report contained a summary of his discussion with Namibians during his visit there and outlined the points of agreement that had been reached with South Africa. These generally concerned the appointment of a personal representative of the Secretary General "to assist in achieving the aim of self-determination and independence and to study all questions relevant thereto." The representative would make recommendations to both the Secretary General and the South African Government. The representative would be based in New York but would be provided by South Africa with the requisite facilities to go to South Africa and Namibia as necessary and to meet all sections of the population of Namibia.

In concluding his report the Secretary General noted that the next step should be the appointment of a representative, which he would do, unless the Security Council wished otherwise. He noted that on the basis of his discussions with the South Africans he thought it would be worthwhile to continue efforts to implement the mandate given him by the Security Council.

When the Security Council met on July 31 the Secretary General said that he would be happy to continue his efforts if the Council wished him to do so. During this and the next meeting, on August 1, the Council

also heard a succession of speakers, principally from Africa, speak negatively about continuing the effort, citing such difficulties as South Africa's refusal to accept previous Security Council resolutions on Namibia and the lack of clarity with respect to South Africa's position on self-determination and independence for the territory.

On August 1 the Argentine Representative introduced a draft resolution that (1) invited the Secretary General to continue his contacts with all parties concerned, (2) approved his proposal to appoint a representative, and (3) requested him to report back to the Council by November 15. Despite the considerable reservations that had been expressed about South Africa's performance on Namibia the resolution was adopted by a vote of 14 to 0, with the P.R.C. again not participating, a position which its Representative said was based on South Africa's continued intransigence despite the dialogue with the Secretary General.

Explaining the U.S. position, Ambassador Bush called attention to the adroit manner in which the Secretary General had handled a most difficult situation. He pledged the fullest measure of support to the Secretary General and to the Security Council's group of three in their further efforts and expressed the hope that the next report to the Council would be able to note appreciable progress toward achieving the Council's goals for Namibia.

SECRETARY GENERAL'S SECOND REPORT

The Secretary General on September 24 nominated Ambassador Alfred M. Escher, a Swiss diplomat, to represent him in further discussions on Namibia with South Africa. During Mr. Escher's ensuing visit to South Africa and Namibia from

October 8 to November 3 contacts were resumed with officials of the Government of South Africa and representatives of the population of Namibia. Mr. Escher's November 14 report to the Secretary General was forwarded to the Security Council on November 15, with a notation by the Secretary General that the report contained a number of elements that the Council might wish to pursue. Mr. Waldheim also noted that he hoped the information would provide "a useful basis for the Council to consider and to decide on the future course of action."

In the concluding section of his report, Mr. Escher stated that the South African Prime Minister had told him "that it was not the appropriate stage to go into a detailed discussion" of the interpretation of self-determination and independence for Namibia which "could be done with better results, once the necessary conditions are established and the inhabitants have had more administrative and political experience." The Prime Minister said this could best be achieved on a "regional basis." He agreed, however, that there should be "legitimate political activity" in the territory, including freedom of speech and the holding of meetings, and he promised to examine the possibility of removing restrictions on freedom of movement, although this would be "limited by considerations regarding control over large-scale movement of persons in search of employment." Elsewhere in his report Mr. Escher noted that Prime Minister Vorster said he would be prepared to establish an advisory council drawn from representatives of the various regions, regional governments or authorities, and that he would assume overall responsibility for the territory as a whole.

On the basis of his contacts and the promise of further discussions with South Africa, Mr. Escher recom-

mended that the contacts be continued.

The Council resumed its consideration of Namibia on November 28. The Secretary General reviewed the results of his representative's mission and stated that "in spite of the gap that remains between the position of South Africa and that of the United Nations, it is my view that the door should not be closed to further contacts." He noted also that Mr. Escher's visit to Namibia had removed any doubts that might have existed about the political aspirations of its people and that "the evidence received by the representative makes it clear that the majority of the population in Namibia support the establishment of a united independent Namibia and expect the assistance of the United Nations in bringing this about."

During this meeting and the four that followed the Council heard as well from a number of African and other spokesmen, nearly all of them expressing dismay at the lack of actual progress that had been made with South Africa and calling into serious question the merit of continuing the Secretary General's mandate. The African members of the Council agreed, however, to accept a draft resolution sponsored by Argentina which extended the Secretary General's mandate. In introducing the resolution, the Argentine Representative noted that the Escher mission had been a catalyst in bringing different Namibian political groups together, but he observed that unless there was a positive reaction on the part of South Africa this resolution was perhaps the last attempt of its kind that the Security Council would make. The resolution was adopted on December 6 by 13 votes in favor with 1 abstention (U.S.S.R.). The P.R.C. continued its earlier nonparticipation.

Besides extending the Secretary General's mandate, the resolution re-

jected any "interpretation, measure, or policy" for Namibia not based on the principles of self-determination, national independence, and preservation of its territorial integrity. A deadline for the next report to the Council was set for April 30, 1973.

Speaking before the vote on December 6, Ambassador Phillips noted that many representatives had expressed the belief that progress had been slight but he stressed that the problem of Namibia would not be resolved quickly or by unrealistic declarations. He said that some progress had been made and that the channels of communication should be kept open.

General Assembly

On September 25 and 27 the Fourth Committee of the 27th General Assembly considered a September 22 letter from the Chairman of the Committee on Colonialism suggesting that the Fourth Committee should consider inviting, in consultation with the OAU, the representatives of the "national liberation movements" concerned to participate in an observer capacity in the examination of the questions of Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, and the Portuguese territories.

The unprecedented prospect of observer status for the liberation movements was not welcomed by all members. Ireland proposed on September 27 that the opinion of the UN Legal Counsel be sought, but this was rejected on the same day by a vote of 32 in favor (U.S.) to 62 opposed, with 9 abstentions. The Committee then decided to grant observer status to the liberation movements by a rollcall vote of 79 to 13 (U.S.), with 16 abstentions. The U.S. Representative, Mr. Grigg, explained that the United States op-

posed the proposal not only because there was no precedent for granting observer status to nongovernmental entities, but also because it opened up broader questions which did not concern southern Africa alone and which required much more careful and thorough examination. In addition, the new status for the liberation movement representatives was unnecessary as they had in the past been able to receive a full hearing, as petitioners, through the normal procedures of the Committee.

The Committee considered the question of Namibia at 11 meetings between November 1 and December 14. On December 13 it approved by a recorded vote of 106 (U.S.) to 1 (Portugal), with no abstentions, a resolution on the UN Fund for Namibia which had been introduced the day before by Finland and Nepal on behalf of 13 sponsors. The resolution called for a third year of interim financing for the Fund from the assessed UN budget to aid the comprehensive program of assistance for Namibia started by a General Assembly resolution of December 9, 1970. The amount authorized was \$100,000—twice the sum provided in 1971 and 1972. The resolution once again invited governments to contribute to the Fund and authorized the Secretary General to implement the Fund's administration with the advice of the UN Council for Namibia¹ and the Security Council's Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Namibia.

The United States explained that although it supported the idea of a voluntary fund to aid Namibians, it had reservations with regard to financing the fund from the assessed budget, considered that such a meas-

¹The Council for Namibia was established by the General Assembly in 1967 to administer the territory until independence.

ure could not be extended indefinitely, and did not approve of the increase to \$100,000.

The General Assembly adopted the resolution on December 18 by a recorded vote of 125 (U.S.) to 2 (Portugal, South Africa).

A second, lengthy resolution on Namibia, sponsored by 37 states, was introduced in the Fourth Committee on December 13 by Sudan and Uganda. Among other provisions, the resolution condemned South Africa for "its continued refusal to terminate its illegal occupation and administration of the Territory of Namibia" and invited the Security Council to take "effective measures" to secure the withdrawal by South Africa of its illegal administration. The resolution also decided to enlarge the Council for Namibia and requested it to undertake several specific responsibilities, including the examination of foreign economic interests operating in Namibia and the seeking of effective means to regulate such activities as appropriate. The draft was approved by the Committee on December 14 by a rollcall vote of 101 to 1 (Portugal), with 15 abstentions (U.S.). The General Assembly adopted the resolution on December 18 by a recorded vote of 112 to 2 (Portugal, South Africa), with 15 abstentions (U.S.). The U.S. abstention was based on skepticism about the role intended for the Security Council, particularly in light of the efforts by the Secretary General, and also about the expanded functions of the Council for Namibia.

After adoption of the resolution the Assembly approved the nomination by its President of Burundi, P.R.C., Liberia, Mexico, Poland, Romania, and the U.S.S.R. as seven additional members of the Council for Namibia. They joined Chile, Colombia, Egypt, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Turkey, Yugoslavia, and Zambia.

Portuguese Territories

Security Council

In addition to the Senegalese complaint against Portugal in October (see p. 29) the Security Council twice considered the general question of the Portuguese territories in Africa—in Addis Ababa in January and February and in New York in November.

While in Addis Ababa the Council on February 4 adopted by a vote of 9 to 0, with 6 abstentions (U.S.), a resolution that (1) condemned Portugal's persistent refusal to implement UN resolutions on self-determination, (2) affirmed that the situation resulting from Portugal's colonial policies and its provocations against neighboring states "seriously disturbs international peace and security" in Africa, and (3) called on Portugal to take a number of immediate steps to improve the situation. The United States abstained principally because it could not accept the tentative finding of a possible threat to international peace and security. In addition the United States believed that the resolution was unlikely to contribute to the goal of self-determination in the Portuguese territories, a goal the United States has consistently supported.

The Council's November consideration of the Portuguese territories was the result of a November 7 letter to the Council's President from 37 African states requesting that it examine the situation in the territories. The letter asserted that the liberation movements in the territories had been recognized by the UN Committee on Colonialism and the General Assembly as "the legitimate representatives of the African peoples" in them. It

asked the Council to take the "necessary measures to bring the Government of Portugal to recognize the right of self-determination and independence of the African peoples under its domination" and to draw up "a timetable for the transfer of power to the authentic representatives of the African peoples" of the territories.

Portugal declined to participate in the Council's debate because, as it said in a letter of November 15, it considered the matter to be beyond the competence of that organ as defined by the UN Charter; there was no dispute prevailing between Portugal and any of the states requesting the meetings. On the other hand, it said, if the objective was to discuss the situation in the overseas provinces of Portuguese Guinea, Cape Verde, Angola, and Mozambique the question was within Portugal's domestic jurisdiction and UN consideration was thus expressly excluded by the Charter.

The Council met six times between November 15 and 22 and heard a succession of African representatives and liberation movement spokesmen hit hard on the themes of immediate liberation, the alleged role of NATO members in enabling Portugal to wage its colonial wars, and the need for the Security Council to take corrective action. On November 22 it considered two draft resolutions which had been introduced by Guinea, Somalia, and the Sudan.

One of the draft resolutions, in its key operative paragraph, called on Portugal to enter into negotiations "with the parties concerned" with a view to achieving a solution to the armed confrontation in its African territories and to permitting the people in those territories to exercise

their right to self-determination and independence. It was adopted unanimously by the Council after the United States had sought, but failed to obtain, a separate vote on another operative paragraph calling on Portugal to cease forthwith its military operations and all acts of repression in its African territories.

Speaking immediately after the vote, Ambassador Bush noted that the United States was still concerned about the condemnatory tone of the paragraph on which he had requested a separate vote. He was, however, able to express pleasure at being able to vote for a resolution which had as its goal the solution of the "very difficult problem" of the Portuguese territories through negotiations.

The second draft resolution, cast in much harsher terms, was not put to a vote by its cosponsors, although it remains before the Council. It would have reaffirmed that the situation resulting from Portuguese colonialism and constant Portuguese aggression against neighboring African states seriously disturbed international peace and security and affirmed that NATO assistance to Portugal enabled it to pursue its policy of "colonial domination and repression." It would also have had the Security Council decide that all states should end their supply of weapons and military equipment to Portugal and decide to establish a five-member committee to investigate the flow of arms used by Portugal in Africa.

General Assembly

The General Assembly's Fourth Committee considered the Portuguese territories at 22 meetings between October 2 and November 13. The report of the Committee on Colonialism on the subject was introduced on the first day and representatives of FRE-

LIMO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique) and the PAIGC (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde) were admitted as observers in accordance with the Fourth Committee's earlier decision (see p. 172).

Amilcar Cabral, the Secretary General of the PAIGC, was heard by the Committee on October 16. At the same meeting the Committee decided to request its chairman to convey to the President of the General Assembly the desire of many members that the Assembly should invite Cabral to make a statement before it in connection with the Assembly's consideration of the Portuguese territories. This was decided despite the reservations of several members, including the United States. In addition to doubts about the propriety of a nonmember representative addressing the plenary Assembly, the point was also made by those holding reservations that Mr. Cabral had been given ample opportunity to make his views known in the Fourth Committee, in which all members were represented, and that the text of his statement would be circulated to all members. Further disagreement on the subject of his appearance before the General Assembly was averted when Cabral himself declined to have the issue pressed.

On November 10, Sierra Leone, Yugoslavia, Tanzania, and Pakistan introduced a lengthy draft resolution ultimately sponsored by 50 states. The draft *inter alia* affirmed that the national liberation movements of Angola, Mozambique, and Portuguese Guinea were the "authentic representatives" of the people in those territories and recommended that when dealing with matters pertaining to the territories all governments, specialized agencies, and other organizations within the UN system should insure representation by the

liberation movements concerned in an appropriate capacity and in consultation with the OAU. The draft also called for early negotiations between Portugal and the national liberation movements with a view to independence of the territories. It further requested all governments, particularly NATO members, to withdraw any assistance that enabled Portugal to continue its colonial wars in Africa.

The draft was put to a vote in the Committee on November 13. The representatives of Nicaragua, Colombia, Uruguay, and Venezuela asked for a separate paragraph vote on three preambular and three operative paragraphs, including the paragraph designating the liberation movements as

the authentic representatives of the people in the territories. This motion was rejected by a rollcall vote of 26 (U.S.) to 79, with 15 abstentions. The Committee then approved the resolution by a recorded vote of 104 to 5 (U.S.), with 11 abstentions.

The General Assembly adopted the resolution on November 14 by a rollcall vote of 98 to 6 (U.S.), with 8 abstentions. The United States voted against the resolution primarily because of the negative effect the resolution would have on the forthcoming effort of the Security Council to encourage negotiations among all parties concerned in seeking a solution to the problem of the Portuguese territories.

Southern Rhodesia

Security Council

The Security Council met repeatedly during 1972 on Southern Rhodesia, either to call on the United Kingdom for action toward a political solution or to consider the question of adherence to UN sanctions. The United States was subjected to considerable criticism because of the Byrd Amendment permitting imports of strategic material from Southern Rhodesia.

CONSIDERATION OF SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS

While in Addis Ababa (see p. 26) the Council on February 3 considered a draft resolution sponsored by Guinea, Somalia, and Sudan which *inter alia* called on the United Kingdom to take certain actions with re-

spect to Southern Rhodesia. The British were called upon to safeguard the lives and welfare of the African people in the territory against repressive and brutal measures by the illegal regime. They were urged to desist from implementing the settlement proposals that had been concluded in November 1971 and to convene a constitutional conference without delay "in which the African people . . . would be able to participate in the formulation of new proposals for the political and constitutional advancement of their country."

The draft was put to a vote on February 4 and defeated by a vote of 9 to 1 (U.K.), with 5 abstentions (Belgium, France, Italy, Japan, U.S.). The resolution was not adopted because a negative vote had been cast by a permanent member of the Council. The United States

abstained both because the resolution prejudged the findings of the Pearce Commission, which the British Government had appointed to determine the acceptability to the majority of Rhodesians of the settlement proposals, and because it was unrealistic in its call for an immediate constitutional conference.

FEBRUARY MEETINGS ON SANCTIONS

At the request of Guinea, Somalia, and Sudan the Council met again in New York on February 16, 24, 25, and 28 to consider its Sanctions Committee's fourth report, which had been submitted June 16, 1971, and an interim report of December 3, 1971. The interim report noted that the Sanctions Committee had met on November 22, 1971, because importation of chrome ore from Southern Rhodesia might be permitted by the United States if an act of the U.S. Congress entered into force.

On February 24 Somalia introduced a draft resolution sponsored by the three African members that (1) decided the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia should remain in force until all the people in the territory were able to exercise freely and equally their right to self-determination; (2) urged all states to implement fully the sanctions; (3) declared that any legislation passed by member states that would permit the importation of an embargoed commodity would be contrary to their international obligations; and (4) called on states not to pass or implement any legislation that would permit the importation of embargoed goods, specifically including chrome ore.

On February 25 Somalia introduced a revised text of the three-power draft that amended the first paragraph so that it reaffirmed that sanctions should remain in force until the objectives of the Security Coun-

cil's resolution of May 29, 1968 (which had imposed comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions) had been met. The resolution also requested the Sanctions Committee to meet urgently and to submit a report to the Council not later than April 15, with recommendations on ways of insuring the implementation of sanctions. (The deadline was subsequently postponed.) The draft was otherwise similar to the original version in calling on states to honor their international obligations.

Although the resolution did not specifically mention the United States, possible U.S. imports of strategic materials from Southern Rhodesia were clearly in the sponsors' minds, especially in view of the Sanctions Committee's interim report on U.S. intentions. On February 28 Ambassador Phillips defended the U.S. record on enforcing the sanctions program and pointed out that for compelling reasons of national security the United States should not be placed in a disadvantageous position with regard to the importation of strategic commodities. He said that U.S. imports of chrome were a very small part of Rhodesia's exports, the United States remained committed to sanctions as a whole, and the Council should direct its attention to serious sanctions violations. The United States volunteered to report all exceptions to sanctions that might occur under U.S. law and suggested that other governments report on trade in key Rhodesian products.

The resolution was adopted by the Council on February 28 by a vote of 13 to 0, with 2 abstentions (U.K., U.S.). The paragraph deciding to reaffirm the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia was adopted by a separate vote of 14 to 0, with the United Kingdom abstaining.

The United States abstained because, although it supported the basic principle of continuing the sanctions

program against Southern Rhodesia, it would not vote in favor of a resolution which directly or indirectly affected U.S. laws that under the Constitution must be implemented.

SANCTIONS COMMITTEE REPORTS

The Sanctions Committee held 38 meetings between March 13 and May 8 before submitting on May 9 the special report called for by the February 28 resolution. This report consisted of "recommendations and suggestions" generally agreed by the Committee, as well as "proposals" made by members that were not generally accepted. The points on which there was general agreement ranged from calling on states to provide more information to the Committee on suspected sanctions violations to a declaration that documentation emanating from South Africa, Angola, and Mozambique pertaining to products also produced by Southern Rhodesia should be considered *prima facie* suspect and therefore subject to closer scrutiny.

Guinea, Somalia, and Sudan submitted proposals calling for the reaffirmation of the inalienable rights of the people of Southern Rhodesia to freedom and independence, the full implementation of the Council's resolutions on sanctions, actions with respect to South Africa and Portugal for their persistent violations of the sanctions, and expansion of the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. These proposals were supported by Argentina, P.R.C., India, Panama, U.S.S.R., and Yugoslavia. Japan expressed its support in principle, but reserved its position for procedural reasons and did not associate itself with the African proposals.

Belgium, France, Italy, and the United States noted their support of the recommendations generally agreed by the Committee but said they could not agree with the pro-

posals made by the three African states. The latter were similar to proposals submitted earlier in the Committee that had given rise to objections on substance, on procedure, or on the competence of the Committee to discuss matters not specifically referred to it by the Security Council.

The Committee also did not adopt proposals by the P.R.C. and the U.S.S.R. that the Security Council condemn the United States for violating the sanctions and also extend the sanctions to cover South Africa and Portugal. The African members noted that they had not expressed their position in greater detail on the fact that the United States was in "open contravention" of the Council's resolutions on sanctions because this matter had been dealt with in a separate interim report to the Council.

The Committee in fact issued two interim reports on this question. The first, dated March 29, noted that a shipment of chrome ore of Southern Rhodesian origin had been imported into the United States. While the report recommended no particular action to bring such imports to an end, it did note that ships registered in other countries were involved in transporting the ore. The Committee decided that the Secretary General should be requested to send a note to governments, "asking them to take any necessary measures to alert shipping concerns, other carriers and allied interests in their country to the danger of being in breach of sanctions through participating in transactions concerning Southern Rhodesian chrome ore."

The next interim report, dated April 10, concerned a second shipment of chrome ore from Southern Rhodesia, confirmed by the U.S. Representative at an April 6 Committee meeting. The report said that the Committee considered the second importation of chrome ore into the

United States "a serious matter" and the Committee expressed its regret that this had occurred despite its report on the first shipment. The report concluded that the Committee was of the view that the U.S. imports "deserved the special attention of the Security Council as a matter of urgent concern."

FURTHER MEETINGS ON SANCTIONS AND SETTLEMENT

With three separate Sanctions Committee reports before it, the Security Council met twice on July 28 to consider further the question of Southern Rhodesia. The brief session had been billed as a procedural one to allow the Council to adopt the Committee's special report on strengthening sanctions. The resulting resolution, however, went beyond this in three operative paragraphs which called on states having economic and other relations with Rhodesia to end them immediately, demanded that all states scrupulously carry out their sanctions obligations, and condemned all acts that violated sanctions.

The resolution, sponsored by Guinea, Somalia, and Sudan, was adopted on July 28 by a vote of 14 to 0, with 1 abstention (U.S.). The United States abstained because it could not vote in favor of those three operative paragraphs.

The Security Council next considered Southern Rhodesia at four meetings between September 27 and 29, with representatives from a number of African and other countries taking part in the debate.

On September 29 the Council voted on two draft resolutions, both sponsored by the three African members.

Speaking before the vote, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Phillips, pointed out that the problem of sanctions violations would not be properly dealt with if attention continued to be centered on the comparatively

small amount of U.S. imports. He explained that the U.S. share of Rhodesia's 1972 exports of all commodities would only be between 2 and 3 percent of the total. With respect to the remaining 97 to 98 percent, he drew on material from Sanctions Committee reports which highlighted the volume of Rhodesian trade with other countries and stressed that more time and effort should be expended on determining where these exports were going.

The first draft resolution concentrated on implementation of the sanctions program. In a preambular paragraph the resolution expressed the Council's deep concern at the U.S. report that it had authorized the importation of chrome ore and other minerals from Southern Rhodesia. In its operative paragraphs it (1) called on all states to implement the sanctions fully, (2) urged "the United States to cooperate fully with the United Nations in the effective implementation of sanctions," (3) requested the Sanctions Committee to undertake urgently consideration of the type of action that could be taken "in view of the open and persistent refusal of South Africa and Portugal to implement sanctions against the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia," and (4) requested the Committee to submit a report on suggestions and proposals that had been made in the Council for extending the scope and improving the effectiveness of sanctions. This resolution was adopted by a vote of 13 to 0, with 2 abstentions (U.K., U.S.). In explaining the U.S. abstention, Ambassador Phillips reiterated that, given its domestic law, the United States could not vote in favor of the call for across the board implementation of sanctions.

The second draft resolution, dealing with the political aspects of the question, *inter alia* (1) reaffirmed the principle that there should be no

independence before majority rule in Southern Rhodesia, (2) urged the United Kingdom to convene a national constitutional conference "in which the genuine political representatives of the people" of Southern Rhodesia would be able to work out a settlement on the future of the territory, and (3) called on the United Kingdom to create a number of conditions necessary to permit the free expression of the right to self-determination.

The vote on this draft resolution was 10 to 1 (U.K.), with 4 abstentions (Belgium, France, Italy, U.S.). The negative U.K. vote constituted a veto. Ambassador Phillips explained that the United States shared the sentiments of others on the Council that all elements within Southern Rhodesia should remain in contact and jointly demonstrate their will to work out a solution to the present impasse. He noted that the United States did not believe that the use of force would effectively resolve the problem, but neither would steps taken by the Rhodesian regime to suppress those committed to peaceful and constructive change. As the draft resolution was indirectly critical of the United Kingdom for its settlement effort in late 1971 and early 1972, Ambassador Phillips further stated that the United States believed that the British had acted in a wholly responsible manner in seeking to bring the situation in Southern Rhodesia under control.

General Assembly

The Fourth Committee of the 27th General Assembly considered the question of Southern Rhodesia at 15 meetings between October 25 and November 30. In accordance with the Committee's September 27 decision (see p. 172), the representatives of

liberation movements in the territory sat in the Committee as observers; the representatives of the Zimbabwe African People's Union and the Zimbabwe African National Union spoke on October 25 and again on November 10.

On November 28 Syria, Senegal, Nigeria, Malagasy Republic, and Romania introduced a draft resolution ultimately sponsored by 44 states. In one of its preambular paragraphs it "noted with satisfaction" the rejection by the African population of Southern Rhodesia of the "proposals for a settlement" agreed upon between the Smith regime and the British Government. In its operative paragraphs it, *inter alia*, reaffirmed the principle that there should be no independence in Southern Rhodesia before majority rule and called upon the United Kingdom to perform certain actions in the territory to enable the people to exercise freely and fully their right to self-determination and independence. The Committee approved the draft resolution on November 30 by a rollcall vote of 103 to 3 (U.S.), with 10 abstentions, and the General Assembly adopted it on December 7 by a rollcall vote of 111 to 4 (U.S.), with 9 abstentions. The United States voted against the resolution because of the unrealistic demands it made on the United Kingdom.

Also on November 28 Kenya, Sierra Leone, and Guyana introduced in the Fourth Committee a second draft resolution that was ultimately sponsored by 38 states. This draft, *inter alia*, condemned as contrary to Charter obligations all violations of sanctions and, in particular, the importation by the United States of strategic materials of Rhodesian origin. The Committee approved the draft on November 30 by a rollcall vote of 87 to 8 (U.S.), with 21 abstentions, and the General Assembly adopted it on December 7 by a rollcall vote of 93

to 8 (U.S.), with 23 abstentions. The United States voted against the resolution because it could not accept language which condemned actions

taken in compliance with its own laws and which focused attention unfairly on the United States while ignoring the violations of others.

Other Questions

General Resolutions

In addition to the resolutions on specific territories, the 27th General Assembly adopted a number of general resolutions dealing with colonialism and racial discrimination. For the most part they followed closely the texts of other resolutions adopted in recent years.

FOURTH COMMITTEE

The Fourth Committee spent about three weeks beginning November 13 considering various aspects of the problem.

With respect to the Assembly's continuing effort to involve the specialized agencies in the process of decolonization, Bulgaria, Sierra Leone, and Tanzania on December 5 introduced a draft resolution ultimately sponsored by 36 states. The resolution *inter alia* requested the specialized agencies to provide moral and material assistance to African liberation movements, to aid people in "liberated areas" of colonial territories, to insure representation for the liberation movements in their meetings, and to end their association with Portugal and South Africa "until they renounce their policies of racial discrimination and colonial oppression." The Committee approved the draft on December 6 by a recorded vote of

85 to 4 (U.S.), with 23 abstentions, and the General Assembly adopted it on December 14 by a recorded vote of 98 to 4 (U.S.), with 24 abstentions. The United States opposed the resolution as it had similar ones in previous years because it did not accept that specialized agencies should take political actions well outside their established mandates or become involved in the internal affairs of member states.

On December 7 Mongolia, Nepal, Mali, and Uganda introduced a lengthy draft resolution sponsored by 29 states that *inter alia* (1) reaffirmed that "the activities of foreign economic, financial and other interests" operating in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, and the Portuguese territories "constitute a major obstacle to political independence and to the enjoyment of the natural resources of those territories by the indigenous inhabitants," and (2) condemned the policies of states that support such foreign economic and other interests in dependent territories. The Fourth Committee approved the resolution on December 8 by a rollcall vote of 78 to 6 (U.S.), with 14 abstentions, and the General Assembly adopted it on December 14 by a recorded vote of 106 to 6 (U.S.), with 15 abstentions. The United States voted against the resolution, as it had similar resolutions in the past, because it disagrees with the basic premise that foreign

economic interests are an impediment to self-determination.

The United States supported two other resolutions concerning education and training programs for indigenous inhabitants of non-self-governing territories. The first was introduced on December 1 by Finland and Uganda and sponsored by 21 states. Continuing the UN Educational and Training Program for Southern Africa, started in 1967, it (1) appealed to all states, organizations, and individuals to contribute to the program; and (2) provided \$100,000 from the regular UN budget to insure continuity of the program pending the receipt of adequate voluntary contributions. The Fourth Committee approved the resolution on December 5 by a vote of 95 (U.S.) to 2, with no abstentions, and the General Assembly adopted it on December 14 by a recorded vote of 127 (U.S.) to 2, with no abstentions.

The second resolution, introduced by Cameroon on December 7 and sponsored by 23 states, invited all states to make generous offers of study and training facilities to inhabitants of non-self-governing territories and requested the states administering such territories to provide all the necessary facilities to enable students to avail themselves of such offers. The resolution was adopted without objection by the Fourth Committee on December 8 and by the General Assembly on December 14.

The United States, as in previous years, abstained on a resolution entitled "Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73e of the Charter of the United Nations." Sponsored by 20 states, the resolution *inter alia* (1) strongly condemned Portugal for its continued refusal to recognize the colonial status of its territories and to transmit information on them; and (2) reaffirmed that, in the absence of a decision by the General

Assembly itself that a non-self-governing territory has reached full self-government, the administering power must transmit to the United Nations information on the economic, social, and educational conditions in the territory. The Fourth Committee approved the resolution on December 8 by a recorded vote of 68 to 2, with 7 abstentions (U.S.) and the General Assembly adopted it on December 14 by a recorded vote of 117 to 2, with 9 abstentions (U.S.).

PLENARY ASSEMBLY

The 27th General Assembly adopted five resolutions on colonial issues without prior reference to a main committee.

The principal resolution on decolonization, titled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples," was sponsored by 55 states. This lengthy resolution *inter alia* (1) reaffirmed that colonialism in all its forms threatened international peace and security; (2) reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples to achieve self-determination and independence by "all the necessary means at their disposal"; (3) urged all states, specialized agencies, and other organizations within the UN system to provide moral and material assistance to all peoples struggling for their freedom and independence in the colonial territories; and (4) requested states to withhold assistance of any kind from South Africa, Portugal, and the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia. The resolution was adopted on November 2 by a rollcall vote of 99 to 5 (U.S.), with 23 abstentions. The United States opposed the resolution, as it had similar ones in previous years, because of the unqualified assertion that colonialism is a threat to international peace and security, the implicit endorsement of the use of vio-

lence, and the generally extreme approach to the process of decolonization.

Two resolutions concerned cooperation between the United Nations and the OAU. The first, sponsored by 68 states, was adopted on November 2 by a vote of 118 to 2, with 7 abstentions (U.S.). It (1) requested the Secretary General, in cooperation with the OAU, "to organize at Oslo in 1973 an International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa"; and (2) authorized the Secretary General to provide the necessary staff and services for the Conference. The United States abstained because it believed that the conference would do little more than duplicate the thorough coverage of the problem already achieved by the United Nations.

The second resolution, sponsored by 41 African states, (1) reiterated the intention of the United Nations, in cooperation with the OAU, to intensify its efforts to find a solution to "the present grave situation in southern Africa"; and (2) requested the Secretary General to intensify cooperation between the United Nations and the OAU in providing assistance to victims of colonialism and apartheid in southern Africa and in disseminating information on the situation in the region. The resolution was adopted on December 13 by a vote of 124 (U.S.) to 2, with no abstentions.

A resolution entitled "Week of Solidarity with the Colonial Peoples of Southern Africa and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde Fighting for Freedom, Independence, and Equal Rights" was sponsored by 42 states. Noting with satisfaction the progress toward national liberation in the colonial territories of southern Africa and Portuguese Guinea, the resolution appealed to governments to hold annually with the peoples in those territories a Week of Solidarity,

beginning on May 25, Africa Liberation Day (the anniversary of the signing of the OAU Charter in 1963). It recommended that public campaigns be held during the week to obtain contributions to the Assistance Fund for the Struggle against Colonialism and Apartheid that had been established by the OAU. The resolution was adopted on November 2 by a vote of 91 to 2, with 30 abstentions (U.S.).

The United States also abstained on a resolution, sponsored by 47 states, which requested the Secretary General, all states, specialized agencies, and other UN and nongovernmental organizations to increase the public information campaign against colonialism and to seek greater publicity on the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization. It was adopted on November 2 by a vote of 113 to 2, with 12 abstentions (U.S.). The United States abstained primarily because of the cost of the widespread and continuous publicity called for.

THIRD COMMITTEE

The question of self-determination was also considered by the General Assembly's Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural) at nine meetings between November 13 and 30. About 35 states took part in the debate. Many of those who spoke condemned the policies of Portugal and South Africa which had consistently refused to implement UN decisions, and several also referred to the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of Palestine for self-determination and independence.

On November 27 a draft resolution was submitted that in its final form was sponsored by 20 states. The resolution (1) reiterated the right of all peoples to self-determination and independence; (2) strongly condemned all governments, particularly South

Africa and Portugal, that did not implement General Assembly resolutions on self-determination and independence; (3) strongly condemned the policies of NATO members and other states that assist "Portugal and other racist regimes in Africa and elsewhere"; and (4) requested the Secretary General to submit a report to the 28th General Assembly on the present scope and nature of assistance to colonial countries and peoples in order to assist in the examination of areas and ways and means of further promoting humanitarian and material assistance.

The Third Committee approved the resolution on November 30 by a rollcall vote of 89 to 9 (U.S.), with 17 abstentions, and the General Assembly adopted it on December 12 by a recorded vote of 89 to 8 (U.S.), with 18 abstentions. The United States voted against the resolution primarily because of its condemnation of the policies of NATO members. During the Committee's debate, however, the United States reaffirmed its support for "all practical proposals" the United Nations might take to promote racial equality, self-determination, and social justice.

Puerto Rico

In a February 9, 1972, letter to the Chairman of the Committee on Colonialism, the Permanent Representative of Cuba, having alleged during the previous year that the 1952 plebiscite on commonwealth status for Puerto Rico had not been a free act of self-determination and that Puerto Rico remained a colonial territory, requested that the Committee "decide immediately to include the question of Puerto Rico in its agenda." In a

letter of reply on February 28 the U.S. Permanent Representative, Ambassador Bush, called the letter by the Cuban Representative an "act of interference in the affairs of the United States of America and of Puerto Rico" and noted that the people of Puerto Rico had freely chosen their present status. He urged that the Committee reject the Cuban request.

After prolonged maneuvering within the Committee, Iraq offered a resolution which instructed the Working Group of the Committee to submit a report early in 1973 relating specifically to the procedure to be followed by the Committee for the implementation of the 1960 Declaration on Colonialism with respect to Puerto Rico. On August 28 the resolution was adopted by a vote of 12 to 0, with 10 abstentions. Although Cuba hailed the adoption of this resolution as a victory, the United States believed that it represented the failure of Cuba's attempt to add Puerto Rico to the Committee's list of non-self-governing territories.

The United States also made clear on a number of other occasions during 1972 in General Assembly debate and in various committees in which Cuba brought up the issue of Puerto Rico that it considered the issue to have been clearly and definitively settled by the United Nations in 1953. At that time the General Assembly adopted a resolution recognizing that, "when choosing their constitutional and international status, the people of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico have effectively exercised their right to self-determination." The United States pointed out that, as recently as 1971, the General Assembly had by an overwhelming majority rejected a proposal to include Puerto Rico on its agenda.

Part IV

Legal Developments

International Court of Justice

Cases

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 to appeal an ICAO Council decision that it had jurisdiction to hear a Pakistani complaint against India.

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. After the hijacking of an Indian aircraft to Pakistan and its destruction at Lahore airport by the hijackers in February 1971, India suspended flights of its own aircraft over Pakistan and withdrew permission for Pakistani aircraft to overfly its territory.

In March 1971 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 International Court. Pakistan subsequently objected that the Court had no jurisdiction to entertain the appeal.

The oral proceedings of the case occupied nine sittings between

June 19 and July 3, 1972. On August 18 the Court delivered its judgment. By a vote of 13 to 3 it rejected Pakistan's objection to its competence and found that it had jurisdiction to hear India's appeal. Then by a vote of 14 to 2 it held that the ICAO Council was competent to entertain Pakistan's complaint, and it therefore rejected India's appeal against the Council's decision assuming jurisdiction.

APPLICATION FOR REVIEW OF JUDGMENT NO. 158 OF THE UNITED NATIONS ADMINISTRATIVE TRIBUNAL

An official of the UNDP, Mohammed Fasla, whose fixed-term appointment expired December 31, 1969, appealed a decision not to renew his appointment, first to the Joint Appeals Board and subsequently to the UN Administrative Tribunal.¹ On April 28, 1972, the latter decided, *inter alia*, that the appellant should receive 6 months' salary and was entitled to submit to the UN Secretary General certain claims for reimbursement. Mr. Fasla considered that the Administrative Tribunal had not fully examined and passed upon all his claims and therefore he applied for a review of the judgment. On June 20 the Committee on Applications for Review of Administrative Tribunal Judgments²

¹ The UN Administrative Tribunal was established by the General Assembly in 1949 to hear and pass judgment upon applications alleging nonobservance of contracts of employment of staff members of the UN Secretariat or of their terms of appointment.

² The Committee is composed of those states serving on the General Committee of the current or most recent session of the General Assembly; in this case, Belgium, Bulgaria, Burundi, P.R.C., Costa
(Continued)

decided to request an advisory opinion of the International Court, specifically on whether the Tribunal had failed to exercise the jurisdiction vested in it and had committed a fundamental error in procedures which occasioned a failure of justice.

This is the first occasion on which the Committee has requested an advisory opinion of the Court.

The Court set September 20, subsequently extended to January 31, 1973, as the deadline for submission of written statements on the issues.

**FISHERIES JURISDICTION
(UNITED KINGDOM v. ICELAND;
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY v.
ICELAND)**

The United Kingdom on April 14 and the Federal Republic of Germany on June 5 filed in the Registry of the Court applications instituting proceedings against Iceland. Both proceedings originated in the decision of Iceland to extend, as of September 1, 1972, the limits of its exclusive fisheries zone from a distance of 12 to one of 50 nautical miles from the baselines round its coast.

The United Kingdom and Germany on July 19 and 21, respectively, filed requests for interim measures of protection to prevent this unilateral extension of Iceland's exclusive fishing area limits, but on July 28 Iceland asserted that the Court had no jurisdiction in the matter and refused to appoint an agent to represent it in the proceedings. On August 17 the Court by a vote of 14 to 1 issued orders restraining Iceland

(Continued)

Rica, Cyprus, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, Indonesia, Ireland, Jamaica, Japan, Nigeria, Peru, Philippines, Sierra Leone, Sudan, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela, Yemen (Aden), and Zambia. Established by a 1955 General Assembly resolution, the Committee is authorized to request advisory opinions of the International Court on disputed judgments of the Administrative Tribunal.

from extending its fisheries limits as planned and stipulating restrictions on the catch limit of the British and German trawler fleets until the final judgment was rendered. Iceland strongly protested the order and announced it would not consider itself bound. The case continues.

Rules of Court

On May 10 the Court adopted a number of amendments to its Rules of Court which had not been changed since 1946. The amendments became effective September 1, 1972, but will not apply to cases or any phase of cases submitted before that date. The amendments were designed to make the Court's procedure as simple and expeditious as possible, to provide greater flexibility, and to reduce the cost for parties in both contentious and advisory proceedings. In addition, the provisions of the Rules relating to the formation of chambers were made more detailed in order to open the way for significantly greater use of the chambers procedure by states, which now can have a considerable voice in the selection of the judges for those chambers. The Court noted that the revision, begun in 1967, was not yet complete and affirmed that it would continue to work on the remainder of the Rules.

General Assembly Consideration

The Sixth (Legal) Committee of the 27th General Assembly debated the agenda item, "Review of the role of the International Court of Justice," at five meetings between December 7 and 12, but decided to postpone taking any action until the 28th General Assembly in 1973.

The item was originally placed on the agenda in 1970 by the United States and 11 other members who proposed the establishment of a special committee to study the role of the Court and to suggest means of removing obstacles to its effective operation. In 1970 the General Assembly simply requested states to submit comments on the role of the Court and in 1971, after a lengthy debate, again decided to request further comments but to postpone action on the item until 1972.

On December 7 the Netherlands introduced a draft resolution sponsored by 17 states, including the United States, which would have, *inter alia*, (1) welcomed the amendments to the Rules of Court which had been made by the Court in 1972; (2) established an *ad hoc* committee to study the role played by the Court in the international community, the problems involved, and the ways and means of solving them; and (3) reported to the Assembly in 1974.

Speaking the same day in support of the draft resolution, the U.S. Representative, Mr. Scherer, expressed appreciation for the efforts the Court had made to amend significant portions of its Rules. The Court, he said, had taken important steps to facilitate its use by states in the peaceful settlement of disputes and the lack of use of the Court did not reflect an

absence of disputes. Therefore a study was needed of the underlying reasons for the reluctance of states to use the Court. The United States believed that it was timely to undertake a "detailed and thorough analysis of the role the Court is now playing and a study of the role we feel it should play in the future." He concluded by warning, "If we do not take this next step at this time, valuable momentum will be lost and growth of the role of law will be the loser."

On December 11 France submitted a competing draft resolution that did not recommend any further action to strengthen the role of the Court but, *inter alia*, (1) welcomed the amendments to the Rules of Court, (2) recommended that states study and take full advantage of them, and (3) recommended that UN bodies and the specialized agencies utilize to a greater extent the advisory opinion jurisdiction of the Court.

Neither resolution was put to the vote. Because the time remaining in the 27th session was inadequate for the necessary negotiations on the competing drafts, the Committee on December 12 decided by a vote of 48 (U.S.) to 9, with 14 abstentions, to adjourn debate on the item until 1973. On December 18 the General Assembly in plenary session endorsed this decision without a vote.

International Law Commission

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 who are elected by the Assembly for 5-year terms and serve in their individual capacities. In 1971 the 26th General Assembly elected Richard D. Kearney of the United

States to a second term on the Commission. On May 2, 1972, the Commission unanimously elected Mr. Kearney to serve as its Chairman for 1 year.

In discharging its functions the Commission studies topics it has determined are suitable for codification or which other UN bodies, usually the General Assembly, refer to it. Its normal procedure is to select one of its members to prepare a report and, following a preliminary discussion, to request the rapporteur to prepare draft articles on the subject. After considering the draft articles the Commission adopts tentative texts which are sent to governments for review. Following reconsideration in light of government comments the Commission adopts final texts and forwards them to the General Assembly.

Upon receipt of a set of draft articles, generally in the form of a proposed convention, the General Assembly has a choice of actions. It may convene a diplomatic conference to consider adoption of a convention, it may review the articles itself, it may simply take note of them, or it may remand them to the Commission for further study.

At its 24th session, held in Geneva from May 2 to July 7, 1972, the Commission's major accomplishments were the completion of the first reading of draft articles on succession of states in respect of treaties and the preparation of 12 draft articles on the prevention and punishment of crimes against diplomatic agents and other internationally protected persons. With respect to other matters, the Commission concluded, during its discussion of the law of nonnavigational uses of international watercourses, that the problem of pollution of such waterways was a complex matter of substantial urgency. Accordingly it requested the UN Secretariat to pay particular attention to

pollution problems in its continuing compilation of materials on this topic.

Although the Commission was unable, owing to lack of time, to discuss several other topics on its agenda, its special rapporteurs continued their work and submitted progress reports on (1) succession of states in respect of matters other than treaties; (2) state responsibility; (3) the most-favored-nation clause; and (4) the question of treaties concluded between states and international organizations or between two or more international organizations.

Succession of States to Treaties

The greater portion of the 24th session was devoted to 31 draft articles prepared by the special rapporteur, Sir Humphrey Waldock of the United Kingdom, on the succession of states with respect to treaties. Work began in 1967 on this topic, which 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. In addition to general and miscellaneous provisions, the articles treat the transfer of territory; newly-independent states; uniting, dissolution, and separation of states; and boundary regimes and other territorial regimes established by treaty.

The extensive decolonization that has taken place in the past quarter of a century explains the fact that 15 of the articles deal with newly-independent states. In addition to a general rule with respect to such states there are separate sections concerned with multilateral treaties, bilateral treaties, provisional application, and states formed from two or more territories.

The Commission adopted the draft articles provisionally and referred them to governments for comment.

Protection of Diplomats

Acting pursuant to a request by the General Assembly in 1971, the Commission gave priority attention to preparing draft articles dealing with offenses committed against diplomats and other persons entitled to special protection under international law. In view of the importance and urgency of dealing with the topic and the substantial documentation available, including a working paper containing draft articles prepared by Mr. Kearney, the Commission decided that rather than follow its usual procedure of appointing a special rapporteur it would establish a special working group to complete draft articles for the Commission's approval at its 24th session so that they might be submitted during 1972 both to the General Assembly and to governments for comment.

After noting that:

Violent attacks against diplomatic agents and other persons entitled to special protection under international law . . . gravely disrupt the very mechanism designed to effectuate international cooperation for the safeguarding of peace, the strengthening of international security and the promotion of the general welfare of nations

the Commission stated the purpose of the draft:

Specifically, the draft seeks to ensure that safe-havens will no longer be available to a person as to whom there are grounds to believe that he has committed serious offenses against internationally protected persons.

The 12 draft articles begin with definitions, including that of an "internationally protected person" which is a critical element in delimiting the scope of the convention. The Com-

mission defined an "internationally protected person" as (1) a head of state or government, whenever he is in a foreign state, as well as members of his family who accompany him; and (2) any official of either a state or an international organization who is entitled, pursuant to general international law or an international agreement, to special protection for or because of the performance of functions on behalf of his state or international organization, as well as members of his family.

The second article describes the offenses that fall under the convention and states that each party to the convention shall undertake to make the described offenses punishable under its internal law regardless of where the crime is committed. The purpose of establishing such universal jurisdiction is to insure the effective functioning of the major operative article which provides that a state party in whose territory an "alleged offender" is found shall "if it does not extradite him, submit, without undue delay, the case to its competent authorities for the purpose of prosecution" Another article contains provisions designed to simplify the requirements for extradition among the parties in respect of crimes covered by the draft articles.

Other articles provide safeguards for the rights of alleged offenders, call for cooperation among the states party, and propose alternative choices of machinery for settling disputes arising out of the application or interpretation of the convention.

General Assembly Consideration

The Sixth Committee considered the report of the International Law Commission at 17 meetings between

September 28 and October 20. Some 60 states took part.

On October 2 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Bennett, commended the Commission for its report which reflected "skilled and dedicated efforts to produce by prudent techniques of scholarship sound statements of international law." He noted that the draft articles on succession of states bore on an area of international law on which there had previously been much uncertainty and that the Commission had found it necessary to propose new rules. The U.S. Government, he said, had not yet completed its study of the rules, but its preliminary reaction was one of general satisfaction.

He particularly commended the Commission for its "expeditious and effective handling" of the question of the protection of diplomats, expressed the belief that the Commission's report reflected its "high standards and its ability to respond to the needs of the time," and urged the United Nations to move rapidly to complete a text for signature by governments.

On October 18 Canada introduced a two-part draft resolution sponsored by 11 states. In the first part the draft resolution *inter alia* (1) recommended that the Commission give further consideration to the succession of states with respect to treaties in light of comments received from governments and continue its work on state responsibility, succession of states with respect to matters other than treaties, the most-favored-nation clause, and the question of treaties concluded between states and international organizations or between two or more international organizations; and (2) approved the Commission's decision to place the review of its long-term program of work on its agenda for 1973.

In the second part the draft resolution would have requested the Secretary General to convoke as early in

1973 as possible an international conference of plenipotentiaries to negotiate an international convention based on the Commission's draft articles on the protection of diplomats.

Czechoslovakia and Mauritania submitted amendments to this part of the draft resolution which substantially modified it. The amendments, *inter alia*, (1) invited states and international organizations to submit comments on the draft articles "as soon as possible" and (2) decided to include an item entitled "draft convention on the prevention and punishment of crimes against diplomatic agents and other internationally protected persons" on the provisional agenda of the 28th Assembly session "with a view to the final elaboration of such a convention by the General Assembly."

The Sixth Committee accepted the amendments on October 20 by a vote of 54 to 40 (U.S.), with 20 abstentions, and approved the amended resolution as a whole by a vote of 73 to 1, with 41 abstentions (U.S.). On November 28 the General Assembly adopted the resolution by a recorded vote of 93 to 0, with 26 abstentions (U.S.).

Mr. Scherer explained in plenary that the U.S. abstention was not out of any dissatisfaction with or complaint about the work of the International Law Commission. On the contrary, he said, the Commission had done an excellent job and deserved particular commendation for the way it had responded to the request of the 26th General Assembly to produce a draft convention on the urgent problem of the protection of diplomats. The United States believed that convening a plenipotentiary conference in 1973 would have been an appropriate step for the Sixth Committee to have recommended, and it abstained because it did not believe the Sixth Committee had been responsive to the urgent needs of the situation. At the

same time, Mr. Scherer expressed confidence that the Assembly would be able to complete work on the con-

vention at its 28th session, and affirmed that the United States would work constructively to that end.

International Terrorism

Inscription of Item

On September 8, following a rash of international terrorist acts, including the massacre of 11 members of the Israeli Olympic team at Munich, Secretary General Waldheim requested the inclusion of a new agenda item for the 27th General Assembly entitled "Measures to prevent terrorism and other forms of violence which endanger or take innocent human lives or jeopardize fundamental freedoms." In explaining his request the Secretary General wrote:

The world has been plagued, on an increasing scale, by acts of terrorism which have taken the lives not only of national leaders and diplomatic envoys, but also other human beings whose only offense lay in their race, religion or national origin, and even innocent bystanders. These acts of violence have created throughout the world a climate of fear from which no one is immune.

The Secretary General considers that the current trend towards terrorism and senseless violence is so alarming and has such grave implications that it should be considered by the General Assembly, with the hope that agreed measures can be found which will help to reverse this trend and prevent such tragedies in the future.

On September 23 the General Assembly adopted amendments proposed by Jamaica and Saudi Arabia which reworded the title of the item to read: "Measures to prevent international terrorism which endangers or takes innocent human lives or jeop-

ardizes fundamental freedoms, and study of the underlying causes of those forms of terrorism and acts of violence which lie in misery, frustration, grievance and despair, and which cause some people to sacrifice human lives, including their own, in an attempt to effect radical changes." The Assembly then decided, by a rollcall vote of 66 (U.S.) to 27, with 33 abstentions, to inscribe the item on its agenda. A subsequent motion by Yemen (Aden) calling for the deferment of the terrorism item until the 28th Assembly was defeated by a rollcall vote of 47 to 57 (U.S.), with 22 abstentions. Speaking after the vote the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Bush, commended the Secretary General on his courageous and forthright initiative in bringing the terrorism issue formally before the General Assembly.

General Debate

Secretary of State Rogers welcomed the Secretary General's initiative. In his address before the General Assembly on September 25, he urged the international community to take the following measures to combat the spread of international terrorism:

1. Adoption by the 27th General Assembly of the draft articles prepared by the International Law Commission which provide for the prosecution or extradition of those who attack or kidnap diplomats or

officials of foreign governments or international organizations (see p. 191);

2. Prompt completion in ICAO of a draft convention providing for the suspension of all air service to countries which fail to punish or extradite hijackers or saboteurs of civil aircraft (see p. 146); and

3. Conclusion of a new treaty directed against the export of international terrorism which would require the prosecution or extradition of persons who kill, seriously injure, or kidnap innocent third country nationals in a state not party to the conflict giving rise to the violence.

In this latter connection the United States circulated as a working paper a draft convention on the export of terrorism to illustrate the type of international action that might be taken. At the same time, the United States circulated a draft resolution which *inter alia* (1) called upon all states to become parties to the various international conventions on unlawful interference with civil aviation, (2) called upon all states to cooperate with each other to deter and prevent acts of international terrorism, and (3) decided to convene a plenipotentiary conference in early 1973 to consider the adoption of a convention on the prevention and punishment of international terrorism.

In his speech, Secretary Rogers cited examples of acts of international terrorism against innocent persons committed throughout the world and outlined the U.S. position in the following terms:

The issue is not war—war between states, civil war, or revolutionary war. The issue is not the strivings of people to achieve self-determination and independence.

Rather, it is whether millions of air travellers can continue to fly in safety each year. It is whether a person who receives a letter can open it without fear of being blown up. It is whether

diplomats can safely carry out their duties. It is whether international meetings—like the Olympic Games, like this Assembly—can proceed without the ever-present threat of violence.

In short, the issue is whether the vulnerable lines of international communication—the airways and the mails, diplomatic discourse and international meetings—can continue, without disruption, to bring nations and peoples together. All who have a stake in this have a stake in decisive action to suppress these demented acts of terrorism.

In the course of the Assembly's general debate, a number of countries condemned international terrorism, while others took the position that the causes leading to politically motivated acts of international violence must be dealt with before international measures could be adopted against terrorism.

Committee Consideration

The Sixth Committee considered the terrorism item at 23 meetings between November 9 and December 11. Over 90 delegations spoke. Despite the fact that the scope of the U.S. draft convention was carefully defined so as not in any way to affect the right of self-determination, the debate revealed widespread concern among African representatives that measures against international terrorism might be used to curb the activities of African liberation movements in their struggle against colonialism in Africa. These fears were fanned by some Arab delegations which interpreted the UN debate on terrorism as directed against the Palestinians and, as a counterweight, sought to persuade the General Assembly that the political causes of international terrorism must be addressed before measures to combat such acts of violence could be adopted by the international community. However, a number of delegations

made strong statements condemning acts of international terrorism and supporting the adoption of urgent international measures to combat such violence.

Speaking on November 13, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Bennett, emphasized the immediacy of the problem of terrorism. While recognizing "the logic and necessity of studying the underlying causes which lead men and nations to resort to desperate acts of violence," Ambassador Bennett underscored the urgency of adopting measures against international terrorism, declaring, "We cannot refuse to do anything simply because we cannot do everything." He continued: "To take the position that nothing can be done on measures until the study of causes has been completed is to say that no treatment can be given the cancer patient until we know all the causes of cancer."

Ambassador Bennett outlined in some detail the U.S. draft convention on the export of terrorism to countries not party to the conflict concerned, pointing out that it did not seek to define or cover all acts of terrorism but to prevent the spread of violence from areas involved in civil or international conflict to countries not initially parties to the violence. He emphasized that the U.S. draft convention did not represent the final or the only answer to the problem but was one approach which met the most serious threats of violence while at the same time remaining sensitive to the aspirations of peoples seeking to emerge from colonial status. Noting the concern expressed by many delegations that the United Nations was being bypassed on the great issues of the day, Ambassador Bennett called upon the United Nations to reaffirm to doubters in various parts of the world that it was able to deal effectively and fairly with a demanding

problem which threatens all peoples everywhere.

On November 27, in an attempt to meet some of the concerns expressed in the course of the debate, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Italy, Japan, and New Zealand, subsequently joined by Austria, Guatemala, Honduras, Iran, Luxembourg, Nicaragua, and the United Kingdom, tabled a compromise resolution. The 14 sponsors also initiated consultations among a wide range of UN members and solicited suggestions for improvements in their text which would enable it to receive wide support from all regional groups.

In its final form the 14-power draft resolution's key operative paragraphs (1) condemned acts of international terrorism, particularly those resulting in the loss of innocent human lives; (2) requested the International Law Commission to draft, with the highest priority, a convention on measures to prevent international terrorism for submission to the 28th General Assembly with a view to its adoption at a plenipotentiary conference at the earliest practical date; and (3) called for the establishment of a 32-member *ad hoc* committee to study the underlying causes of international terrorism and submit its report to the 28th Assembly. The draft also attempted to meet the concerns of the majority of African delegations by reaffirming, in a preambular paragraph, the principle of equal rights and self-determination contained in the UN Charter and elaborated in the Declaration of Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

Also on November 27 Afghanistan, Algeria, Guyana, India, Kenya, Yugoslavia, and Zambia, later joined by Cameroon, Chad, Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea, Malagasy Republic, Mauritania, Mali, and

Sudan, tabled a draft resolution purporting to present the nonaligned approach. This 16-power draft resolution did not deal directly with the question of "measures to prevent international terrorism." In the U.S. view it provided an indefinite delay on any meaningful action. It established a 40-member *ad hoc* committee to study the problem of terrorism in light of the comments of governments and submit its report to the 28th Assembly. The draft limited its condemnation of terrorism to those acts committed by "colonial racist and alien regimes in denying peoples their legitimate right to self-determination and independence and other human rights and fundamental freedoms."

The United States participated actively in negotiating sessions with the sponsors of the various draft resolutions, but the sponsors of the 16-power draft declined to accept any language that referred to the need for international legal measures to prevent the spread of international terrorism. Accordingly, on December 8 Ambassador Bennett announced that as it had been impossible to bridge the gap between the U.S. and the 16-power draft resolutions, the United States would withdraw its text in favor of the 14-power draft which represented the best attainable compromise. He urged the sponsors of the 16-power draft to do the same. They did not do so and the issue was brought to a vote in the Committee on December 11.

Zambia proposed that priority in the voting be given the 16-power draft and this was accorded by a recorded vote of 76 to 43 (U.S.), with 7 abstentions. The 16-power draft was then approved by a recorded vote of 76 to 34 (U.S.), with 16 abstentions. The 14-power draft was not put to the vote.

General Assembly Action

Before the vote in plenary on December 18, Ambassador Bush reiterated U.S. concern over the threat of international terrorism to all mankind and announced with regret that the United States would vote against the resolution recommended by the Sixth Committee. He explained that in order for the United States to have voted affirmatively the resolution would have had to reflect an accurate and meaningful expression of the attitude of the international community toward random acts of violence and to establish an objective procedure that could reasonably be expected to lead to concrete measures for combating international terrorism. Ambassador Bush concluded by pledging that the United States:

... will continue its positive efforts to find a solution to the problem of international terrorism through the machinery of the United Nations if at all possible. We call on all other members to join in that effort. For the alternatives to working through the United Nations are bilateral efforts and efforts of groups of states and of individuals. There may be no alternative to such efforts, although we recognize that they can have neither the authority nor the overall effectiveness of measures taken through this great world body. They can only be a pale substitute born of the necessity to take partial steps at a time when broader ones prove impossible. When our inaction here forces states to look outside the United Nations, we weaken the only worldwide mechanism for international cooperation that exists. We deprive mankind of the hopes so eloquently set forth in our Charter.

The General Assembly adopted the resolution by a rollcall vote of 76 to 35, with 17 abstentions.

Those in favor were:

Afghanistan	Malaysia
Albania	Mali
Algeria	Malta
Bahrain	Mauritania
Botswana	Mauritius
Bulgaria	Mexico
Burma	Mongolia
Burundi	Morocco
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Niger
Cameroon	Nigeria
Central African Republic	Oman
Chad	Pakistan
Chile	Panama
China	Peru
Congo	Poland
Cyprus	Qatar
Czechoslovakia	Romania
Dahomey	Rwanda
Ecuador	Saudi Arabia
Egypt	Senegal
Equatorial Guinea	Sierra Leone
Ethiopia	Singapore
Gabon	Somalia
Ghana	Sri Lanka
Guinea	Sudan
Guyana	Syria
Hungary	Tanzania
India	Togo
Indonesia	Trinidad and Tobago
Iraq	Tunisia
Jamaica	Uganda
Kenya	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Kuwait	U.S.S.R.
Lebanon	United Arab Emirates
Libya	Upper Volta
Malagasy Republic	

Venezuela	Yugoslavia
Yemen (Aden)	Zambia
Yemen (San'a)	

Those opposed were:

Australia	Israel
Austria	Italy
Barbados	Japan
Belgium	Lesotho
Bolivia	Luxembourg
Brazil	Malawi
Canada	Netherlands
Colombia	New Zealand
Costa Rica	Nicaragua
Denmark	Paraguay
Dominican Republic	Philippines
Fiji	Portugal
Greece	South Africa
Guatemala	Turkey
Haiti	United Kingdom
Honduras	United States
Iceland	Uruguay
Iran	

Those abstaining were:

Argentina	Maldives
El Salvador	Nepal
Finland	Norway
France	Spain
Ireland	Swaziland
Ivory Coast	Sweden
Jordan	Thailand
Laos	Zaire
Liberia	

Those absent were:

Bhutan	Gambia
Cuba	Khmer Republic

Relations of States With International Organizations

In 1971 the International Law Commission had adopted and submitted to the 26th General Assembly draft articles on "Representation of states in their relations with international organizations." The Assembly (1) expressed its desire that an international convention be concluded ex-

peditiously on the basis of these articles; (2) requested that member states, Switzerland (as a host state), the Secretary General, and the executive heads of the specialized agencies and the IAEA all submit written comments on the draft articles; and (3) placed the item on the agenda of the

27th session. The crucial question in 1972 was the procedural disposition of the draft articles.

The 27th General Assembly's Sixth Committee considered the item at eight meetings between October 23 and November 28. Representatives of 41 member states took part in the debate.

On October 26 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Bennett, agreed with a number of earlier speakers that the substance of the draft articles was not before the Legal Committee but noted that, as the United States had indicated in its written comments, some revision in the articles would be necessary to make them generally acceptable. He said that the United States was not opposed to the conclusion of a convention based on the draft articles but it did not believe the need was urgent. Moreover, the length and complexity of the articles would make it too time consuming for them to be considered by the Sixth Committee. In the U.S. view it would be more rational to convene a diplomatic conference to study the draft articles on this topic along with drafts on one or more related topics. That procedure would leave the Sixth Committee free to give its full attention to the many other important issues before it.

Two draft resolutions were submitted on November 27. The first, sponsored by the Byelorussian S.S.R., Costa Rica, and the Malagasy Re-

public, would have decided to include an item entitled "Draft convention on the representation of states in their relations with international organizations" in the provisional agenda of the Assembly's 29th session for final elaboration and adoption.

The second draft resolution, sponsored by Belgium, Japan, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and Uruguay, later joined by Zaire, established in principle that an international conference of plenipotentiaries, as opposed to the Assembly itself, should consider and adopt the draft articles. The draft asked the Secretary General to inscribe the item on the Assembly's agenda whenever it appeared that no other major legal conference would be held during the following year. Kenya submitted amendments, accepted by the cosponsors, that specified that the item should again be considered at the 28th General Assembly, at which time a final decision on the date and place of the conference would be made.

On November 28 the Sixth Committee adopted, by a vote of 56 (U.S.) to 19, with 34 abstentions, a U.K. motion giving priority to the six-power draft and then approved the resolution as amended by a vote of 72 (U.S.) to 1, with 32 abstentions. The three-power draft was not put to the vote.

The General Assembly adopted the resolution on December 14 by a vote of 88 (U.S.) to 0, with 14 abstentions.

International Trade Law

The UN Commission on International Trade Law¹ was established by the General Assembly in 1966 to promote "the progressive harmoniza-

tion and unification of the law of international trade." UNCITRAL's

¹ The members of UNCITRAL in 1972 were Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bel-

fifth session, which took place in New York from April 10 to May 5, 1972, gave principal attention to time limits in the international sale of goods, international legislation on shipping, and international payments. The U.S. Representative was E. Allan Farnsworth, Professor of Law at Columbia University.

Sale of Goods

Most of UNCITRAL's fifth session was devoted to the consideration and approval of a draft convention on time limits (or prescription) in the international sale of goods. The purpose of the convention is to establish a uniform period for the bringing of claims arising out of contracts for the international sale of goods. This would avoid inadvertent lapses of claims resulting from very short time limits in some countries, would reduce forum-shopping (i.e., looking for the jurisdiction with the longest prescriptive period) by plaintiffs contemplating suit, and would simplify the bringing of actions in foreign courts. The fundamental issue in any such convention is the period of time within which a claim must be brought; the draft convention approved by UNCITRAL has a basic period of 4 years. Although a number of countries preferred a shorter time, the United States strongly supported this period because it is the same as that in the Uniform Commercial Code, now in force in nearly all U.S. state jurisdictions.

After approving the draft convention UNCITRAL requested the Secretary General to circulate it to governments and interested interna-

gum, 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.

tional organizations for comments and proposals and recommended that the General Assembly convene an international conference of plenipotentiaries to conclude a convention on the basis of the draft.

Legislation on Shipping

Nearly all members of UNCITRAL consider international legislation on shipping as one of the most important concerns of the Commission. The United States is one of the 21 members of the UNCITRAL working group established to examine the rules governing the responsibility of ocean carriers for cargo in the context of bills of lading. The group's primary task is to review the International Convention for the Unification of Certain Rules Relating to Bills of Lading concluded at Brussels, August 25, 1924, and the 1968 Protocol amending it. Some 80 countries, including the United States, are parties to the 1924 Convention.

The working group met twice in 1972. At its first session, January 31–February 11, the principal issues considered were the time-period of carrier responsibility, responsibility for deck cargo and live animals, and clauses of bills of lading confining jurisdiction of claims to selected judicial or arbitral forums.

After considering its working group's report on this session, UNCITRAL unanimously decided that the working group should give priority in its work to the basic question of the carrier's responsibility and to that end recommended that it keep in mind the possibility of preparing a new convention instead of merely revising and amplifying the rules in the 1924 Convention and the 1968 Protocol.

At its second session, September 25–October 6, the working group completed its work on arbitration clauses

and began consideration of the basic rules governing the responsibility of the carrier.

Payments

The development of a negotiable instrument for optional use in international transactions continued to be an important part of UNCITRAL's work and one consistently supported by the United States. At its fifth session UNCITRAL received a preliminary draft uniform law on international bills of exchange that had been prepared at its request by the UN Secretary General in cooperation with interested international organizations. The Commission decided unanimously to establish a small working group, consisting of representatives of Egypt, France, India, Mexico, Nigeria, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States, to prepare a final draft incorporating rules relating to promissory notes and to consider the desirability of preparing uniform rules applicable to international checks.

General Assembly Action

The General Assembly's Sixth Committee considered UNCITRAL's report at 11 meetings between October 10 and November 8. Some 40 states took part in the debate and two resolutions were approved.

The first, introduced by Ghana and sponsored by 17 states, was similar to resolutions adopted in earlier years in that it recommended that UNCITRAL (1) continue work on its priority topics, (2) accelerate its work on training and assistance in the field of international trade law, (3) continue its collaboration with international organizations active in this field, (4) continue to give special consideration to the interests of develop-

ing countries, bearing in mind the special problems of landlocked countries, and (5) keep its program of work and its working methods under constant review.

The resolution differed from earlier ones, however, in that it also invited UNCITRAL (1) to seek from governments and interested international organizations information on the legal problems presented by different kinds of multinational enterprises and their implications for the unification and harmonization of international trade law, and (2) to consider, in light of this information and the results of available studies, including those being made by ILO, UNCTAD, and ECOSOC (see p. 80), what further steps would be appropriate. This was the result of a Canadian proposal in the course of the Sixth Committee's debate that UNCITRAL be asked to add the topic of multinational enterprises to its agenda. The United States initially took the view that such a request would be inappropriate inasmuch as other UN bodies were already studying the subject, but the final wording of the resolution was such as to avoid duplicating the work of other groups.

The resolution was unanimously approved by the Sixth Committee on November 8 and unanimously adopted by the General Assembly on November 28.

In the second resolution, introduced by Ghana and sponsored by 15 states, the General Assembly decided to hold a plenipotentiary conference in 1974 to draw up, on the basis of the draft articles prepared by UNCITRAL, an international convention or other appropriate instrument on prescription in the international sale of goods. The Committee approved this resolution by a vote of 73 (U.S.) to 1, with 8 abstentions, and the General Assembly adopted it on November 28 by a vote of 112 (U.S.) to 1, with 5 abstentions.

Definition of Aggression

The Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression, established by the 22d General Assembly in 1967, met in New York from January 31 to March 3, 1972. It resumed its consideration of the three draft definitions that had been tabled during the 1969 session by (1) the U.S.S.R.; (2) Colombia, Cyprus, Ecuador, Ghana, Guyana, Haiti, Iran, Malagasy Republic, Mexico, Spain, Uganda, Uruguay, and Yugoslavia (a revision of their 1968 draft); and (3) Australia, Canada, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

On February 3 the Special Committee decided to establish a 13 member working group (Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, France, Ghana, Italy, Mexico, Spain, Syria, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S., and the Committee's Rapporteur) to formulate an agreed or generally accepted definition, or, failing that, to report its assessment of the progress indicating points of agreement and disagreement. The working group met 14 times from February 4 to 29. After a brief exchange of views on the general definition of aggression it turned to a detailed discussion of the principles of priority and proportionality, the legal consequences of aggression, and the right of peoples to self-determination.

In intervals between formal meetings of the working group, informal negotiations were held for the purpose of reaching generally acceptable solutions on the various elements of the definition.

While no generally acceptable definition was formulated, some areas of disagreement were reduced as a result of these negotiations. It was generally accepted that aggression should be

defined as the use of armed force by a state against the territorial integrity or political independence of another state, or in any manner inconsistent with the UN Charter. There was disagreement whether "use of armed force" in the definition should be further qualified by the words "however exerted," an addition advanced by the United States to satisfy its insistence that the definition encompass acts of indirect aggression. There was also disagreement whether the word "integrity" should be replaced by the word "sovereignty." The United States opposed the substitution of the word "sovereignty" because it introduced a change in the language of Article 2, paragraph 4 of the UN Charter and would therefore be likely to create confusion.

It was generally accepted that any of the following acts, regardless of a declaration of war, constitute aggression: (1) invasion or attack by the armed forces of a state of the territory of another state, or any military occupation, however temporary, resulting from such invasion or attack, or any annexation by the use of force of the territory of another state or part thereof; (2) bombardment by the armed forces of a state against the territory of another state or the use of any weapons by a state against the territory of another state (there was disagreement whether the words "use of any weapons" should be further amplified to explicitly include weapons of mass destruction, an addition opposed by the United States as unnecessary); (3) blockade of the ports or coasts of a state by the armed forces of another state; (4) attack by the armed forces of a state on the land, sea, or air forces of another

state; (5) use of armed forces of one state which are within the territory of another state with the agreement of the receiving state, in contravention of the conditions provided for in the agreement or any extension of their presence in such territory beyond the termination of the agreement. There was disagreement about the use of the word "agreement" in this provision with some states preferring the word "permission." Also, there was disagreement whether the word "termination" or "revocation" should be used.

There was general agreement that the term "state" is used without prejudice to questions of recognition or to whether a state is a member of the United Nations and includes the concept of a "group of states."

Beyond these points, there was no general agreement on such aspects of a definition of aggression as indirect use of force; treatment of minor incidents; legal uses of force, including reference to Charter provisions pertaining to such use; questions of priority and aggressive intent; right of peoples to self-determination; and the legal consequences of aggression.

The United States insisted that in determining the existence of an act of aggression, any consideration of which state acted first must be coupled with a determination of aggressive intent. Thus Australia, Canada, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States proposed that determination of aggression must take into account whether the act was committed for any of the following purposes: (1) to diminish territory or alter boundaries of another state; (2) to alter internationally agreed lines of demarcation; (3) to disrupt or interfere with the conduct of affairs of another state; (4) to secure changes in the government of another state; (5) to inflict harm or obtain concessions of any sort; or (6) otherwise to violate the territorial integrity

or political independence of another state.

The working group considered that the report of the informal negotiating group represented some advance in the process of formulating a generally acceptable definition of the concept of aggression and therefore transmitted it to the Special Committee for consideration.

During the Special Committee's consideration of the working group's report on March 1 and 2, the Representative of Guyana tabled a proposal to adopt the 13-power draft, by vote if necessary, as the basis of future efforts towards arriving at a generally acceptable definition of aggression. This proposal was later withdrawn in response to various expressions of confidence in continued efforts to work for a consensus definition. The U.S. Representative expressed disappointment that others had not been more forthcoming in the negotiations. On March 2 the Special Committee approved the report of the working group and unanimously adopted a resolution recommending that the General Assembly invite the Special Committee to resume its work in 1973.

The 27th General Assembly's Sixth Committee considered the report of the Special Committee at 12 meetings between October 31 and November 24.

On November 6 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Bennett, expressed the view that the Committee's lack of progress was due in large measure to the difficulty of the task. Unfortunately, rather than seeking compromise to bridge well-known and longstanding gaps in positions, some states were now suggesting that the Committee abandon the effort to define "aggression" as used in the Charter and embark on an effort to define so-called "direct aggression." In the U.S. view this would seriously misconstrue the Charter which did

not differentiate among various types of aggression on the basis of the methods of violence which a particular aggressor might favor. Ambassador Bennett concluded by noting that if a majority of UN members thought it useful to ask the Special Committee to meet in 1973, the United States would "approach the task with good will and flexibility."

On November 24 the Sixth Committee approved by a vote of 101 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions, a draft resolution deciding that the Special Committee should resume its work at Geneva as early as possible after April 1, 1973. The General Assembly adopted the resolution on December 14 by a vote of 121 (U.S.) to 0, with no abstentions.

Human Rights in Armed Conflicts

Background

In recent years it has become increasingly clear that the humanitarian law applicable in armed conflicts needs to be strengthened and made more effective. This need has been felt in the UN General Assembly—which has considered human rights in armed conflicts in its Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural) since 1968—and in the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) which has traditionally played a central role in encouraging the development of international humanitarian law.

In 1969 and 1970 the UN Secretary General at the request of the General Assembly prepared two extensive reports on human rights in armed conflict. At the same time the 21st Conference of the Red Cross, held at Istanbul in 1969, adopted a resolution requesting the ICRC to propose, as soon as possible, concrete rules that would supplement the existing humanitarian law.

The ICRC held a Conference of Government Experts on the Reaffirmation and Development of Interna-

tional Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts from May 24 to June 11, 1971, in Geneva. Subsequently the 26th General Assembly adopted two resolutions supporting the work being carried on by the ICRC to supplement the 1949 Geneva Conventions.¹ The ICRC convened a second session of the Conference of Government Experts from May 3 to June 2, 1972, also in Geneva. Over 400 experts from 77 states and a number of observers from the United Nations and nongovernmental organizations attended the conference, which considered two draft protocols, one concerning international conflicts and the other concerning noninternational conflicts. Both the ICRC and the UN Secretary General submitted reports on the work of

¹ (1) Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armed Forces in the Field of August 12, 1949; (2) Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of Wounded, Sick and Shipwrecked Members of Armed Forces at Sea of August 12, 1949; (3) Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War of August 12, 1949; and (4) Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of August 12, 1949.

the Conference to the 27th General Assembly.

General Assembly Action

In 1972 the General Assembly for the first time subdivided its agenda item on "human rights in armed conflicts" so that different aspects would be considered by different main committees (see p. 117). The subitem concerning the Secretary General's report on the work of the two ICRC conferences was assigned to the Sixth Committee in recognition of the primarily legal character of the work. However, because the Sixth Committee's agenda was crowded with several important and highly controversial items, this item was only briefly considered toward the end of the session at seven meetings between December 8 and 12. Statements were made by the representatives of 23 countries.

Speaking for the United States on December 9, Ronald Bettauer affirmed the importance his government attached to the item and regretted that there was insufficient time left in the session for an adequate debate. Although he declined to make substantive comments on the content of the work being done in the ICRC forum, he reviewed the progress of the 1972 Conference in order to demonstrate that this work was well under way. In the U.S. view, the United Nations should not, therefore, adopt a resolution that would prejudice the work of the diplomatic conference that Switzerland had announced it would convene in 1974 to adopt protocols to the 1949 Geneva Conventions.

Two draft resolutions were submitted to the Committee. The first, sponsored by Australia, Belgium, Canada, Italy, the United Kingdom, and Uruguay, was essentially procedural. It welcomed the progress of

the second session of the Conference of Government Experts and the announcement by the Swiss Federal Council of its readiness to convoke a diplomatic conference, but it did not take any substantive positions on the various possible rules of law or even on the issues that should be addressed by the conference.

The second draft resolution was submitted by Chile, Egypt, Ireland, Mexico, Norway, and Sweden and ultimately sponsored by 20 states. In a long series of preambular paragraphs this draft, too, welcomed the progress made at the Conference of Government Experts and the readiness of the Swiss Federal Council to convoke a diplomatic conference on the subject. But it also noted with concern that agreement had not emerged on a number of specified "fundamental issues," including the prohibition of weapons which "indiscriminately affect civilians and combatants" and the prohibition or restriction of specific weapons which "cause unnecessary suffering," and it considered that substantial progress on these issues was indispensable if the efforts to develop new rules were to be significant. In its operative paragraphs it, *inter alia*, (1) urged Governments and the ICRC to continue efforts to insure that the envisaged diplomatic conference would adopt rules marking substantial progress on fundamental legal issues and contributing significantly to the alleviation of suffering; (2) called upon all parties to armed conflicts to observe applicable international humanitarian rules; and (3) requested the Secretary General to prepare as soon as possible a survey of existing rules of international law concerning the prohibition or restriction of use of specific weapons.

On December 12, in recognition of the fact that there had been inadequate time to consider the topic and to work out a generally accept-

able resolution, Ghana moved to adjourn debate to the 28th Assembly, but the motion was defeated by a roll-call vote of 31 in favor (U.S.) to 49 opposed, with 18 abstentions, and the Committee continued its consideration of the two drafts.

The United States fully supported the six-power draft resolution because it would not prejudice the work under way in the Red Cross forum. It objected to the 20-power draft for a number of reasons and on December 12 the U.S. Representative, Mr. Scherer, introduced amendments that would have made it acceptable.

The first, and most important, U.S. amendment would have replaced the preambular paragraph listing the issues on which there was no agreement with a short statement simply noting that consensus had not been reached on a number of important issues. The United States believed that the Sixth Committee had not given sufficient time to the question to be able to establish such a specific list with any authority or credibility. Moreover, the paragraph in its original form incorrectly implied both that the aim of the ICRC expert conference had been to "reach agreement" and that little progress had been made. Further, the United States could not accept the subparagraphs referring to specific weapons, since this aspect of the question was more properly considered in an arms control and disarmament forum, such as the CCD, than in the context of the ICRC.

The second U.S. amendment would have improved the tone of the resolution by rewording the paragraph considering substantial progress on the list of issues to be "indispensable" so that it expressed "hope that substantial progress will be made on the outstanding important issues."

The third U.S. amendment would have eliminated as unnecessary the request that the Secretary General prepare a survey of existing rules of international law concerning the prohibition or restriction of use of specific weapons.

Sweden moved that the 20-power draft resolution be given priority in the voting, and this carried by a recorded vote of 59 to 20 (U.S.), with 29 abstentions. The three U.S. amendments were then voted on separately and defeated by recorded votes of 38 (U.S.) to 45, with 20 abstentions; 30 (U.S.) to 46, with 30 abstentions; and 18 (U.S.) to 62, with 27 abstentions. The 20-power draft resolution was then approved by a recorded vote of 81 to 3, with 22 abstentions (U.S.); the six-power draft was consequently not put to the vote.

When the resolution approved by the Sixth Committee came before the plenary Assembly on December 18 the United States, Colombia, France, Laos, and Uruguay reintroduced the first U.S. amendment and it was again defeated, by a rollcall vote of 38 (U.S.) to 63, with 27 abstentions. The resolution was then adopted by a recorded vote of 103 to 0, with 25 abstentions (U.S.).

Host Country Relations

Because of serious concern among member states about the security of their missions to the United Nations and the safety of their personnel, the 26th General Assembly in 1971 established a 15-state Committee on Relations with the Host Country¹ and asked it to report to the 27th Assembly.

Before adopting its report on August 9, 1972, the Committee met 15 times, usually following submission of communications from individual missions concerning specific incidents of harassment, criminal violence, demonstrations, and the like. In its report the Committee made a number of recommendations including, *inter alia*, that the United States should (1) expedite the enactment of legislation and appropriate regulations to enhance the protection of missions and their personnel including the express prohibition of any harassment, intimidation, coercion, or threats; (2) take effective measures against the organization of demonstrations and picketing where there was reason to believe they might be accompanied by violence or might prevent the conduct of missions' normal business; and (3) ratify as soon as possible the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations.

The Sixth Committee considered the report briefly at two meetings on December 11 and 12. Nine states took part in the debate. The U.S. Representative, Mr. Scherer, reviewed each of the recommendations contained in the report of the Committee on Host Country Relations and said that the United States was pleased to have complied with them

¹ Argentina, Bulgaria, Canada, P.R.C., Cyprus, France, Guyana, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Mali, Spain, Tanzania, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States.

all. In particular, he noted that on October 24, 1972, the President had signed into law an Act for the Protection of Foreign Officials and Official Guests of the United States (Public Law 92-539). He also announced that the United States had on November 13 deposited its instrument of ratification of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations. Finally, he said that the United States was prepared to see the Committee continue its work and hoped that it would serve as a constructive channel for the interchange of ideas and suggestions regarding problems of missions, the United Nations, and the host country.

The Sixth Committee approved without objection a draft resolution sponsored by Iraq and the Ukrainian S.S.R. that after noting with satisfaction the U.S. ratification of the Vienna Convention *inter alia* (1) condemned all acts of violence, terrorist attacks, and harassment against the premises and missions accredited to the United Nations or against their personnel as fundamentally incompatible with the status of such missions and personnel under international law and called upon the host country to take all appropriate preventive measures; (2) welcomed the adoption of the Act for the Protection of Foreign Officials and Official Guests of the United States and expressed the hope that the Act would form a basis for the application of effective measures against such acts of violence; and (3) decided that the Committee on Relations with the Host Country should continue its work in 1973.

On December 19 the General Assembly adopted the resolution without discussion or objection.

Part V

Budget and Administration



UN Financial Situation

Despite the efforts of a special committee, no headway was made in solving the deficit problem or putting the UN on a sound financial footing. At the end of 1972 the UN financial situation remained critical, though a liquidity crisis was averted largely as the result of efforts by the Secretary General to bring spending in line with anticipated income.

The Special Committee on the Financial Situation of the United Nations,¹ established by the 26th General Assembly to investigate the UN financial problems and make suggestions and concrete proposals for resolving them, submitted its report to the 27th General Assembly. The report described the scope and magnitude of the problem showing, *inter alia*, that as of September 30, 1972, member states were in arrears a total of \$98.3 million with respect to their assessed contributions to the UN regular budget. Of that amount \$43.1 million represented the deliberate withholding of funds by certain members for programs which they opposed in principle. An additional \$10.9 million constituted contributions in unconvertible rubles which were not used, and therefore not accepted, by the United Nations. The remaining \$44.3 million resulted from late payment by some members, but, as usual, this amount was considerably reduced by the end of the year.

In addition to the \$98.3 million in arrears on the UN regular budget,

\$49.5 million was owed by members for assessments to the UN Emergency Force in the Middle East (1956-67) and \$82.1 million for assessments to the UN Operation in the Congo (1960-64).

The arrearages have been building up over the years. For example, in 1972 alone the deliberate withholding of assessed contributions to the UN regular budget was estimated at \$3.7 million. As a result of this financial situation, the United Nations in 1972, as in past years, was forced to operate on a thin cash margin, but it was able to avoid a grave liquidity crisis because of the efforts of the Secretary General to hold expenditures within anticipated income.

The Special Committee also noted that at the end of 1972 the short-term deficit of the organization would be \$86.4 million. The deficit included (1) \$37.4 million for payroll and other operating expenses that the Secretary General had borrowed from the Working Capital Fund over the years to make up for the deliberate withholding of assessed contributions; (2) \$27.5 million owed by the organization for outstanding expenses of the UN Emergency Force; (3) \$14.1 million owed for the Congo operation; (4) \$16.7 million owed to member states for the repayment of contributions in excess of their assessments for the Middle East and Congo operations; and (5) as a special case, \$16.6 million owed to the organization by the Republic of China. These items, totalling \$112.3 million, were offset by \$25.9 million received in voluntary contributions and pledges. The net deficit of \$86.4 million was \$6.2 million higher than at the end of 1971.

¹ Members of the Special Committee were Brazil, Canada, P.R.C., France, Ghana, India, Japan, Kenya, Mexico, Nigeria, Norway, Poland, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and United States. Ambassador Ole Algård of Norway served as chairman.

On December 19, by a recorded vote of 92 (U.S.) to 9, with 24 abstentions, the 27th General Assembly adopted a resolution recommended by its Fifth (Administrative and Budgetary) Committee providing that the Chinese regular budget arrears accumulated during the period prior to the seating of the People's Republic of China (P.R.C.) in October 1971 should be placed in a special account and included as a part of the short-term deficit. The United States supported this resolution because of the unique circumstances of the seating of the P.R.C. and in order to clear from the regular accounts of the United Nations all amounts owed by the Republic of China.

As part of its effort to provide a comprehensive solution to the UN financial problems, the Special Committee proposed removing from the regular budget the contentious items which had been the object of deliberate withholdings of assessed contributions; i.e., the expenses of UNCURK, the UN Cemetery in Korea, and the UN bond repayments. These items would be funded, instead, from miscellaneous income accruing to the organization from the sale of postage stamps, publications, commemorative medals, souvenirs, and the like. The Special Committee further proposed that the Regular Program of Technical Assistance be transferred from the assessed budget to the UNDP which is funded by voluntary contributions. In addition the Committee recommended that all member states make every effort to pay their assessments when due during the early months of the year. The key recommendation in the Committee's proposed solution, however, was that there should be substantial voluntary contributions from member states in order to liquidate the deficit and put the United Nations on a sound financial footing.

The search for a solution to the financial crisis faltered because of the position adopted by the Soviet Union. It maintained its position that the contentious items in the budget should be funded entirely from voluntary contributions and rejected the use of UN miscellaneous income for this purpose. It also declared that Western countries holding UN bonds should not insist on repayment, although developing countries holding bonds should be repaid through voluntary contributions. Moreover, the U.S.S.R. remained unwilling to make any voluntary contribution toward liquidating the deficit until it learned how much other major contributors would give. The United States maintained its position that it was willing to assist in solving the financial problem, but only within the context of an overall solution that included substantial voluntary contributions from those members that have withheld assessed payments.

The 27th General Assembly did not continue the Special Committee, but on December 19 it adopted two resolutions on the Committee's work that had been recommended by the Fifth Committee. The first, adopted by a recorded vote of 113 to 0, with 12 abstentions (U.S.), *inter alia* (1) urged member states to review their payments pattern "with a view to paying future contributions on time"; (2) requested the Secretary General to establish a special account to receive voluntary contributions; (3) requested member states and invited nonmember states, as a matter of urgency, to make voluntary contributions to this special account; and (4) requested the Secretary General to consider ways and means of obtaining voluntary contributions. The United States abstained because the resolution made no reference to or request for the payment of past amounts owed to the United Nations by member states.

The second resolution, adopted by a recorded vote of 125 (U.S.) to 0, with no abstentions, endorsed the conclusion of the Special Committee that a comprehensive solution to the UN financial problems was required

and requested the Secretary General to continue to explore all possibilities for an overall solution, taking into consideration the results of the Special Committee's examination of the problem.

UN Budget

In January 1972 the Secretary General announced a policy of financial austerity which included economy measures to reduce current expenditures and an effort to hold the 1973 regular budget as close as possible to the 1972 level. In the end the 1973 budget adopted by the 27th General Assembly reflected this policy of fiscal restraint, being just 6 percent above the budget voted the previous year.

The initial budget estimates for 1973 called for an expenditure of \$224.1 million, which was reduced by the ACABQ¹ to \$219.5 million. Although the Secretary General accepted the ACABQ reductions, he later submitted revised estimates which after ACABQ review raised the total by \$1.2 million. Moreover, various substantive proposals requiring an additional \$5.2 million were approved by the main committees in the course of the Assembly session with the result that the final budget

presented to the full Assembly for approval was \$225.9 million. This total was \$12.8 million or 6 percent higher than the budget adopted by the 26th Assembly for 1972, which, in turn, had risen by \$20.9 million from the 1971 level. About one-fourth of the increase—\$3.4 million—was attributable to the added cost of maintaining the 1972 establishment in 1973; \$4.4 million was for the ongoing building program in Geneva at the Palais des Nations; \$2 million was for the new environment secretariat in Nairobi, Kenya; \$0.7 million was for preparations for the Law of the Sea Conference; and \$2.3 million was for various other new or expanded programs.

The budget was adopted on December 19 by a recorded vote of 113 (U.S.) to 8, with 5 abstentions. The United States voted for the budget because it showed markedly greater fiscal restraint than the budgets for 1971 and 1972 (on which it had abstained) and because certain increases were for activities that it supported.

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 1973 was \$63,957,228.

¹ Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, an expert body of 13 members appointed by the General Assembly for 3-year terms. Albert F. Bender of the United States was a member during 1972. On December 4 the General Assembly on the recommendation of its Fifth Committee appointed David L. Stottlemeyer of the United States to a term beginning January 1, 1973.

Scale of Assessments

The U.S. percentage shares of the assessment budgets of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, and the IAEA are as follows:

	1972 <i>Percent</i>	1973 <i>Percent</i>
UN	31.52	31.52
FAO	31.52	31.52
ICAO	28.75	28.75
ILO	25.00	25.00
IMCO	6.85	6.85
ITU	11.47	11.45
UNESCO	29.80	29.41
UPU	4.20	4.20
WHO	30.84	30.82
WMO	23.82	23.80
IAEA	31.716	31.805

UN Assessment Scale and U.S. Share

The 27th General Assembly approved as a matter of principle the first sizable reduction in the U.S. assessment rate since the decision in 1957 that the maximum contribution of any one member state to the UN budget should not exceed 30 percent of the total. The new maximum contribution was set at 25 percent.

The UN scale of assessments, within the limits prescribed by the floor and ceiling principles and subject to modification for low per capita national income, is based broadly upon the relative capacity of member states to pay, measured by comparing net national products at market prices. Under the floor principle, no member state is at present assessed less than .04 percent. With regard to the ceiling, the General Assembly decided in 1957, on U.S. initiative, that "in principle, the maximum con-

tribution of any one member state to the ordinary expenses of the United Nations should not exceed 30 percent of the total." In accordance with this principle, which has been implemented in stages, the U.S. percentage share was reduced from 33.33 percent in 1957 to 32.51 percent in 1958, to 32.02 percent in 1962, to 31.91 percent in 1965, to 31.57 percent in 1968, and to 31.52 percent for the 1971-73 triennium.

In 1971 at the 26th General Assembly, the United States announced its intention to seek a reduction of its assessment rate to 25 percent, and President Nixon emphasized this objective in his foreign policy report to the Congress of February 9, 1972, stating that it was "the policy of this Administration to negotiate with other UN member states an arrangement by which the U.S. contribution to the assessed budget of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies will be brought down to the level of 25 percent." The United States believes that a lower ceiling on assessments will provide a more equitable sharing of responsibility among the UN membership as a whole, and during the 27th General Assembly it carried out a successful campaign to gain support for this position.

The Fifth Committee of the 27th General Assembly debated the agenda item on the scale of assessments at 10 meetings between November 16 and December 1, 1972, and on the latter day approved three resolutions that will change assessment rates.

Speaking on November 16 Senator McGee noted that the U.S. proposal for a 25 percent ceiling was not new,

but was the same put forward by Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg at the first session of the General Assembly in 1946. At that time, because of the abnormal conditions existing immediately after the war, the United States accepted a higher rate on an interim basis but made it clear that the United Nations should steadily work its way toward the 25 percent ceiling level. Senator McGee emphasized that the proposal represented "the consistently held view of the United States since the UN was founded" and was "aimed not at weakening but rather at strengthening the United Nations as an institution and its varied operations and important programs." The U.S. draft resolution, in its final form, decided that

(a) As a matter of principle, the maximum contribution of any one member state to the ordinary expenses of the United Nations shall not exceed 25 percent of the total;

(b) In preparing scales of assessment for future years, the Committee on Contributions shall implement subparagraph (a) above as soon as practicable so as to reduce to 25 percent the percentage contribution of the member state paying the maximum contribution, utilizing for this purpose to the extent necessary:

(i) The percentage contributions of any newly admitted member states immediately upon their admission;

(ii) The normal triennial increase in the percentage contributions of member states resulting from increases in their national incomes;

(c) Notwithstanding subparagraph (b) above, the percentage contribution of member states shall not in any case in the United Nations, the specialized agencies or the International Atomic Energy Agency be increased as a consequence of the present resolution.

The Fifth Committee approved the resolution by a rollcall vote of 67 (U.S.) to 30, with 32 abstentions.

When the resolution came before the plenary Assembly on December 13 the President, at the request of Barbados and after receiving the interpretation of the UN Legal Counsel, ruled that under article 18(2) of the Charter it required a two-thirds majority for adoption as a budgetary question. The resolution was then adopted by a rollcall vote of 81 to 27, with 22 abstentions.

Those in favor were:

Australia	Lebanon
Austria	Lesotho
Belgium	Liberia
Bhutan	Luxembourg
Bolivia	Malagasy
Cameroon	Republic
Canada	Malawi
Central African	Maldives
Republic	Malta
Chad	Mauritius
Colombia	Mexico
Congo ¹	Morocco
Costa Rica	Nepal
Cyprus	Netherlands
Dahomey	New Zealand
Denmark	Nicaragua
Dominican	Niger
Republic	Norway
El Salvador	Pakistan
Ethiopia	Panama
Fiji	Paraguay
Finland	Philippines
France	Portugal
Gabon	Qatar
Gambia	Rwanda
Greece	Saudi Arabia
Guatemala	Senegal
Haiti	Singapore
Honduras	South Africa
Iceland	Spain
Indonesia	Swaziland
Iran	Sweden
Ireland	Thailand
Israel	Togo
Italy	Tunisia
Ivory Coast	Turkey
Jamaica	Uganda
Japan	United Kingdom
Jordan	United States
Kenya	Upper Volta
Khmer Republic	Uruguay
Laos	Zaire

¹ Later advised the Secretariat it had intended to vote against.

Those opposed were:

Albania	Libya
Algeria	Mongolia
Argentina	Nigeria
Barbados	Peru
Bulgaria	Poland
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Romania
Chile	Syria
China	Tanzania
Cuba	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Czechoslovakia	U.S.S.R.
Equatorial Guinea	Venezuela
Hungary	Yemen (Aden)
India	Yugoslavia
Iraq	

Those abstaining were:

Afghanistan	Mali
Bahrain	Mauritania
Botswana	Oman
Brazil	Sierra Leone
Burma	Somalia
Burundi	Sri Lanka
Ecuador	Sudan
Egypt	Trinidad and Tobago
Ghana	United Arab Emirates
Guinea	Yemen (San'a)
Guyana	
Malaysia	

Those absent were:

Kuwait	Zambia
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The 25 percent ceiling is expected to become effective with the establishment of the next triennial scale of assessments on January 1, 1974.

The second resolution, introduced

November 18 by Brazil and sponsored by 17 states, reaffirmed that additional recognition should be given to the low per capita income countries and requested the Committee on Contributions at its next review of the scale of assessments "to change the elements of the low per capita income allowance formula so as to adjust it to the changing world economic conditions." The intent of the proposal was to benefit the developing countries that are assessed just above the minimum rate. The resolution was approved by the Committee by a roll-call vote of 99 to 9, with 20 abstentions (U.S.) and adopted by the General Assembly on December 13 by a recorded vote of 99 to 9, with 19 abstentions (U.S.).

The third resolution, introduced on November 24 by Yemen (San'a) and sponsored by 13 states, requested the Committee on Contributions in formulating the next scale of assessments to lower the floor from .04 percent to .02 percent. This resolution was approved by the Committee by a roll-call vote of 105 to 7, with 17 abstentions (U.S.) and adopted by the Assembly on December 13 by a rollcall vote of 111 to 0, with 20 abstentions (U.S.).

UN Salary Review

The 25th General Assembly in 1970 established a Special Committee for the Review of the United Nations Salary System to make "a thorough review of the long-term principles and criteria which should govern the whole United Nations common system of salaries, allowances, grants, superannuation and other benefits."

The Committee, consisting of government experts from 11 member states,¹ began its work in June 1971 and submitted its report to the 27th General Assembly.

¹ Argentina, France, India, Japan, Niger, Nigeria, Peru, Poland, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and United States.

The majority of the Committee, including the U.S. member, concluded that the present UN compensation for professional staff was too high by any national standard. Net emoluments were from 18.6 percent to 35.2 percent higher than comparable U.S. Civil Service levels, and from two to four times higher than national civil services in the five European cities where major UN offices were located.¹ Moreover, it noted that the percentage of higher ranking personnel in the United Nations had risen from 5 percent in 1956 to 10.7 percent in 1972.

The majority concluded that, because of its job-oriented nature, extensive classification system, and long relationship with the UN salary system, the U.S. Civil Service was at present the only acceptable point of reference for UN salary determination, and it recommended that a pay level 15 percent above U.S. Civil Service salary scales would be sufficient to attract a professional staff at UN Headquarters of high quality and of appropriate geographic distribution. It also recommended that the present UN salary scale, which went into effect in July 1971, should re-

main unchanged until the ratio of UN basic salaries to U.S. Civil Service pay for comparable grade in New York dropped below a 15 percent differential or until January 1, 1975, whichever was earlier. It further recommended the establishment of an intergovernmental civil service commission responsible for the "regulation and coordination of the conditions of service of the United Nations common system."

The Fifth Committee of the 27th General Assembly considered the Special Committee's report at seven meetings between December 4 and 14. On the latter day it approved by a vote of 64 (U.S.) to 0, with 11 abstentions, a resolution introduced by Indonesia and sponsored by 17 states that took note of the Special Committee's report, decided in principle to establish an International Civil Service Commission, and requested the Secretary General to submit to the 28th General Assembly detailed proposals for the Commission together with a draft statute covering *inter alia* its terms of reference and procedures.

The General Assembly adopted the resolution on December 19 by a vote of 111 (U.S.) to 0, with 9 abstentions.

Office Accommodations in New York

In 1971 the 26th General Assembly requested the Secretary General to undertake "a detailed and comprehensive study of the situation created by the shortage of space at Headquarters" and to report to the 27th Assembly with concrete proposals and recommendations. It also requested him to report on the possibility of

relocating Secretariat units outside of New York.

Secretary General's Report

In his report the Secretary General noted that there were 300 more occupants in the Headquarters build-

¹ Geneva, London, Paris, Rome, and Vienna.

ing than the maximum for which it was designed and there were 1,264 additional employees, including UNDP and UNICEF staff, in rented space in five different buildings in Manhattan. He further stated that space was currently available in Geneva for only 70 to 75 additional persons, and further space would not be available in Geneva or elsewhere before 1975. He offered four possibilities for providing additional space in New York: (1) construction of a building at the south end of the Headquarters site; (2) construction of a building at the north end of the Headquarters site; (3) purchase of an existing building; and (4) occupancy, on a rental or purchase basis, of space in a building to be constructed directly across the street from the United Nations by the UN Development Corporation (UNDC), a non-profit, public-benefit corporation established by an Act of the New York State legislature.

General Assembly Consideration

The Fifth Committee considered the question at two meetings on December 15 and 16. Twenty-seven states took part in the debate.

In the absence of offers of grants for building construction from member states, and in view of the need for financial austerity by the United Nations, the first three alternatives were not considered viable. The first alternative, known as the "Southward

Expansion" project, was abandoned in 1971 when the U.S. Congress did not appropriate \$20 million as a one-time U.S. contribution.

The ACABQ, after reviewing the Secretary General's report, recommended that he be authorized to negotiate a rental agreement with the UNDC, without commitment to acquisition, and to report to the 28th Assembly on the possibility of securing eventual ownership by an option to buy or other means. Such a rental agreement would enable the United Nations to consolidate in one building all of the units now located in various rental buildings and to alleviate the overcrowded conditions in the Headquarters building.

On December 16, the Fifth Committee approved, by a vote of 35 to 32 (U.S.), with 14 abstentions, a Cuban proposal to defer a decision on the question until the 28th Assembly. The effect of this was to foreclose the opportunity for the United Nations to have an option on space in the UNDC building. When the question came before the full Assembly on December 19, however, Australia and 11 other states sponsored an amendment that would reverse the Committee's action by approving the ACABQ recommendation. This amendment, strongly supported by the United States, was adopted by a rollcall vote of 55 (U.S.) to 53, with 21 abstentions.

Arrangements are proceeding on the UNDC building, and it is expected that the United Nations will be able to take occupancy in mid-1975.

Personnel

During 1972, the total number of professional employees in the United Nations and specialized agencies declined slightly to 6,208 from 6,312 during the previous year. U.S. nationals in the secretariats decreased by one to 916, although the percentage of total professional staff rose to 14.76 percent from 14.52 percent. The percentage of Americans in professional posts increased in the United Nations, IAEA, ICAO, ILO, ITU, UPU, and WHO, but declined in FAO, IMCO, UNESCO, and WMO. The number of Americans employed as experts by the UNDP rose to 426 (7.78 percent) in 1972 from 420 (7.84 percent) in 1971.

With respect to senior posts, the situation remained essentially the same, with three Americans replacing three others. F. Bradford Morse was appointed Under Secretary General for Political and General Assembly Affairs, replacing the late Ralph Bunche as the senior American in the UN Secretariat, and Robert J. Ryan, already serving in the Secretariat, was promoted to succeed David B. Vaughan, who retired, as Assistant Secretary General for General Services. Rudolph A. Peterson replaced Paul Hoffman as Administrator of the UNDP.

The Fifth Committee considered personnel questions at seven meetings between December 4 and 12. The Fifth Committee on December 11 unanimously approved a resolution, sponsored by Upper Volta, Niger, and Zaire, that expressed the desire to avoid any discrimination between staff members on grounds of sex and

requested the Secretary General to submit to the 28th Assembly a study on those provisions of the UN Staff Regulations and Staff Rules whose application might, in certain cases, give rise to discrimination between staff members on such grounds. The General Assembly unanimously adopted the resolution on December 18. (See also p. 122.)

Also on December 18 the General Assembly decided without objection, on the recommendation of its Fifth Committee, to take note of (1) the Secretary General's reports on the composition of the Secretariat and on long-term recruitment planning, and (2) his note on UN personnel problems, pending a full submission by him on the substance of a report of the Joint Inspection Unit to the 28th Assembly.

On the same day, the General Assembly took note of the decision of its Fifth Committee to request the Secretary General to include in his annual reports on the composition of the Secretariat information on the implementation of the long-term recruitment plan. It was further decided that greater attention should be given to the recruitment, especially for senior administrative officials, of candidates from countries at present underrepresented, particularly the developing countries, recruitment being based on the principle of "the highest standards of efficiency, competence and integrity, due regard being paid to equitable geographical distribution in the composition of the Secretariat."

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 1972 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>
UN Development Program	86,000
UN/FAO World Food Program	62,500
UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees	23,200
UN Children's Fund	17,300
UN Fund for Population Activities	14,004
UN Force in Cyprus	4,800
IAEA Operational Program	1,550
WMO—Voluntary Assistance Program	1,500
WHO Special Programs ¹	1,127
UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control	1,000
UN High Commissioner for Refugees	1,000
UN Institute for Training and Research	400
WHO—International Agency for Research on Cancer	337
UN Environment Conference	100
Special Humanitarian Programs:	
UN Relief Operation in Dacca	112,920
UN Children's Fund—Relief in South Asia	19,539
UN High Commissioner for Refugees	
—Southern Sudan Relief Program	10,035
—Relief Program for Asians Expelled from Uganda	500

¹ Special accounts for cholera, malaria, population, and miscellaneous designated contributions.

Budgets: Specialized Agencies and IAEA

The adjusted gross budgets of the specialized agencies and IAEA in 1972 totaled \$261.6 million and increased by \$30.5 million for 1973 to

\$292.1 million. This compares to an increase of \$35.3 million in 1972 over 1971.

<i>Agency</i>	<i>1972 (Adjusted)</i>	<i>1973 (Estimated)</i>	<i>Increase</i>
FAO	^a \$50, 149, 000	^b \$50, 149, 000	
ICAO	11, 039, 800	12, 348, 300	\$1, 308, 500
ILO	^a 35, 751, 500	^b 35, 751, 500	
IMCO	1, 969, 900	2, 026, 700	56, 800
ITU	^c 7, 699, 041	^d 9, 286, 987	1, 587, 946
UNESCO	^b 44, 949, 280	^a 59, 977, 000	15, 027, 720
UPU	^e 3, 043, 311	^e 2, 923, 492	-119, 819
WHO ^f	86, 034, 290	96, 682, 900	10, 648, 610
WMO	^g 4, 381, 730	4, 782, 100	400, 370
IAEA	16, 561, 000	18, 127, 000	1, 566, 000
Total	261, 578, 852	292, 054, 979	30, 476, 127

^a First year of biennial budget.

^b Second year of biennial budget.

^c At 3.86 Swiss francs to the U.S. dollar.

^d At 3.75 Swiss francs to the U.S. dollar.

^e At 3.17 Swiss francs to the U.S. dollar.

^f Effective working budget.

^g Includes 1972 supplemental appropriation of \$419,330.



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.

General Assembly

The General Assembly is the only principal organ of the United Nations on which all 132 members are represented. They are:

Afghanistan	Guatemala	Norway
Albania	Guinea	Oman
Algeria	Guyana	Pakistan
Argentina	Haiti	Panama
Australia	Honduras	Paraguay
Austria	Hungary	Peru
Bahrain	Iceland	Philippines
Barbados	India	Poland
Belgium	Indonesia	Portugal
Bhutan	Iran	Qatar
Bolivia	Iraq	Romania
Botswana	Ireland	Rwanda
Brazil	Israel	Saudi Arabia
Bulgaria	Italy	Senegal
Burma	Ivory Coast	Sierra Leone
Burundi	Jamaica	Singapore
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Japan	Somalia
Cameroon	Jordan	South Africa
Canada	Kenya	Spain
Central African Republic	Khmer Republic	Sri Lanka
Chad	Kuwait	Sudan
Chile	Laos	Swaziland
China	Lebanon	Sweden
Colombia	Lesotho	Syria
Congo	Liberia	Tanzania
Costa Rica	Libya	Thailand
Cuba	Luxembourg	Togo
Cyprus	Malagasy Republic	Trinidad and Tobago
Czechoslovakia	Malawi	Tunisia
Dahomey	Malaysia	Turkey
Denmark	Maldives	Uganda
Dominican Republic	Mali	Ukrainian S.S.R.:
Ecuador	Malta	U.S.S.R.
Egypt	Mauritania	United Arab Emirates
El Salvador	Mauritius	United Kingdom
Equatorial Guinea	Mexico	United States
Ethiopia	Mongolia	Upper Volta
Fiji	Morocco	Uruguay
Finland	Nepal	Venezuela
France	Netherlands	Yemen (Aden)
Gabon	New Zealand	Yemen (San'a)
Gambia	Nicaragua	Yugoslavia
Ghana	Niger	Zaire
Greece	Nigeria	Zambia

The 27th regular session of the General Assembly convened Sept. 19 and adjourned Dec. 19. The Assembly elected Stanislaw Trepczynski (Poland) President, and the chairmen of the delegations of People's Republic of China, Colombia, Cyprus, Ethiopia, France, Haiti, Iceland, Libya, Mauritania, New Zealand, Paraguay, Philippines, Rwanda, Syria, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and United States as the 17 Vice Presidents.

The chairmen of the seven main committees, on which each member may be represented, were:

First (Political and Security)—Radha K. Ramphul (Mauritius)

Special Political—Hady Touré (Guinea)

Second (Economic and Financial)—Bruce Rankin (Canada)

Third (Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural)—Carlos Giambruno (Uruguay)

Fourth (Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories)—Zdenek Černík (Czechoslovakia)

Fifth (Administrative and Budgetary)—Motoo Ogiso (Japan)

Sixth (Legal)—Eric Suy (Belgium)

The General Committee (steering committee) is composed of the President, the 17 Vice Presidents, and the chairmen of the seven main committees.

Security Council

Five members designated in the Charter as permanent; 10 elected by the General Assembly for 2-year terms ending Dec. 31 of the year given in the heading.

<i>Permanent members</i>	<i>1972</i>	<i>1973</i>
China	Argentina	Guinea
France	Belgium	India
U.S.S.R.	Italy	Panama
United Kingdom	Japan	Sudan
United States	Somalia	Yugoslavia

On Oct. 20 the Assembly elected Australia, Austria, Indonesia, Kenya, and Peru for terms beginning Jan. 1, 1973.

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.

1972	1973	1974
Brazil	Haiti	Bolivia
Ceylon	Hungary	Burundi
France	Lebanon	Chile
Ghana	Malagasy Republic	China
Greece	Malaysia	Finland
Italy	New Zealand	Japan
Kenya	Niger	Poland
Peru	United States	U.S.S.R.
Tunisia	Zaire	United Kingdom

On Oct. 31 the General Assembly elected Algeria, Mali, Mongolia, Netherlands, Spain, Trinidad and Tobago, and Uganda and reelected Brazil and France for terms beginning Jan. 1, 1973.

ECOSOC held its 52d session in New York, Jan. 5-7 and May 15-June 2. It held the first part of its 53d session in Geneva, July 3-28, and the resumed part of its 53d session in New York, Sept. 12 and 15, Oct. 17-18, Nov. 15-17, and Dec. 13.

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 39th session in New York, May 23-June 16.

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)

On Oct. 30 the General Assembly and the Security Council, voting independently but concurrently, elected José María Ruda (Argentina), Nagendra Singh (India), and Sir Humphrey Waldock (U.K.) and reelected Isaac Forster and André Gros for terms beginning Feb. 6, 1973.

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.

II. U.S. Representation in the UN

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 1972 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: George Bush
Deputy Permanent Representative to the United Nations: Christopher H. Phillips
Deputy Permanent Representative on the Security Council: W. Tapley Bennett, Jr.
Representative on the Economic and Social Council: Bernard Zagorin
Representative on the Trusteeship Council: W. Tapley Bennett, Jr.

General Assembly

27th REGULAR SESSION, NEW YORK, SEPT. 19-DEC. 19, 1972

Representatives:

William P. Rogers¹
George Bush
Christopher H. Phillips
Jewel Lafontant
Gale W. McGee
James B. Pearson

Alternates:

W. Tapley Bennett, Jr.
Julia Rivera de Vincenti
Gordon H. Scherer
Bernard Zagorin
Robert Carroll Tyson

SPECIAL BODIES OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Advisory Commission on UNRWA

Representative: William B. Buffum

Working Group on the Financing of UNRWA

Representative: Robert G. Mahon

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. 29-Apr. 27

Representative: Joseph Martin, Jr.

Alternate: Arthur R. Day

Geneva, June 20-Sept. 7

Representative: Joseph Martin, Jr.

Alternate: Alan F. Neidle

UN Conference on Trade and Development

3d session (Santiago, Apr. 13-May 21)

U.S. Ministerial Representative: John N.
Irwin II

U.S. Representative: Bernard Zagorin

Alternates: Jack F. Bennett, Nathaniel
Davis, George A. von Peterffy, Sidney
Weintraub, Maurice J. Williams

Trade and Development Board of UNCTAD

12th session (Geneva, Oct. 3-25)

Representative: William K. Miller

Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations

Representative: William E. Schauffele, Jr.

Advisory Committee on the UN Program of Assistance in the Teaching, Study, Dissemination, and Wider Appreciation of International Law

Representative: Stephen M. Schwebel

Industrial Development Board of UNIDO

6th session (Vienna, May 23-June 2)

Representative: William J. Stibravy

Alternates: Ludwig Rudel, Robert E.
Simpson

UN Commission on International Trade Law

5th session (New York, Apr. 10-May 5)

Representative: E. Allan Farnsworth

Alternate: Richard D. Kearney

¹ 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.

**Special Committee on the Question of
Defining Aggression**

Representative: Herbert K. Reis
Alternates: Robert B. Rosenstock, Julia
W. Willis

**Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the
Seabed and the Ocean Floor Beyond the
Limits of National Jurisdiction**

New York, Feb. 28–Mar. 30
Representative: John R. Stevenson
Alternates: Donald L. McKernan, Chris-
topher H. Phillips
Geneva, July 17–Aug. 18
Representative: John R. Stevenson
Alternates: Martin F. Herz, Donald L.
McKernan, Christopher H. Phillips

**Preparatory Committee for the UN Conference
on the Human Environment**

Representative: Christian A. Herter, Jr.
Alternates: Shirley Temple Black, John
W. McDonald, Jr.

**Committee on Relations with
the Host Country**

Representative: George Bush
Alternates: Christopher H. Phillips, Wil-
liam E. Schaufele, Jr.

**Special Committee on the Financial
Situation of the United Nations**

Representative: Christopher H. Phillips
Alternates: William E. Schaufele, Jr.,
Albert F. Bender, Jr.

**Special Committee for the Review of the
UN Salary System**

Representative: Dayton W. Hull

Security Council

Representative: George Bush
Deputies: Christopher H. Phillips, W.
Tapley Bennett, Jr.

Military Staff Committee

Representatives:
Harry L. Harty, Jr., Vice Adm., USN
Richard G. Stilwell, Lt. Gen., USA,
until Sept. 30

Donald H. Cowles, Lt. Gen., USA,
from Nov. 16

Austin J. Russell, Lt. Gen., USAF

Deputies:

Benjamin T. Douglas, Capt., USN,
until June 1.

Edward J. Melanson, Jr., Cmdr.,
USN, from July 31

Arthur A. Olson, Col., USA, until
Sept. 30

Charles S. Johnson, Jr., Col., USA,
from Oct. 1

Gerald M. Adams, Col., USAF, until
June 30

Robert E. Sheridan, Col., USAF, from
July 1

Trusteeship Council

Representative: W. Tapley Bennett, Jr.
Alternates: Edward E. Johnston, Freder-
ick H. Sacksteder

Economic and Social Council

Organizational Meetings of 52d Session

Representative: Bernard Zagorin
Alternate: Robert W. Kitchen, Jr.

52d Session

Representative: Bernard Zagorin
Alternate: Robert W. Kitchen, Jr.

53d Session

Representatives: George Bush, Bernard
Zagorin
Alternates: M. Kathleen Bell, Robert W.
Kitchen, Jr., William J. Stibravy,
George A. von Peterffy

FUNCTIONAL COMMISSIONS

Human Rights

Representative: Rita E. Hauser, until
Feb. 2; William E. Schaufele, Jr.
(Acting, Mar. 6–Apr. 7); Philip E.
Hoffman, from Aug. 3
Alternates: Warren E. Hewitt, Arthur M.
Stillman

Narcotic Drugs

Representative: John E. Ingersoll

Population

Representative: William H. Draper, Jr.
Alternate: John W. McDonald, Jr.

Social Development

Representative: Jean Picker

Statistical

Representative: Julius Shiskin

Status of Women

Representative: Elizabeth Duncan Koontz
Alternates: Ruth Bacon, Shirley B. Hendsch

REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMISSIONS

Africa

(Did not meet in 1972)

Asia and the Far East

28th session (Bangkok, Mar. 15-27)
Representative: Bernard Zagorin
Alternates: Leonard Unger, Joseph L. St. Lawrence

Europe

27th session (Geneva, Apr. 17-28)
Representative: Christopher H. Phillips
Alternates: Theodore R. Britton, Leonard Felsenthal, William K. Miller

Latin America

(Did not meet in 1972)

SPECIAL BODIES OF ECOSOC

Executive Board of UNICEF

Representative: Michael N. Scelsi
Alternate: Katherine Bain

Committee on Housing, Building, and Planning

(Did not meet in 1972)

Committee for Program and Coordination

11th session (New York, May 1-12)
Representative: Robert W. Kitchen, Jr.
Alternate: Paxton T. Dunn

12th session (New York, June 5-23)

Representative: Paxton T. Dunn
Alternate: Robert B. Allen

Intergovernmental Committee of the UN/FAO World Food Program

21st session (Rome, Apr. 24-28)

Delegate: Andrew J. Mair
Alternate: Paul J. Byrnes

22d session (Rome, Oct. 23-27)

Delegate: Irwin R. Hedges
Alternates: Paul J. Byrnes, Frank G. McKnight

Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Program (UNHCR)

23d session (Geneva, Oct. 9-18)

Representative: Francis L. Kellogg
Alternate: Raymond W. Laugel

Governing Council of the UNDP

13th session (New York, Jan. 12-Feb. 2)

Representative: Bernard Zagorin
Alternates: William Kerrigan, Robert W. Kitchen, Jr., I. Austin Heyman

14th session (Geneva, June 6-27)

Representative: Bernard Zagorin
Alternates: Philip Birnbaum, Robert W. Kitchen, Jr.

Committee on Review and Appraisal

1st session (Geneva, June 26-30)

Representative: Bernard Zagorin
Alternates: M. Kathleen Bell, Robert W. Kitchen, Jr.

Specialized Agencies and IAEA

Food and Agriculture Organization

59th session FAO Council (Rome, Nov. 20-Dec. 1)

Delegate: Andrew J. Mair
Alternates: Paul J. Byrnes, Ralph W. Phillips

Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization

28th session IMCO Council (London, May 23-26)

Representative: Carroll Perry
Alternate: Roderick Y. Edwards, Rear Adm., USCG (ret.)

29th session IMCO Council (London, Nov. 7-10)

Representative: William Ford

Alternates: Roderick Y. Edwards, Rear Adm., USCG (ret.), William F. Rea II, Rear Adm., USCG

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

U.S. Governor, Board of Governors:

John B. Connally, until June 28

George P. Shultz, from June 28

Alternate U.S. Governor:

Nathaniel Samuels, until Sept. 18

John N. Irwin II, from Sept. 21

U.S. Executive Director: Robert E. Wiczorowski

International Civil Aviation Organization

U.S. Representative on ICAO Council: Betty Crites Dillon

International Development Association

The Governors, Executive Directors, and Alternates are the same as those of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

International Finance Corporation

The U.S. Governor, Executive Director, and Alternate are the same as those of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

International Labor Organization

57th International Labor Conference (Geneva, June 7-27)

U.S. Government Delegates: Edward B. Persons, Daniel L. Horowitz

U.S. Employer Delegate: Edwin P. Neilan

U.S. Worker Delegate: Rudolph Faupl

U.S. Substitute Representative on Governing Body: Edward B. Persons

International Monetary Fund

U.S. Governor, Board of Governors:

John B. Connally, until June 28

George P. Shultz, from June 28

Alternate U.S. Governor:

Nathaniel Samuels, until Sept. 18

John N. Irwin II, from Sept. 21

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

17th General Conference (Paris, Oct. 17-Nov. 21)

Delegates: William B. Jones (Chairman), R. Miller Upton, Louise Gore, Jacquelin H. Hume, Benjamin F. Marsh

Alternates: E. Dorothy Dann Bullock, Henry David, Pierre R. Graham, James C. Haahr, Chauncy D. Harris

U.S. Member, Executive Board: Louise Gore

Universal Postal Union

Head of U.S. Delegation to Executive Council: Peter M. Sussmann

World Health Organization

25th World Health Assembly (Geneva, May 9-26)

Delegates: Merlin K. DuVal, M.D.; Jesse L. Steinfeld, M.D.; Malcolm C. Todd, M.D.

Alternates: Jerome H. Jaffe, M.D.; Idar Rimestad; David J. Sencer, M.D.

U.S. Representative, Executive Board: S. Paul Ehrlich, Jr., M.D.

World Meteorological Organization

U.S. Member, Executive Committee: Robert M. White

International Atomic Energy Agency

16th General Conference (Mexico, Sept. 26-Oct. 3)

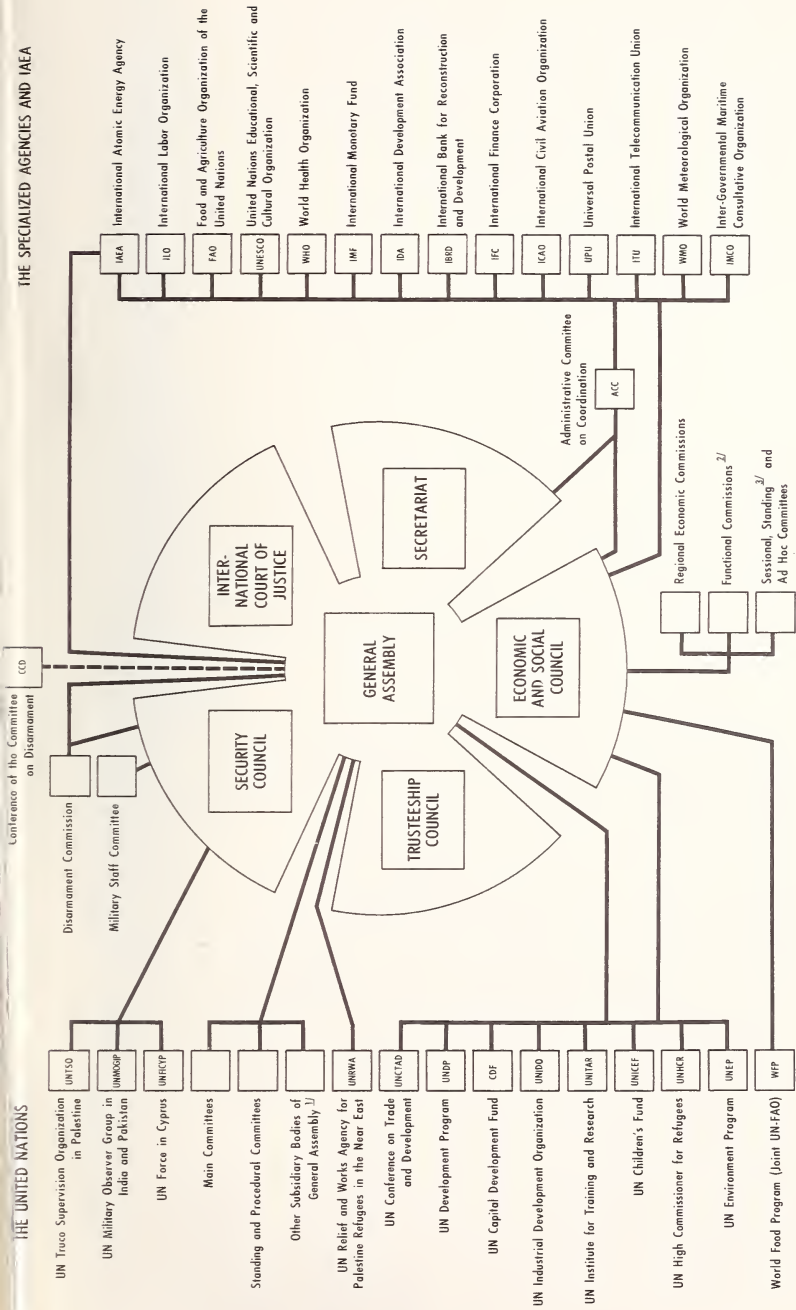
Representative: James R. Schlesinger

Alternates: William O. Doub, T. Keith Glennan, Robert H. McBride, Herman Pollack, Dwight J. Porter, James T. Ramey

U.S. Governor, Board of Governors: T. Keith Glennan

THE UNITED NATIONS

THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND IAEA



^{1/} Includes, *inter alia*: (1) Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space; (2) Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Seabed and Ocean Floor Beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction; (3) Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations; (4) UN Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation; (5) Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; (6) Special Committee on Apartheid; (7) UN Council for Namibia; (8) International Law Commission; (9) UN Commission on International Trade Law

^{2/} (1) Commission on Human Rights; (2) Commission on Narcotic Drugs; (3) Statistical Commission; (4) Commission for Social Development; (5) Commission on the Status of Women; (6) Population Commission

^{3/} Includes, *inter alia*: (1) Committee on Review and Appraisal; (2) Committee on Science and Technology for Development; (3) Committee on Housing, Building and Planning; (4) Committee on Natural Resources; (5) Committee for Program and Coordination

1972 PR

