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# United States



## participation

### in the *United Nations*

REPORT BY THE PRESIDENT  
TO THE CONGRESS  
FOR THE YEAR  
1951





# *United States*

**participation**

in the *United Nations*

REPORT BY THE PRESIDENT  
TO THE CONGRESS  
FOR THE YEAR  
**1951**

This report covers the period from January 1, 1951, through February 1952, the conclusion of the sixth session of the General Assembly. Some especially important matters have been brought up to April or May 1952.

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# LETTERS OF TRANSMITTAL

## *The President to the Congress*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

I transmit herewith, pursuant to the United Nations Participation Act, a report on the work of the United States in the United Nations during 1951.

This will be my last report, as President, to the Congress on our participation in the United Nations.

I have dedicated my seven years as President of the United States to working for world peace. That has been my paramount aim since becoming President. The first order I issued after being sworn into office on April 12, 1945, was that the United States should carry out its plan to participate in the United Nations Conference, which met on April 25 in San Francisco. Since that time the United Nations has been the mainstay of our work to build a peaceful and decent world.

During these years the United Nations has faced many trials and difficulties. In 1945 there were high hopes that this partnership of nations would quickly lead to permanent peace and the advancement of the general welfare of the nations. But these hopes have been dimmed by the conflicts of the succeeding years and by the hostile attitude of the Soviet Union. As a result, voices have been raised, questioning the value for us of the United Nations and the need for maintaining it.

Nevertheless, in spite of all these difficulties and discouragements, the United Nations remains the best means available to our generation for achieving peace for the community of nations. The United Nations, in this respect, is vital to our future as a free people. In this message I want to explain why this is true and to sum up a few of the reasons why we should continue to support the United Nations in this dangerous period in the history of mankind.

The need for a world organization of nations should have been made clear to us by the First World War. But President Wilson's pioneering efforts to organize world peace through the League of Nations were thwarted by some Americans who still thought we could turn back the clock of history. We had to pay a terrible price for that kind of narrow thinking in the Second World War.

Our victory over the Axis gave us another chance to work with the other nations in a united effort to prevent war. This time we assumed our responsibilities and took part in launching a far stronger world organization for peace.

In the United Nations we have pledged our support to the basic principles of sovereign equality, mutual respect among nations, and justice and morality in international affairs. By the Charter all United Nations members are bound to settle their disputes peacefully rather than by the use of force. They pledge themselves to take common action against root causes of unrest and war, and to promote the common interests of the nations in peace, security, and general well-being.

These principles are not new in the world, but they are the only sure foundation for lasting peace. Centuries of history have made it clear that peace cannot be maintained for long unless there is an international organization to embody these principles and put them into effect.

The United Nations provides a world-wide forum in which those principles can be applied to international affairs. In the General Assembly all member nations have to stand up and be counted on issues which directly involve the peace of the world. In the United Nations no country can escape the judgment of mankind. This is the first and greatest weapon against aggression and international immorality. It is the greatest strength of the United Nations. And because we, as a Nation, sincerely desire to establish the rule of international justice, this is a precious instrument, a great asset, that we should constantly seek to reinforce, that we should never ignore or cast away.

This great moral value of the United Nations has been clearly demonstrated with respect to the conduct of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet leaders have been dominated by their doctrines of communism, by the concept of the use of force, unchecked by ethical considerations. This concept has led the Kremlin into a course of international conduct, which threatens the peace of the world. By stirring up class warfare, subverting free governments, and employing lies, intimidation, and conquest, the Soviet Union has pursued a policy of extending its control without regard to the sovereignty of other nations or respect for their rights.

This policy might have been irresistible if it had not been clearly and decisively brought to the bar of world opinion in the United Nations.

The proceedings of the United Nations, time and time again, have proclaimed to the world that the Soviets have not lived up to the principles of liberty, morality, justice, and peace to which they profess to subscribe. Through the United Nations the international conscience has relentlessly exposed and sternly resisted the attempts of the Kremlin to impose a rule of force upon the peace-loving nations of the world.

This process has strengthened freedom. It has given courage to the faint-hearted, who might otherwise have yielded to the forces of communism. It has presented the truth to those who might have been deceived by Communist propaganda. And, as a result, the principles of international justice, of freedom and mutual respect, still exercise a far greater sway over the minds of men than the false beliefs of communism.

By itself, of course, this moral function of the United Nations would not be enough. The collective conscience of the world is not enough to repel aggression and establish order. We have learned that moral judgments must be supported by force to be effective. This is why we went into Korea. We were right in what we did in Korea in June 1950; we are right in holding firm against aggression there now.

Korea might have been the end of the United Nations. When the aggression began, the free nations might have yielded their principles and followed the dreary road of appeasement that, in the past, had led from Manchuria to Munich and then to World War II. But Korea had the opposite effect. When the Communist aggressors brutally violated the Republic of Korea, the United Nations acted with unprecedented speed and rallied the international conscience to meet the challenge. And, with our country proudly in the lead, the free nations went into the conflict against aggression.

It is profoundly heartening to remember that far-off Ethiopia, which had been one of the first victims of the fatal policy of the 1930's, sent troops to fight in Korea. The free nations now understand that nobody can be safe anywhere unless all free nations band together to resist aggression the first time it occurs.

In Korea the United Nations forces have repelled Communist aggression, they have forced the aggressors to abandon their objectives and negotiate for an armistice, and they have demonstrated that the course of conquest is mortally dangerous. The success of the United Nations in repelling the attack in Korea has given the free world time to build its defensive strength against Communist aggression.



We are working to strengthen the United Nations by building up a security system in accordance with the purposes of the Charter that will protect the community of nations against aggression from any source. We are working, in important regions of the world, to build the pillars of this collective strength through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Rio treaty, and the security treaties in the Pacific. All this is being done under the Charter as a means of fulfilling the United Nations purpose of maintaining world peace. The progress we have made since the Korean aggression started has now begun to tip the scales toward real security for ourselves and all other peace-loving peoples.

Such measures are necessary to meet the present threat of aggression. But we cannot admit that mankind must suffer forever under the burden of armaments and the tensions of greatly enlarged defense programs. We must try in every way not only to settle differences peaceably but also to lighten the load of defense preparations. In this task the United Nations is the most important if not the only avenue of progress.

On October 24, 1950, in an address to the General Assembly of the United Nations, I outlined the principles which must guide disarmament. This was followed up by concrete proposals, which were presented at the 1951 session of the General Assembly in Paris. These proposals involved a world census of armaments, a reduction of armaments and armed forces, and the elimination of weapons of mass destruction, all under a foolproof system of inspection. The Disarmament Commission of the United Nations is now discussing these proposals, and if they are adopted they will not only enhance world security but also free vast energies and resources of the world for constructive ends. This program of disarmament offers a way out of the conflict of our times. If the Soviet Union will accept it in good faith, it will be possible to go forward at the same time to reconcile other conflicting national interests under the principles of international morality.

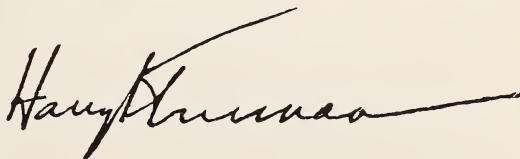
These disarmament proposals emphasize anew that our objective is world peace. We hope that the day will come when the Soviet Union, seeing that it cannot make aggression and subversion work, will modify its policies so that all nations can live together peacefully in the same world. Therefore we must continue to test Soviet willingness to take tangible steps toward easing international tensions. We must continue to keep the door open in the United Nations for the Soviet Union to join the great majority of countries on the road to peace.



Among the nations of the free world, the United Nations performs the valuable function of settling disputes and terminating conflict. It has been notably successful in localizing and diminishing dangerous situations which might otherwise have torn the free world apart and paved the way for Communist expansion. In Indonesia, Palestine, and Kashmir the United Nations stopped serious fighting and persuaded the combatants to take steps toward a peaceful settlement of their differences. In many other cases the United Nations has prevented disputes from erupting into violence.

We must remember that the challenge of international lawlessness is not only military but also political and economic. The United Nations is helping dependent peoples to move toward greater freedom. The United Nations is taking measures to promote extensive international progress in such fields as agriculture, communication and transportation, education, health, and living standards. Its technical assistance programs and our own Point Four activities are providing dramatic examples of tangible accomplishments at relatively little cost. The United Nations in this way is helping to build healthier societies, which in the long run are the best defense against communism and the best guaranty of peace.

During the past seven years our work in the United Nations has been carried out on a strictly nonpartisan basis. Able men and women from both political parties and both Houses of Congress have represented this country in the General Assembly. Nevertheless partisan attacks have been made on the United Nations. Some of these attacks are made in a spirit of impatience that can only lead to the holocaust of world-wide war. Most of those who urge us to "go it alone" are blind to the fact that such a course would destroy the solid progress toward world peace which the United Nations has made in the past seven years. I am confident that the American people will reject these voices of despair. We can win peace, but we cannot win it alone. And, above all, we cannot win it by force alone. We can win the peace only by continuing to work for international justice and morality through the United Nations.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Harry Truman". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned in the lower right quadrant of the page, below the main body of text.

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
*July 3, 1952.*



*The Secretary of State to the President*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
*Washington, June 20, 1952*

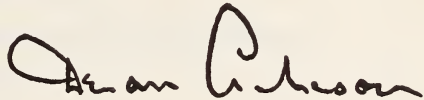
THE PRESIDENT:

The accompanying report on the activities of the United Nations during 1951 and on the participation of the United States therein is submitted for your consideration and, upon your approval, for transmission to the Congress in accordance with section 4 of the United Nations Participation Act (Public Law 264, 79th Congress).

The report is a record of steady, cumulative progress through the United Nations toward the goal of a peaceful and secure world. It provides tangible evidence of the value of international cooperation across a broad range of human activities. Our stake in these cooperative efforts is so great that I am sure this report will be of interest and value to the Congress and to all Americans.

I recommend it for your approval.

Respectfully submitted,



The President,  
*The White House.*





# CONTENTS

	Page
Letters of Transmittal . . . . .	III
The President to the Congress . . . . .	III
The Secretary of State to the President . . . . .	IX
Review of the Sixth Year of the United Nations . . . . .	3
PART I. POLITICAL AND SECURITY AFFAIRS . . . . .	24
Collective Security—Korea . . . . .	24
Efforts To Resolve the Crisis . . . . .	25
Condemning Chinese Communist Aggressors . . . . .	28
Application of Additional Measures Against the Aggressors . . . . .	32
Collective Military Action . . . . .	35
Armistice Negotiations . . . . .	36
Fixing a Demarcation Line . . . . .	40
Arrangements for Implementing the Armistice . . . . .	42
Prisoners of War . . . . .	43
Recommendations for a Political Conference . . . . .	45
Korean Question in the General Assembly . . . . .	46
Collective Security—Strengthening the United Nations . . . . .	49
Collective Measures Committee . . . . .	50
Preparatory Action . . . . .	51
Procedures for Coordinating Action . . . . .	52
General Assembly Action . . . . .	55
Soviet Attacks Against Collective Security . . . . .	57
Disarmament . . . . .	58
Committee of Twelve . . . . .	59
Tripartite Proposals . . . . .	61
Opening Discussion in the General Assembly . . . . .	63
Initial Consideration in the Political Committee . . . . .	65
Subcommittee Report . . . . .	69
Continuation of Political Committee Consideration . . . . .	73
“New” Soviet Proposals . . . . .	76

	Page
<b>PART I. POLITICAL AND SECURITY AFFAIRS—Continued</b>	
Peaceful Settlement and Other Efforts To Improve International Relations . . . . .	78
China . . . . .	78
Sino-Soviet Treaty Violations . . . . .	79
Southeast Asia . . . . .	82
Chinese Representation in the United Nations . . . . .	83
Formosa . . . . .	84
Germany . . . . .	85
Greece . . . . .	87
United Nations Observation . . . . .	89
Greek Children . . . . .	90
Iran . . . . .	92
Italian Colonies (Former) . . . . .	95
Libya . . . . .	95
Eritrea . . . . .	100
Italian Somaliland . . . . .	102
Kashmir . . . . .	102
Morocco . . . . .	107
Palestine . . . . .	108
Efforts Toward Political Settlement . . . . .	109
Paris Conference . . . . .	110
General Assembly Consideration . . . . .	112
Enforcement of the Armistice Agreements . . . . .	114
Syrian-Israeli Case . . . . .	114
Israeli-Egyptian Case . . . . .	116
South Africa: Treatment of Indians . . . . .	117
Yugoslavia . . . . .	119
Organizational Matters . . . . .	121
Admission of New Members to the United Nations . . . . .	121
Italian Case . . . . .	122
Broad Membership Question . . . . .	124
Security Council Elections . . . . .	127
<b>PART II. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS AND HUMAN RIGHTS . . . . .</b>	<b>128</b>
Economic Activities . . . . .	129
World Economic Situation . . . . .	129
Technical Assistance . . . . .	134
Organization and Planning . . . . .	135
Program Accomplishments . . . . .	137

## PART II. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS AND HUMAN RIGHTS—Continued

## Economic Activities—Continued

Financing Economic Development . . . . .	141
Group of Experts Report . . . . .	142
General Assembly Consideration . . . . .	144
Regional Commissions . . . . .	145
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development . . . . .	146
Increasing the Productivity of Land . . . . .	148
Land Reform . . . . .	149
Acute Food Shortages and Famine . . . . .	150
Water Control and Utilization . . . . .	151
Full Employment . . . . .	151
International Trade and Finance . . . . .	153
General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) . . . . .	154
International Monetary Fund . . . . .	155
Intergovernmental Commodity Agreements . . . . .	156
Restrictive Business Practices . . . . .	157
Transport and Communications . . . . .	158
Maritime Matters . . . . .	158
Aviation Matters . . . . .	158
General Transport Matters . . . . .	159
Telecommunication Matters . . . . .	160
Meteorological Matters . . . . .	161
Emergency Relief and Rehabilitation . . . . .	161
Palestine Refugees . . . . .	161
Korean Relief . . . . .	164
Labor and Population Matters . . . . .	166
Improvement of Labor Conditions . . . . .	166
Increasing the Productivity of Labor . . . . .	168
Forced Labor . . . . .	169
Violation of Trade-Union Rights . . . . .	171
Population Pressures and Migration . . . . .	173
Migration . . . . .	173
Provisional Intergovernmental Committee . . . . .	174
Refugees and Displaced Persons . . . . .	175
Termination of the International Refugee Organization . . . . .	175
Legal Protection . . . . .	177
Social and Cultural Affairs . . . . .	179
Better Health . . . . .	179
Sanitary Regulations . . . . .	180
Field Activities . . . . .	181

PART II. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS AND HUMAN RIGHTS—Continued

Social and Cultural Affairs—Continued

Needs of Children . . . . .	183
Social Welfare and Community Services . . . . .	185
Development of Social Security Services . . . . .	187
Protection Against Social Evils . . . . .	187
Prevention and Treatment of Crime . . . . .	187
Control of Narcotic Drugs . . . . .	188
Suppression of Prostitution . . . . .	190
Cultural Activities . . . . .	190
Technical Assistance . . . . .	191
Exchange of Knowledge . . . . .	192
Citizen Understanding . . . . .	194

Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms . . . . . 195

Draft Covenants on Human Rights . . . . .	195
Freedom of Information . . . . .	198
Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities . .	200
Status of Women . . . . .	201
Genocide . . . . .	202
Human Rights Violations . . . . .	203

Organizational Developments . . . . . 203

Reorganization of Economic and Social Council . . . . .	204
---	-----

PART III. DEPENDENT TERRITORIES . . . . . 207

Functioning of the Trusteeship System . . . . . 208

Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands . . . . .	208
Civilian Administration . . . . .	209
Annual Report . . . . .	210
Petitions . . . . .	212
Developments Affecting Other Trust Territories . . . . .	212
Trust Territories in the Pacific . . . . .	213
New Guinea . . . . .	213
Nauru . . . . .	215
Western Samoa . . . . .	216
Trust Territories in West Africa . . . . .	217
Cameroons Under British Administration . . . . .	217
Cameroons Under French Administration . . . . .	218
Togoland Under British Administration . . . . .	219
Togoland Under French Administration . . . . .	220



## PART III. DEPENDENT TERRITORIES—Continued

## Functioning of the Trusteeship System—Continued

Trust Territories in East Africa . . . . .	221
Tanganyika . . . . .	221
Ruanda-Urundi . . . . .	222
Somaliland Under Italian Administration . . . . .	224
Special Trusteeship Problems . . . . .	225
Participation of Italy in the Trusteeship Council . . . . .	225
Rural Economic Development . . . . .	226
Ewe Problem . . . . .	227
Administrative Unions . . . . .	229
Abolition of Corporal Punishment . . . . .	230

## Activities Relating to Non-Self-Governing Territories

Other Than Trust Territories . . . . .	230
Economic Conditions and Development . . . . .	232
Other Special Committee Activities . . . . .	234
General Assembly Action . . . . .	235
South-West Africa . . . . .	237

## Work of the Regional Commissions . . . . . 240

Caribbean Commission . . . . .	241
South Pacific Commission . . . . .	242

## PART IV. INTERNATIONAL LAW . . . . . 244

## Utilization of the International Court of Justice . . . . . 244

Jurisdiction . . . . .	244
Contentious Cases . . . . .	246
Advisory Opinion . . . . .	249

## Development of International Law . . . . . 251

Reservations to Multilateral Conventions . . . . .	251
Question of Defining Aggression . . . . .	252
Draft Code of Offenses Against the Peace and Security of Mankind. . . . .	253
Regime of the High Seas . . . . .	254
International Criminal Jurisdiction . . . . .	255
Draft Declaration on Rights and Duties of States . . . . .	255
Regulations Under Section 8 of the Headquarters Agreement . . . . .	256

PART V. BUDGETARY, FINANCIAL, AND ADMINISTRATIVE  
MATTERS . . . . . 257

Permanent Headquarters . . . . .	257
United Nations Postal Administration . . . . .	260

PART V. BUDGETARY, FINANCIAL, AND ADMINISTRATIVE MAT-  
TERS—Continued

Budgets . . . . .	260
Assessments . . . . .	262
Staff Arrangements . . . . .	265
Secretariats . . . . .	267
Organizational Interrelationships . . . . .	268

APPENDIXES

I. Contributions to Korean Activities . . . . .	273
Summaries of Military and Relief Assistance for Korea as of January 15, 1952 . . . . .	273
Summary of Assistance for Korean Emergency Relief Program as of January 15, 1952 . . . . .	278
United Nations Military Participation in Korea by Coun- try and Service . . . . .	288
Percentage of Total United Nations Force Contributed by the United States . . . . .	288
Percentage of Contribution by Nation by Service (Combat) . . . . .	288
II. The United Nations System . . . . .	289
The United Nations . . . . .	289
The General Assembly . . . . .	289
The Security Council . . . . .	291
The Economic and Social Council . . . . .	291
Functional Commissions:	
Economic, Employment and Development Commission . . . . .	293
Fiscal Commission . . . . .	295
Transport and Communications Commission . . . . .	295
Statistical Commission . . . . .	296
Population Commission . . . . .	296
Social Commission . . . . .	297
Commission on Narcotic Drugs . . . . .	297
Commission on Human Rights . . . . .	298
Commission on the Status of Women . . . . .	298
Regional Commissions:	
Economic Commission for Europe . . . . .	299
Economic Commission for Latin America . . . . .	299
Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East . . . . .	300
United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund . . . . .	300
The United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency . . . . .	301
The Trusteeship Council . . . . .	302
The International Court of Justice . . . . .	302

	Page
II. The United Nations System—Continued	
The United Nations—Continued	
The Secretariat of the United Nations . . . . .	304
Organization . . . . .	306
Advisory Committees . . . . .	307
The Specialized Agencies . . . . .	309
International Labor Organization . . . . .	309
Food and Agriculture Organization . . . . .	309
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development . .	310
International Monetary Fund . . . . .	310
International Civil Aviation Organization . . . . .	311
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organi- zation . . . . .	311
World Health Organization . . . . .	312
Universal Postal Union . . . . .	313
International Telecommunication Union . . . . .	314
World Meteorological Organization . . . . .	315
Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization: Pre- paratory Committee (Formative) . . . . .	315
III. United States Representation in the United Nations System . . . . .	316
Missions . . . . .	316
Mission at the Headquarters of the United Nations . . . . .	316
Other United States Missions . . . . .	318
United States Representatives to the United Nations, Its Organs, Subsidiary Bodies, and the Specialized Agencies.	319
IV. Documentary Publications on the United Nations . . . .	324





*The*  
**UNITED STATES**  
*in the*  
**UNITED NATIONS**



## REVIEW OF THE SIXTH YEAR OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations carried forward its work during 1951 and early 1952 under world conditions which remained difficult and dangerous. The challenge of Communist imperialism continued to pose grave threats to the free world. In the Far East the Communist challenge was manifested in military action in Korea, Indochina, and Malaya, along with ominous threats to the still precarious security of other areas. In Europe and the Near East the military threat of vast Soviet and satellite armies remained highly dangerous. Thus the military nature of the Communist challenge forced the free world to accelerate the building of adequate defenses.

At the same time the task of strengthening defenses placed greater stress on the economies of free nations, many of which had just recovered from wartime and postwar difficulties. Even in areas where the threat of aggression seemed more remote and the needs of economic development more immediate, a number of countries were concerned about the possible shortages of capital goods and impending inflation. In addition, strong nationalist movements in many areas presented important problems of adjusting relationships between these areas and the Western world.

The United States and other free nations emerged from the year in a better position than when it started. Significant progress was made in increasing the strength and unity of the free nations. In Korea, the United Nations forces fought back from the brink of disaster to the threshold of achieving their objectives. The entire fabric of collective security under the Charter was materially strengthened by the great strides made in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, by the emerging network of Pacific security pacts, by the Western Hemisphere security undertakings, and by the pioneer accomplishments of building a solid foundation for the United Nations world-wide security system. United States aid to foreign countries under mutual-aid programs, along with United Nations technical assistance and other activities, contributed much to the strengthening and stability of many

important areas of the free world. Even so, many difficult problems remained, especially in underdeveloped areas where the surge for economic and political change erupted in crises in Iran, Egypt, Morocco, and elsewhere which have not yet been satisfactorily resolved.

In general, the world situation had brightened somewhat. It was too soon to say that a real turning point had been reached, but the net gains of 1951 offered sound promise that further constructive work could gradually tip the scales toward international peace and security.

The United Nations system continued to play a key role in world affairs during 1951 and early 1952. It had become a going concern through which the United States and a great many other nations continuously conduct a large portion of their international business. This attested widespread recognition of the fact that in the modern world there is no alternative to a world-wide instrumentality for dealing with essentially global problems in which all nations, large and small, have an interest.

The United Nations sixth year of activity was characterized by steady, basic progress in coping with tough international problems rather than by dramatic actions. The great majority of United Nations members recognized that there is no easy formula for solving the basic causes of international tension. On the contrary, the nature of world problems requires hard, patient work to make cumulative gains over a period of years toward the eventual goal of a peaceful and secure world.

The basic programs for such work had in large part been established prior to 1951. The United Nations had adapted its machinery and programs to new conditions wrought by Soviet obstructionism and Communist aggression in Korea. Therefore much of the United Nations sixth year of activity was devoted to the necessary job of consolidating past gains and pushing ahead on major programs as rapidly as basic conditions would permit.

In the political and security field, these programs encompassed a threefold approach to international peace and security: (1) Efforts to strengthen collective security; (2) efforts to reach agreement on a universal disarmament program; and (3) efforts to achieve peaceful settlements of international differences.

During 1951 and early 1952 the United States and other free nations made significant progress toward the achievement of effective collective security under the United Nations. The direct Communist attack against the Republic of Korea was successfully checked, and the free world launched a comprehensive and far-reaching program to deter or, if necessary, to repel future aggressions.



*Korea*

As 1951 opened, the situation in Korea was more serious than at any time since the early days of the Pusan beachhead. The massive Chinese Communist armies were sweeping southward to engulf Seoul and threaten the rest of the Republic of Korea. But the United Nations took the same firm stand against the large-scale aggression by the Chinese Communists as it had against the earlier attack by the smaller North Korea. Through a General Assembly resolution on February 1, 1951, 43 United Nations members joined the United States in condemning the Chinese Communist regime as an aggressor and in providing for sanctions against the aggressors; 46 members joined the United States in initiating on May 18 a United Nations strategic embargo against the aggressors. This provided further evidence that the United Nations, instead of being impotent in case of a split between the Great Powers, can function as a rallying point and action instrument in the defense of world peace by the international community.

Meanwhile the United Nations forces in Korea, strengthened by additional troop contributions and aided by the strategic embargo, wrought a steady improvement in the military situation. By mid-1951 the Communist armies had been driven back across the 38th parallel, and United Nations forces had gained strong positions against any further enemy offensives. The aggression against the Republic of Korea had been repelled, and the Communists had been subjected to terrific punishment with cumulative casualties exceeding 1,500,000 men. Against this background Jacob Malik, Soviet representative on the Security Council, initiated apparent peace overtures on June 23, which the United Nations Command followed up as a means of bringing the aggression to an end. Subsequently the United Nations Command has been engaged in protracted armistice negotiations with the aggressors.

These negotiations have been conducted by the United Nations Command under Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway and later, Gen. Mark W. Clark. The line of authority in these negotiations has run from the United Nations negotiators at the conference table through General Ridgway's or General Clark's command in Tokyo to the United States Government, which acts as the Unified Command on behalf of and at the request of the United Nations. Throughout the negotiations the United States Government has maintained close and harmonious liaison with the Ambassadors of the other 15 United Nations

members having troops in Korea, with the Republic of Korea Ambassador, and, as appropriate, with other interested United Nations members and with United Nations headquarters.

By May 1952 the negotiations were still inconclusive, but several facts had emerged. The Communists, having failed to achieve their objectives on the battlefield, sought to use the negotiations to create differences and disillusionment within the free world in order to mask the truth of the success of the United Nations collective action. They sought to play on the natural hopes of the American and other free peoples for an early armistice in order to wring concessions from our negotiators or to so confuse public opinion that the real significance of the Korean action would be lost. The Soviet Union and its satellites attempted to implement this strategy in the sixth session of the General Assembly by various efforts to inject extraneous political considerations into the military negotiations.

These efforts failed. The free nations, instead of becoming apathetic and divided, have grown more resolute and united in the face of the common danger. While patiently pursuing the negotiations in Korea, they have strengthened common defensive efforts to guard against the renewal of a large-scale Communist offensive in Korea or the outbreak of new aggressions elsewhere. The United Nations Command has negotiated with great skill and perseverance. It has achieved Communist acceptance of the present battle line as the line of military demarcation in an armistice, despite Communist insistence on a withdrawal to the 38th parallel which would expose the Republic of Korea to further attack. It has achieved Communist acceptance of the principle of neutral armistice inspection, despite stubborn initial Communist insistence against allowing inspection of the territory under its control. It has steadfastly held to the principle that prisoners of war must not be forcibly repatriated and has refused to trade the lives of prisoners resisting such repatriation for an armistice. Altogether, our negotiators have made significant headway toward the achievement of a satisfactory and workable armistice which would formalize the fact that the aggression has been successfully repelled and which would help insure against its resumption.

Thus the United Nations has come a long way toward the achievement of its military objective in Korea since the dark and perilous days at the beginning of 1951. It has successfully frustrated the announced Communist objectives of overrunning the Republic of Korea and of pushing the United Nations forces into the sea. It has come to

the threshold of achieving the purpose of the United Nations military action in Korea—to repel the aggression and to restore peace and security in the area. A satisfactory armistice would mark further progress toward the achievement of United Nations tasks in Korea but would still leave important jobs to be done. It would be necessary to help the Republic of Korea through a reconstruction phase, for which important preliminary planning has already been undertaken by the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency; and it would be necessary to take steps toward the achievement by peaceful means of the long-standing United Nations political objective, the establishment of a unified, independent, and democratic government of Korea.

### *Collective Security*

The aggression in Korea stimulated the United Nations to make an accelerated effort to build an effective security system. While the Korean experience showed that collective security could be made to work, it also disclosed the need for strengthening the United Nations capacity to deter or suppress future aggressions. Important steps toward this objective have been taken under the uniting-for-peace program, proposed by Secretary Acheson and adopted by the General Assembly in November 1950. The Assembly is now in a better position promptly and effectively to recommend action against aggression, including the use of force, if the Security Council is unable to do so because of the veto.

The broad framework of this program was filled in substantially by the work of the Collective Measures Committee during 1951. The Committee made encouraging progress in developing the two essential aspects of strengthening the United Nations as a security instrument. First, it took steps to stimulate nations to prepare themselves in advance so that they could participate promptly and effectively in any future United Nations collective action. Secondly, it developed a comprehensive framework of arrangements for coordinating the participation of states in order that their separate contributions could be welded together into the most effective form of collective action. The United States exercised positive leadership in this work because of our belief that the more effectively the United Nations members are organized to unite their strength to maintain peace, the less likely it is that world peace will be challenged.

The most significant progress was made in the relatively unexplored field of planning future military measures. The Committee developed



the concept that in any case of the use of force under United Nations auspices, there should be a central Executive Military Authority responsible for the coordination of the contributions from many states and for the actual conduct of military operations in the field. This Executive Military Authority could be either a state or a group of states which would act within the framework of United Nations policies and objectives, as the United States in its capacity as the Unified Command has done in Korea. By profiting from the Korean experience, however, any future Executive Military Authority could rely on the wide variety of principles and procedures which the Committee developed for the application of military measures.

One of the most important aspects of the Collective Measures Committee's work concerned the relationship between the world-wide United Nations security system and various collective self-defense arrangements, such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The Committee recognized that the regional and collective self-defense arrangements and the United Nations security system are mutually supporting efforts to achieve the Charter purpose of maintaining world peace. It pointed out that these collective self-defense arrangements "constitute an important aspect of the universal collective security system of the United Nations" and could, within the limits of their constitutional status, provide effective forces and facilities in their respective areas in order to assist United Nations action in meeting aggression.

The United States, as a leading party to both the regional and the universal collective security undertakings, has a vital interest in the complementary and mutually supporting growth of all these undertakings. With respect to the role of the regional and collective self-defense arrangements in relation to the global function of the United Nations, the United States considers that such arrangements must in their terms of reference and in their implementation be consistent with the Charter and the operations of the United Nations. From the point of view of our security, our association with regional and collective self-defense arrangements must supplement and support rather than replace the global approach to international peace. We recognize at the same time that the progressive development of such arrangements among free nations in a manner consistent with the Charter not only strengthens and bulwarks the United Nations approach but also in the present world situation offers practical means of reenforcing our security.



*Disarmament*

While pressing forward with these collective security undertakings, the United States and other members during 1951 took steps to revitalize the United Nations work on disarmament. Earlier efforts to develop an effective United Nations disarmament program had not reached fruition because of Soviet intransigence. Nevertheless the United States had continued its work to formulate improved disarmament proposals which could enhance the security of all countries and could free energies and resources for constructive purposes. This work culminated in a new proposal for the regulation, limitation, and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments which the United States, France, and the United Kingdom placed before the sixth session of the General Assembly in November 1951.

President Truman, who had initiated the search for a fresh approach to disarmament in an address before the Assembly in 1950, explained the new tripartite proposals in a broadcast to the American people. The President said that the proposals involved three principal points:

First, a continuing inventory of all armed forces and all armaments should be undertaken in every country having substantial military power and should be verified by United Nations inspectors.

Second, while this process of inventory and inspection was taking place, the nations should work out specific arrangements for the actual reduction of armed strength.

Third, on the basis of the two previous steps, the reductions which were the goal of the program should be made as soon as this could be done with full knowledge and fairness to all.

The new program was elaborated by Secretary Acheson at the sixth session of the General Assembly in Paris and thoroughly discussed and debated by many delegations. The program was embodied in a resolution which the Assembly adopted by a vote of 42 to 5 with 7 abstentions on January 11, 1952.

The resolution established a Disarmament Commission under the Security Council and directed this Commission to prepare proposals for the regulation, limitation, and balanced reduction of all armed forces and armaments; the elimination of all major weapons adaptable to mass destruction; and the effective international control of atomic energy. The proposals resulting from the Commission's work would be embodied in draft treaties which would be submitted to governments at a future disarmament conference. In order to insure implementation of these treaties, the Commission also was directed

to draw up plans for the establishment of an international control organ within the framework of the Security Council.

The Soviet Union, while agreeing to participate on the Commission, opposed the tripartite plan for progressive and continuing disclosure and verification, which the Assembly considered as the necessary first step in the Commission's work, and the idea of balanced reduction of military strength and the establishment of effective international control to insure prohibition of atomic weapons. Instead, the Soviet Union proposed a slight variation of its former plans for, first, a General Assembly declaration of an unconditional prohibition of production of atomic weapons; then, establishing international control to enforce this prohibition of atomic weapons; and finally, a one-third reduction of all armed forces and nonatomic armaments by the Big Five Powers within one year.

The Western Powers pointed out in the Assembly that these proposals would preserve or possibly intensify the present Soviet power superiority which threatens the free world. The prohibition of atomic weapons would be unenforceable until a control system were in operation, and in the interim, the complying states would have no assurance that other states would live up to the paper pledge. The one-third reduction would greatly impair the free nations' capacity to defend themselves while leaving the Iron Curtain countries, which now have vast military establishments, with sufficient strength for aggression.

Efforts to resolve these fundamental disagreements between the two sides at the Assembly were not very productive. However, the pressure of world opinion forced the Soviet Union to change its tune during the Assembly and to present and seek to justify its attitude on disarmament. Andrei Vyshinsky's contemptuous laughter at the tripartite proposals at the start of the Assembly session provoked such widespread indignant reaction that the Soviet representative was forced to affect a more responsive attitude toward the disarmament efforts which most countries earnestly desired to pursue.

Thus the Assembly's disarmament discussions produced a dramatic demonstration of the contrast between the free world's willingness to take tangible steps toward peace and security and the Soviet Union's habit of professing peace in words but not in deeds.

### *Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes*

The United States and other members pressed United Nations efforts to alleviate or resolve specific political problems by peaceful means.

This process had succeeded in averting and easing many dangerous situations in the past, and the United Nations continued to exert a restraining influence on many centers of difficulty during 1951 and early 1952. The United Nations was making sound progress toward the alleviation of tensions in a number of situations.

#### GREECE

There was a marked improvement in Greece's difficulties with its northern neighbors; normal relations were reestablished between Greece and Yugoslavia and the threat posed by the Soviet satellites diminished further, although it remained far from abated. Under these circumstances the United Nations decided to continue its useful vigilance over Greece's northern borders on a somewhat smaller scale than during previous years. The United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans was terminated on February 5, 1952, and its functions were assumed by a small Balkan Subcommission of the Peace Observation Commission.

#### PALESTINE AND KASHMIR

Difficult situations continued in both Palestine and Kashmir, where, although the earlier fighting had been stopped, peaceful solutions had not yet been achieved. While the Palestine Conciliation Commission was unsuccessful in a new effort to mediate the differences between Israel and the surrounding Arab states, the armistice enforcement machinery and the Security Council were able to maintain the peace despite two specific disputes, one between Israel and Syria and the other between Israel and Egypt. On the Kashmir question, Dr. Frank Graham, the United Nations representative, succeeded in narrowing the differences between India and Pakistan and bringing about some troop withdrawals after two rounds of negotiations on the subcontinent. He was continuing his efforts to ameliorate the still dangerous situation as of May 1952.

#### GERMAN ELECTIONS

Another aspect of the German question was brought into the United Nations during 1951. The United States, France, and the United



Kingdom, at the request of the German Federal Chancellor, asked the sixth session of the General Assembly to appoint a United Nations Commission to investigate the possibility of holding genuinely free elections throughout all Germany. The Commission was established on December 9, 1951, and subsequently received pledges of cooperation from the authorities of the Federal Republic and of the Western sectors of Berlin. The East German authorities and the Soviet sector of Berlin, however, indicated an unwillingness to permit the Commission to look into conditions in this zone, and the Soviet Union countered with a proposal for Four Power arrangements relating to possible all-German elections. Thus the latent question of German reunification had become activated, although the course of future developments in this matter was not clear by April 1952.

#### OTHER ISSUES BETWEEN U.S.S.R. AND NON-SOVIET MEMBERS

Several other difficulties between the Soviet Union and other countries were aired in the United Nations during 1951 and early 1952. The sixth session of the General Assembly made a formal determination that the Soviet Union had failed to carry out its treaty obligations of 1945 with the Chinese National Government. The discussion of this matter threw strong light on the methods by which the Soviet Union had aided the Chinese Communists in assuming control of mainland China despite its treaty obligations with the Chinese National Government. In the discussion it was charged by the Chinese delegate that the Soviet Union had undertaken the progressive absorption of northern China and the Sovietization of mainland China, and that its aim was to use Communist China as an instrument of aggression in Korea and other areas of Asia. Somewhat similar Soviet aims of aggression by proxy were exposed by Assembly discussion of Yugoslavia's complaint against the Cominform countries. The Yugoslav delegation described the pattern of hostile activities employed by the Soviet Union and its Balkan satellites to threaten the territorial integrity and national independence of Yugoslavia. During the Assembly discussion of both the Chinese and Yugoslav complaints, the United States delegation confirmed many of the charges made against the Soviet Union and solemnly warned against any recourse to further aggression.



## FORMER ITALIAN COLONIES

While the United Nations was working to maintain the uneasy peace in a number of areas and to improve difficult situations, it scored a success with the independence of Libya. The Libyan people achieved independence on December 24, 1951, as the result of 2 years' work under the auspices of the United Nations Commissioner for Libya and an advisory United Nations Council for Libya on which the immediately interested powers, including the United States, and the Libyan people were represented. These agencies aided the Libyan people in working out sound constitutional arrangements, overcoming important political and economic difficulties, and in creating independent governmental institutions, all in less than 2 years.

Thus the United Nations brought to a successful conclusion an important part of the problem it had inherited several years earlier when the Council of Foreign Ministers had been unable to agree on the disposition of the former Italian colonies, and had agreed to turn over the solution of the problem to the United Nations. The General Assembly had decided on the disposition of these former colonies, had established plans for bringing each into the family of nations as rapidly as sound political and economic development would permit, had created appropriate operational arrangements for the implementation of these plans, and its agencies in Libya had successfully carried out their mission. Similar developments were under way in Eritrea, where the United Nations Commissioner was aiding the parties to work out sound constitutional arrangements so that an Eritrean administration could be created and brought into an appropriate federated arrangement with Ethiopia by the target date of September 15, 1952. The third former colony, Somaliland, is scheduled to become independent after a 10-year period of Italian trusteeship under the United Nations. As a result of these United Nations activities, difficult transitional problems were being worked out in a sound manner which contributed to the stability and strength of important areas of the former colonial world.

*Economic and Social Progress*

Notwithstanding the emphasis on political and security activities, there was a significant increase in United Nations attention to economic and social matters during 1951 and early 1952. The United States and many other countries continued to use the machinery of

the United Nations and its specialized agencies for developing and coordinating programs for economic and social progress to alleviate many causes of serious unrest and promote the interests of the international community.

The dominant aspect of this work was economic development. There is evident a growing surge for economic development among the two-thirds of the world's population living in relatively underdeveloped areas. In all of the underdeveloped countries the pent-up discontents of past generations, fermented by the impact of Western ideas and technology and also by Communist promises, are breaking through in demands for better living conditions which could be realized most readily in the context of a steadily expanding world economy. The United States and other highly developed countries are also seeking an expansion of the world's economy as a means of promoting healthy international economic conditions. Tangible progress toward this widely shared objective was made in a number of fields during 1951.

#### TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

The United Nations expanded technical assistance program underwent a significant growth during the year. Requests for assistance increased from 130 to 1,220; assistance projects undertaken from 145 to 543; and experts recruited from 80 to 817. Coordinated projects for helping the people of underdeveloped areas help themselves were already showing tangible results in many ways. Farmers, mechanics, doctors, civil servants, and many others were being trained to work more efficiently through the use of new techniques and equipment.

#### FOOD

The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) became increasingly effective in helping improve the supply and distribution of food, although the rate of population increase still threatens large areas of the world with hunger. To meet this problem the FAO Conference in late 1951 set a goal of increasing food production by at least 1 to 2 percent more than the annual rate of population increase. Other efforts toward increasing agricultural productivity were initiated through United Nations land-reform programs.

## HEALTH

The World Health Organization (WHO) continued its highly successful work in combating the great killers of mankind, such as malaria, tuberculosis, and the endemic diseases that are the scourge of tropical countries. These diseases, when not fatal, are the major cause for serious losses in productivity. In an area of Thailand, for example, a WHO anti-malaria team sprayed some 200,000 homes with DDT during 1951 and reduced the rate of malaria infection from 70.5 to 31.4 percent.

## INTERNATIONAL TRADE

These and other steps for increasing productivity were accompanied by tangible progress in facilitating international trade. The parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade negotiated at their third conference at Torquay, England, 8,800 new tariff reductions or bindings of existing tariff treatment in late 1950 and early 1951. This brought to nearly 59,000 the total number of items on which tariff concessions have been granted under the General Agreement, which now covers 34 countries and provides general stability until at least 1954 to more than half of the world's trade.

## FINANCING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

While this progress was being made, there was considerable attention to the methods and extent of financing economic development. A number of underdeveloped countries considered that existing resources were inadequate for this purpose, although such agencies as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development increased their activities during 1951. Consequently these countries supported the recommendation of a group of experts, appointed by the Secretary-General, that the United Nations explore the possibility of establishing an international development authority to distribute grants-in-aid to the underdeveloped countries. However, the United States and many other members opposed this idea in both the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly. They argued that the industrialized countries, which could be expected to be the main contributors to such an agency, are now carrying such heavy defense burdens that they were not likely to be able to provide the necessary funds. In addition, these countries pointed out that the



proposed authority could not be truly international if its financing were expected to come primarily from a very few countries. The sixth session of the General Assembly, however, requested the Economic and Social Council to continue its studies and submit to the next Assembly in late 1952 plans and methods for establishing a special fund for grants-in-aid and for low-interest, long-term loans to underdeveloped countries to help them accelerate their economic development. The Assembly resolution stated that the creation of a new international organization should be considered only if a careful examination of existing organizations proves they cannot carry out the required functions.

#### LABOR QUESTION

During 1951 further efforts were made to insure that economic progress contributes to the general welfare of peoples through improved living standards and greater social security. Helpful advice and assistance were offered to many countries in the development of community services and welfare centers. During 1951 the International Labor Organization (ILO) pushed ahead with its work on a broad front, including the adoption of several conventions and recommendations, which brought its total of such instruments to 100 and 92, respectively.

#### FORCED LABOR

In addition to promoting the improvement of labor conditions, the United Nations devoted increasing attention to such repressive practices as forced labor in the Iron Curtain countries and violations of trade-union rights. During 1951 the Economic and Social Council established an *Ad Hoc* Committee on Forced Labor which initiated a careful and thorough probe into what has been called "the greatest social evil of our age." ILO considered 39 charges of violations of trade-union rights for transmission to its Fact-Finding and Conciliation Commission on Freedom of Association.

#### REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS

The United Nations also continued its work on refugees and displaced persons, though in changed form. On January 31, 1952, the



International Refugee Organization (IRO) terminated its operations after 4½ years, during which it had substantially completed its task by providing for the resettlement of 1,057,955 persons, the repatriation of 72,834, and the placement of 31,749 requiring institutional care. The continuity of legal and protective services for refugees, formerly provided by Iro, was insured by the completion of a United Nations convention relating to the status of refugees and by the organization of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

#### EMERGENCY RELIEF

During 1951 the United Nations also continued to carry on certain emergency relief programs designed to cope with unusually serious situations which were beyond the capacities of the local authorities or permanent international agencies. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) put emphasis on a 3-year relief and reintegration program, approved by the General Assembly, for the nearly 900,000 refugees under its mandate. UNRWA estimated the program cost at \$250,000,000 to be raised by voluntary contributions. The most significant long-range development in the Korean relief situation, for which some \$205,000,000 had been pledged to the United Nations, was the activation of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA). The United Nations approved a first year's budget of \$250,000,000 for UNKRA, which has arranged with the Unified Command to assume full responsibility for the relief and rehabilitation of Korea approximately 180 days after the cessation of hostilities.

The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, which had largely completed its postwar emergency relief tasks by 1950, directed its emphasis to long-range programs of lasting benefit to mothers and children in underdeveloped countries. These programs, financed by a \$30,000,000 budget, included the establishment of hundreds of maternity and child-welfare centers in underdeveloped areas, the initiation of mass campaigns against diseases largely affecting children, and a significant start in training local personnel to carry through national child-care programs.

#### CULTURAL ADVANCEMENT

In the cultural field, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization placed considerable emphasis on assisting

underdeveloped countries to accelerate their educational, scientific, and cultural development through programs of technical assistance and fundamental education. The first Regional Fundamental Education Center at Pátzcuaro, Mexico, was opened in May 1951 in cooperation with the Organization of American States for the training of teachers and the development of teaching materials in fundamental education.

#### HUMAN RIGHTS

The United Nations continued its efforts to promote human rights by further work on draft covenants of human rights; on the draft convention on freedom of information; on improving the status of women; and on the prevention of genocide. The General Assembly decided to request the Commission on Human Rights to separate the single Covenant on Human Rights into two covenants, one to contain civil and political rights and the other to contain economic, social, and cultural rights. It was generally recognized that the latter category of rights includes objectives to be achieved progressively over a period of time rather than rights immediately obtainable and legally enforceable in the courts. The United States, while continuing to favor covenants which would extend traditional civil and political rights to those peoples not now enjoying them, made it clear that it would not become party to any undertaking that might adversely affect the constitutional rights of the American people.

#### *Developments Relating to Dependent Territories*

During 1951 there also was increased attention in the United Nations to the general development of dependent territories. The achievement of independence by many former dependent areas since the end of World War I and the sharply accelerated demands of many remaining dependent peoples for an increasing measure of control over their own destinies contributed to the growing emphasis on this aspect of United Nations activity.

The United Nations activities in this field related to two categories of territories, the territories under the international trusteeship system, which includes more than 18,000,000 people in 11 trust territories, and 62 other non-self-governing territories, which contain approximately 200,000,000 people.

## TRUSTEESHIP QUESTIONS

The Trusteeship Council during 1951 examined annual reports on all 11 trust territories and over 200 petitions relating to conditions in these territories. The Council also received the reports of its visiting mission to the trust territories in the Pacific and dispatched a similar mission to the East African trust territories. The most important development in the United States administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands was the transfer of administrative responsibility from the Secretary of the Navy to the Secretary of the Interior on July 1, 1951. In anticipation of this transfer, the President on January 8 had appointed former Senator Elbert D. Thomas as the first civilian High Commissioner of the Trust Territory. Subsequently appropriate naval facilities and trained personnel were transferred to civilian agencies to insure continuity of services and administration. The Trusteeship Council, after examining the third annual report on the Territory, congratulated the United States on the advances made in many lines of development and expressed the hope that such progress would continue.

In discussing the reports on all trust territories, the Council emphasized the importance of economic development and adopted a number of conclusions and recommendations to this end. In addition, the Council's work during 1951 included a number of special items. For example, the wish of certain African tribes in French and British Togoland to be united under a single administration led to the Council's approval of the establishment of a Joint Council for Togoland Affairs, composed of indigenous inhabitants from both Togolands. The Council also established a Committee on Rural Economic Development of the Trust Territories, which is undertaking a detailed study of land tenure and land use in trust territories. Similarly, a standing committee has continued to examine the operations of administrative unions in which certain trust territories are administratively linked to neighboring colonies administered by the same state.

## QUESTIONS REGARDING NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES

The United Nations activities relating to non-self-governing territories other than trust territories were carried on largely by the General Assembly's Special Committee on Information Transmitted



Under Article 73 (e). In the Special Committee, the United States continued to exercise leadership in attempting to resolve differences which arise between those nonadministering members which seek a more rapid rate of development of non-self-governing territories and those administering members which have primary responsibility for solving the problems involved in directing their non-self-governing territories toward the goal of self-government or independence.

During 1951 the Special Committee gave particular attention to economic conditions and development in non-self-governing territories. Its report on the subject stressed such matters as the primacy of the interests of the indigenous inhabitants, the importance of associating them with the planning and execution of development programs, and the need for diversification in the economies of the territories. The Special Committee also considered the complicated problem of what factors should be taken into account in determining whether any territory has evolved to the stage of self-government within the meaning of article 73 (e).

The reports of the Trusteeship Council and the Special Committee were considered by the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly. Of the 60 members of the Committee, 8 are states which administer non-self-governing territories; the remaining 52 do not have such responsibilities. Since the inception of the Committee, certain members of the administering group have tended increasingly to differ with certain nonadministering members in their approach to questions considered by the Committee. These differences became somewhat more pronounced at the sixth session of the General Assembly. The United States at this session continued to pursue moderate policies and to attempt to obtain the largest possible measure of agreement with respect to such policies.

Among the more controversial proposals adopted by the Assembly were resolutions providing for the participation of indigenous inhabitants of trust territories in the work of the Trusteeship Council; inviting administering authorities to specify a period of time in which it is expected that trust territories shall be given self-government or independence; setting up a special committee to consider administrative unions affecting trust territories; and providing for consideration of associating the non-self-governing territories more closely in the work of the Special Committee on Information.



## SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

The United Nations also continued its efforts to find a solution to the perplexing problem of South-West Africa. During 1951 the General Assembly's *Ad Hoc* Committee on South-West Africa held a number of discussions with representatives of the Union of South Africa. The South African Government indicated a willingness to accept some form of international responsibility in conformity with the spirit of the League of Nations mandate and under an agreement with the three remaining members of the Allied and Associated Powers of World War I (the United States, France, and the United Kingdom). However, it would not accept the obligation to submit annual reports and to transmit petitions from the inhabitants of South-West Africa to the United Nations, as had been set forth in the 1950 opinion by the International Court of Justice. During the General Assembly discussions on the whole question, the Fourth Committee voted to hear certain South-West African tribal chiefs, or their spokesmen. The South African delegation thereupon withdrew from the Committee, contending that the action of the Committee was illegal. The Assembly subsequently passed a resolution, sponsored by the United States and seven other countries, which appealed solemnly to South Africa to reconsider its position and to resume negotiations with the *Ad Hoc* Committee for the purpose of concluding an agreement providing for the full implementation of the International Court's advisory opinion.

*International Law*

In the field of international law, United Nations activity during 1951 continued on much the same basis as in previous years. The International Court of Justice handed down two judgments and one advisory opinion and ended the year with five cases pending. Perhaps the most significant of these was the advisory opinion in which the majority of the Court held that reservations to the genocide convention were permissible if such reservations were "compatible with the object and purpose of the convention" as determined by each of the parties. The International Law Commission during 1951 completed its study of the whole problem of reservations to multilateral conventions. The General Assembly adopted a resolution on the matter which, in part, recommended that states be guided in regard to the genocide conven-

tion by the Court's advisory opinion and that the Secretary-General should not pass on the legal effect of reservations to conventions of which he is the depositary but communicate these to the states concerned for their judgment.

### *Administrative and Financial Arrangements*

During the year the United Nations continued to adapt its financial, organizational, and administrative machinery to the changing needs of its developing programs. Considerable progress was made in the coordination of the various economic and social activities of the United Nations and the specialized agencies and in the establishment of program priorities as a means of achieving maximum effectiveness at minimum cost.

#### PROGRAM COORDINATION AND PRIORITIES

The Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly, in reviewing the work of the specialized agencies and United Nations subsidiary bodies, placed particular emphasis on the progress made in fixing priorities and in focusing available resources on programs of primary importance. While the measures taken thus far have served to clarify the program objectives of the specialized agencies and the subsidiary organs, the General Assembly urged that more intensive efforts be undertaken to insure the most effective use of the resources at their disposal.

While these steps were taken to further the coordination of programs at the planning stage, the agencies continued to attack problems jointly in the field. For example, the United Nations and the International Labor Organization together began an investigation of forced-labor conditions in the world, and in India the World Health Organization and the Food and Agriculture Organization cooperated to increase food production and to raise the general health level.

In the important field of administrative and budgetary coordination, further progress was made in achieving common policies and standards. For the most part the United Nations and the specialized agencies now have a uniform salary and allowance system and pension plan. It is expected that personnel policies of the specialized agencies, which are largely patterned on United Nations policies, will

reflect still greater uniformity following the adoption by the sixth session of the Assembly of permanent staff regulations for the United Nations staff.

#### BUDGET AND ASSESSMENTS

The United Nations assessment budget for the calendar year 1952 is approximately \$42,940,000. In the distribution of the assessment among United Nations members, the United States continued to press for a reduction of its percentage contribution to the  $33\frac{1}{3}$ -percent level endorsed in principle by the General Assembly in 1948. The Assembly's Committee on Contributions had recommended an increased assessment for 15 states including increases of approximately 40 percent for the Soviet Union, the Ukraine, and Byelorussia. The Committee recommended small downward adjustments for 17 nations and a reduction for the United States of 2.02 percentage points, from 38.92 in 1951 to 36.90 percent for 1952.

The United States delegation exerted every effort to secure an immediate reduction of the United States contribution to  $33\frac{1}{3}$  percent. This attempt, however, was unsuccessful. There was general acceptance among other delegations that the one-third ceiling principle must be honored, but most of these delegations believed that so drastic a reduction should be spread over more than one year in order to absorb the dislocation to the contribution scale as a whole. In the end the General Assembly accepted the recommendations of the Contributions Committee, and directed the Committee to review the scale of contributions during 1952 and to report thereon to the next Assembly.

## *Political and Security Affairs*

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THE quest for international security continued to dominate the work of the United Nations in 1951 and early 1952. The great majority of United Nations members pushed ahead with cooperative efforts to combat aggression in Korea, to strengthen collective security arrangements, to promote disarmament, and to alleviate threatening political crises. All these efforts were directed toward a common United Nations objective—the maintenance of international peace and security.

Korea continued to be the major problem facing the United Nations. There, the United Nations ability to make collective security work was being tested on the battlefield. While meeting this crucial test in Korea, the United Nations was also planning to strengthen its collective security system as an additional means of deterring further aggression or, if necessary, of coping effectively with such aggression.

At the same time, the United Nations was making further efforts toward disarmament. A new plan adopted by the General Assembly charted the way toward enhancing international security through the balanced reduction of military strength and stimulated progress toward this goal.

Along with collective security and disarmament, the United Nations continued to promote peaceful settlements of difficult and potentially dangerous situations. The United Nations sought to adjust differences among states on many specific issues as a means of reducing tensions and forestalling any resort to violence which might further disrupt the seriously strained fabric of international peace.

### COLLECTIVE SECURITY—KOREA

As 1951 opened the situation in Korea was more serious than at any time since the early days of the Pusan beachhead. The massive



Chinese Communist intervention in late 1950 had forced United Nations troops to fight their way out of North Korea with heavy losses and to abandon Seoul. Heroic rear-guard action enabled the United Nations forces to weather the initial Chinese Communist onslaughts and establish a defensive line near Osan and Wonju, some 60 miles below the capital of the Republic of Korea. But the enemy's immense numerical superiority raised grave doubts whether the Communists could be stopped from overrunning the Republic of Korea.

Against this ominous background the General Assembly was grappling with the difficult problem of how to meet the new crisis in Korea. The United States, supported by other members, stressed before the Assembly that the United Nations should not be panicked into appeasement because its forces were now confronted by a large and powerful enemy. They insisted that the Charter must be enforced equally against aggression by a big country as well as by a small one, for surrender of such principles would mean the collapse of the United Nations and its collective security system. They urged that the United Nations must not abandon its mission of bringing about an end to aggression against the Republic of Korea. The vast majority of members recognized the validity of this view, but differences arose regarding the methods which the United Nations should employ in dealing with Chinese Communist intervention in Korea and the timing of any additional action which it might take.

### *Efforts To Resolve the Crisis*

There was strong feeling in the Assembly that every effort should be made to negotiate a settlement of the crisis created by Chinese Communist intervention in Korea. On December 14, 1950, the Assembly had overwhelmingly approved a 13-power Asian-Arab resolution which established a Cease-Fire Group to determine the basis on which a satisfactory cease-fire could be arranged. The group, composed of Assembly President Nasrollah Entezam of Iran, Sir Benegal N. Rau of India, and Lester B. Pearson of Canada, made cease-fire overtures to the Chinese Communist regime.

The United States cooperated with the group and supported its efforts, because we adhered to the Charter principles of peaceful settlement and shared the majority view that the crisis should be resolved without further bloodshed if possible. Of course, the United States emphasized that any cease-fire arrangement must safeguard the security of United Nations forces in Korea without sacrificing

their objective of putting an end to aggression against the Republic of Korea. The Chinese Communists, however, rebuffed the cease-fire efforts, and on January 3, 1951, the group was compelled to report failure to the Assembly's Political Committee.

Meanwhile the United States was examining other means for coping with the situation in Korea in the event that the Chinese Communists did not respond favorably to the cease-fire efforts. Preliminary soundings in the Assembly disclosed that many states would be willing, if efforts at negotiation failed, to join the United States in formally condemning the Chinese Communist regime as an aggressor and in initiating additional collective measures against it. The majority of United Nations members, however, felt that such grave and irrevocable steps should be reserved until all hope of achieving the United Nations objective in Korea by negotiation was exhausted. These members did not consider that the initial cease-fire efforts had exhausted the possibility of negotiations, so they favored seeking Peiping's views on certain principles which might provide a satisfactory basis for an over-all settlement in Korea. In response to this sentiment, Mr. Pearson on January 11 presented to the Political Committee the Cease-Fire Group's formulation of five principles relevant to a Korean settlement. These principles envisaged (1) a cease-fire, (2) establishment of a free and united Korea, and (3) a peaceful settlement of other Far Eastern problems. The following are the five principles:

1. In order to prevent needless destruction of life and property, and while other steps are being taken to restore peace, a cease-fire should be immediately arranged. Such an arrangement should contain adequate safeguards for ensuring that it will not be used as a screen for mounting a new offensive.

2. If and when a cease-fire occurs in Korea, either as a result of a formal arrangement or, indeed, as a result of a lull in hostilities pending some such arrangement, advantage should be taken of it to pursue consideration of further steps to be taken for the restoration of peace.

3. To permit the carrying out of the General Assembly resolution that Korea should be a unified, independent, democratic, sovereign State with a constitution and a government based on free popular elections, all non-Korean armed forces will be withdrawn, by appropriate stages, from Korea, and appropriate arrangements, in accordance with United Nations principles, will be made for the Korean people to express their own free will in respect of their future government.

4. Pending the completion of the steps referred to in the preceding paragraph, appropriate interim arrangements, in accordance with United Nations principles, will be made for the administration of Korea and the maintenance of peace and security there.

5. As soon as agreement has been reached on a cease-fire, the General Assembly shall set up an appropriate body which shall include representatives of the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the People's Republic of China with a

view to the achievement of a settlement, in conformity with existing international obligations and the provisions of the United Nations Charter, of Far Eastern problems, including, among others, those of Formosa (Taiwan) and of representation of China in the United Nations.

The large majority of states considered that these five principles offered enough promise of a satisfactory settlement, consistent with Charter principles and United Nations objectives in Korea, for them to be approved as a Political Committee resolution and communicated to the Chinese Communist regime. On January 13 the Committee approved the five principles by a vote of 50 (U.S.) to 7 (Soviet bloc, China, and El Salvador) with 1 abstention (Philippines) and transmitted them to Peiping. In commenting on the United States affirmative vote several days later, Secretary of State Dean Acheson said:

The [five principles] proposal . . . had the support of the overwhelming majority of the United Nations members. This support was founded on two principal attitudes. One was the belief of many members that the Chinese Communists might still be prevailed upon to cease their defiance of the United Nations. While we did not share this belief, we recognized that it was sincerely held by many members.

The second attitude was that, even though there might be little prospect of success in the approach to Peiping, the United Nations should leave no stone unturned in its efforts to find a peaceful solution. Holders of each view believed and stated to us that opposition or abstention by the United States would destroy any possibility of success which the proposal might have.

Peaceful settlement is one of the cardinal purposes of the United Nations. The resort to force in Korea came from the North Koreans first and the Chinese Communists second. The United Nations has constantly demanded that this should end and that the United Nations objectives should be attained by peaceful means—we have stood and still stand for this position. Also, it has been our goal to so act as to maintain the unity of the free nations against aggression which has marked the United Nations actions in Korea. Accordingly, we voted for the resolution to demonstrate our adherence to these basic principles even though we did not share the beliefs of other members, mentioned above, that it would achieve its purpose.

Turning to the substance of the five principles, Secretary Acheson stated that they were entirely consistent with the United Nations Charter, United Nations objectives in Korea, and United States policy. In light of the concern which had been expressed about the possible implications of the fifth principle, Secretary Acheson expressed the United States view as follows:

The fifth principle provides for discussions on Far Eastern problems and stipulates four of the parties [the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and the Chinese Communist regime] which will participate. It goes without saying that other parties with interests in Far Eastern problems will also participate. It mentions two of the problems which should be considered at a con-



ference on Far Eastern problems—Formosa and Chinese representation in the United Nations. We have discussed these questions freely in the past, stated our views frankly, and also stated that the problems should be settled by the peaceful means of discussion and debate. There is no reason why we should oppose discussion of these questions in the future under proper circumstances. If such a conference is held, there will undoubtedly be other items on the agenda, including some which the United States may wish to add. Obviously, we have not committed ourselves on any questions which might be discussed.

At the same time, as Ambassador Warren R. Austin stressed in the Assembly, the United States considered that if Peiping did not respond favorably and promptly to this initiative the only remaining alternative was for the United Nations to face squarely the fact of Chinese Communist aggression and to take further measures to meet it.

Subsequent developments bore out United States doubts concerning the likelihood of inducing Peiping to cease hostilities and bring about an honorable settlement by negotiation. On January 17 the Chinese Communist regime replied to the five principles. The reply reiterated Peiping's insistence that a peaceful settlement of the Korean situation should be sought on the basis of (1) withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea and the settlement of Korean affairs by the Koreans themselves; (2) withdrawal of United States forces from Formosa and the Formosan straits; and (3) representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. The Peiping reply further proposed that a seven-power conference (the Chinese Communist regime, Soviet Union, United Kingdom, United States, France, India, and Egypt) be held in China to negotiate, on the basis Peiping set forth, a termination of hostilities in Korea and a peaceful settlement of Asian problems.

### *Condemning Chinese Communist Aggressors*

The United States expressed its conviction that Peiping's reply of January 17 constituted a complete rejection of the five principles and the United Nations patient efforts toward peaceful settlement. Ambassador Austin told the Political Committee that the Chinese Communist regime apparently was seeking openly to use its forces in Korea to blackmail the United Nations into accepting its demands. He pointed out that the forbearance of the United Nations had been taken by Peiping as a sign of weakness and "seems to have strengthened the contempt in which this organization is apparently held" by the Chinese Communists.



Under these circumstances, the United States considered it imperative for the Assembly to adopt a plan of action which would (1) brand the Chinese Communist regime as an aggressor; (2) call upon Peiping to cease its aggression and withdraw its troops from Korea; (3) reaffirm the United Nations determination to continue fighting in Korea and call on all states to aid in this effort and to refrain from helping the enemy; (4) call on a body composed of the members of the Collective Measures Committee to study and recommend further sanctions against the aggressors; and (5) reaffirm the United Nations hope for a peaceful settlement and appoint a group ready to use its good offices to this end. On January 20, 1951, Ambassador Austin introduced a draft resolution including these points and stressed that the United States now considered such action essential to the preservation of the United Nations collective security efforts.

However, a number of members disagreed with the American interpretation of Peiping's reply and expressed the view that the action proposed by the United States was premature. They considered that the Chinese Communist reply, while disappointing and largely unsatisfactory, did not definitely rule out all possibility of negotiation. They feared that condemning Peiping at this stage would slam the door forever on peaceful settlement and commit the United Nations to war against Communist China.

Sir Benegal Rau of India told the Committee that the Chinese Communist reply was not an outright rejection of the five principles, but "partly acceptance, partly non-acceptance, partly a request for elucidation, and partly a set of counter-proposals," affording "room for further discussion and negotiation." Therefore the Indian Ambassador in Peiping had submitted to the Peiping Ministry of Foreign Affairs three questions in an effort to clarify its reply of January 17. The answer to these questions, Sir Benegal said, indicated that further efforts at negotiation might be fruitful. The Chinese Communist reply, he said, indicated that (1) the Chinese Communists would include Chinese volunteers in the proposal for withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea; (2) the Chinese Communists would agree to a two-stage arrangement for a peaceful solution in Korea, a cease-fire for a limited period to be agreed upon at the first meeting of the seven-state conference and thereafter consideration of other Far Eastern problems, including withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea, settlement of Korean problems by the Koreans, and withdrawal of United States forces from Formosa and the Formosan straits; and (3) "the definite affirmation of the legitimate status of the People's Republic

of China has to be ensured." Despite United States objections, the Committee voted a 48-hour adjournment for further consultation and governmental instructions regarding the latest Peiping reply.

When the Committee reconvened on January 24, 1951, Ambassador Austin reiterated the importance and urgency of immediate steps by the United Nations to meet the aggression. He pointed out that Peiping's reply still rejected a settlement in accordance with United Nations principles and was, in fact, another ultimatum to the United Nations. The Charter demanded the withdrawal of Chinese Communist forces from Korea where they had no right to be, stated Ambassador Austin. On the other hand United Nations forces were there to repel aggression and to restore peace. They should not leave Korea until these missions were accomplished and certainly not under such conditions as would invite an early resumption of Communist aggression. The Communists must stop fighting and end their aggression. Thereafter the United Nations could consider steps to settle the whole Korean problem as well as other Far Eastern issues.

Nevertheless a number of states favored further exploration of Peiping's attitude. On January 25 the 12 Asian-Arab nations presented a revised draft of their December 12, 1950, resolution, recommending that representatives of the United States, United Kingdom, Soviet Union, France, Chinese Communist regime, Egypt and India meet as soon as possible to obtain clarification of Peiping's reply of January 17 to the United Nations five principles and to make any incidental or consequential arrangements toward a settlement of Korean and other Far Eastern problems.

The parliamentary situation in the Political Committee became somewhat complicated by amendments and suggestions from several delegates concerning the method, procedure, and terms of the proposed negotiations. The issue was finally resolved into the following three main items before the Committee:

1. A revised draft of the Asian-Arab resolution which specified that the proposed seven-power conference should arrange an effective cease-fire before discussing broader questions.

2. A Soviet amendment to the Asian-Arab resolution whereby the seven-power conference would first agree on a provisional cease-fire, following which it would consider the withdrawal of foreign forces from Korea, ways and means by which the Korean people could freely settle their international problems themselves, the withdrawal of United States forces from Formosa and the Formosan straits, and other Far Eastern questions.

3. The United States resolution of January 20 which had been revised slightly to include a Lebanese amendment permitting the deferment of a report on further sanctions if the proposed Good Offices Committee reported satisfactory progress.

Throughout the debate Ambassador Austin continued to oppose any further delay in what the United States and an increasing number of United Nations members regarded as the long-overdue decision to recognize formally that the Chinese Communists were aggressors in Korea and to take suitable action. The United States strongly opposed the revised Asian-Arab resolution on the ground that its approval would seriously jeopardize the moral position and prestige of the United Nations. Ambassador Austin pointed out that the United States resolution provided for a Good Offices Committee which would be in a position to take advantage of any opportunities for negotiations which might appear. As the debate closed on January 29, 1951, Sir Benegal Rau told the Committee that Peiping on January 26 had indicated that it regarded the Asian-Arab draft resolution as providing a genuine basis for a peaceful settlement.

On January 30 the Political Committee voted on the three proposals. It first rejected the Soviet amendment to the Asian-Arab draft by a vote of 38 to 5 (Soviet bloc) with 6 abstentions. Next the Committee voted on the Asian-Arab draft resolution in three parts, rejecting these by votes of 27 to 18 with 14 abstentions, 32 to 14 with 14 abstentions, and 28 to 17 with 13 abstentions. Finally the Committee approved the United States resolution by a vote of 44 to 7 with 8 abstentions.

On January 31 the Security Council removed the Korean item from its agenda, thereby dispelling possible technical doubts as to the validity of any Assembly resolution on this subject. On February 1 the plenary session of the Assembly adopted the United States resolution by a vote of 44 to 7 (Soviet bloc, India, and Burma) with 9 abstentions (Afghanistan, Egypt, Indonesia, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Syria, Yemen, and Yugoslavia). The resolution as adopted reads as follows:

*The General Assembly,*

*Noting* that the Security Council, because of lack of unanimity of the permanent members, has failed to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in regard to Chinese Communist intervention in Korea,

*Noting* that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has not accepted United Nations proposals to bring about a cessation of hostilities in Korea with a view to peaceful settlement, and that its armed forces continue their invasion of Korea and their large-scale attacks upon United Nations forces there,



1. *Finds* that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, by giving direct aid and assistance to those who were already committing aggression in Korea and by engaging in hostilities against United Nations forces there, has itself engaged in aggression in Korea ;

2. *Calls upon* the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China to cause its forces and nationals in Korea to cease hostilities against the United Nations forces and to withdraw from Korea ;

3. *Affirms* the determination of the United Nations to continue its action in Korea to meet the aggression ;

4. *Calls upon* all States and authorities to continue to lend every assistance to the United Nations action in Korea ;

5. *Calls upon* all States and authorities to refrain from giving any assistance to the aggressors in Korea ;

6. *Requests* a Committee composed of the members of the Collective Measures Committee as a matter of urgency to consider additional measures to be employed to meet this aggression and to report thereon to the General Assembly, it being understood that the Committee is authorized to defer its report if the Good Offices Committee referred to in the following paragraph reports satisfactory progress in its efforts ;

7. *Affirms* that it continues to be the policy of the United Nations to bring about a cessation of hostilities in Korea and the achievement of United Nations objectives in Korea by peaceful means, and requests the President of the General Assembly to designate forthwith two persons who would meet with him at any suitable opportunity to use their good offices to this end.

The General Assembly continued in session in order to be available in the event of any new crisis in Korea and to take the necessary implementing action when the committees provided for in the February 1 resolution were ready to report on their activities.

### *Application of Additional Measures Against the Aggressors*

The Assembly resolution of February 1, 1951, set in motion concurrent efforts for good offices on the one hand and for additional sanctions against the aggressor on the other. Despite the continued hopes of some states, events soon demonstrated the futility of further efforts at negotiation.

The Good Offices Committee, composed of Nasrollah Entezam as the Assembly President, Sven Grafström of Sweden, and Luis Padilla Nervo of Mexico, was never able to make contact with Peiping. Its communications to the Chinese Communist regime went unanswered, and efforts through diplomatic channels in Peiping were unavailing. This failure had been foreshadowed on February 4 by a communication from the Chinese Communist Foreign Minister, Chou En-lai, to the President of the General Assembly. The message claimed that the Assembly resolution was illegal, slandered China, and blocked the



path to peaceful settlement. Furthermore it announced that Peiping would not recognize or deal with the Good Offices Committee. In these circumstances the United Nations turned toward the alternative course of action set forth in the Assembly resolution—the application of additional measures against the Communist aggressors.

The work on further sanctions was undertaken by a body which became known as the Additional Measures Committee. The General Assembly resolution of February 1 had requested “a Committee composed of the members of the Collective Measures Committee as a matter of urgency to consider additional measures to be employed to meet this aggression and to report thereon to the General Assembly . . . .” However, two members of the Collective Measures Committee, Burma and Yugoslavia, declined to serve on the Additional Measures Committee. The Committee began its work on February 16, therefore, with 12 members (Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Egypt, France, Mexico, Philippines, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States, and Venezuela) under the chairmanship of Selim Sarper of Turkey. Its meetings extended over a period of nearly 3 months.

After extended study the Committee on May 3, 1951, decided that priority be given to the consideration of economic measures designed to support and supplement the United Nations military action and thereby contribute to putting an end to the aggression in Korea. On May 7 the United States submitted a draft resolution calling for a United Nations strategic embargo against the aggressors. The Committee on May 14 approved the United States draft, as amended slightly, by a vote of 11 to 0 with Egypt abstaining. The approved draft recommended that every state, including nonmembers of the United Nations, apply an embargo on the shipment to Communist China and North Korea of “arms, ammunition and implements of war, atomic energy materials, petroleum, and items useful in the production of arms, ammunition and implements of war.” Each state was to determine which of its export commodities fell within the embargo, to apply all necessary measures to make the embargo effective, and to report its action to the Committee within a month. The Committee in turn was to report to the General Assembly on the effectiveness of the embargo and to continue its consideration of additional measures.

The Assembly’s Political Committee approved the Additional Measures Committee’s report and draft resolution on May 17, 1951. India and Burma objected to the resolution on the ground that it would place additional obstacles in the way of a negotiated settlement. The Soviet bloc attacked the resolution as illegal, maintaining that the

Security Council and not the General Assembly was the competent body to make decisions regarding the maintenance of international peace and security. Ambassador Ernest A. Gross of the United States refuted this argument by pointing out that the Charter enabled the Assembly to make recommendations on any matters except those being dealt with by the Security Council. Such was not the case in this instance.

An amendment put forward jointly by the United States, Australia, France, the United Kingdom, and Venezuela to add "transportation materials of strategic value" to the proposed list of embargoed articles was adopted by an overwhelming majority. The Political Committee then adopted the draft resolution as a whole by a vote of 45 to 0 with 9 abstentions. The next day, May 18, a plenary meeting of the Assembly adopted the draft resolution without further change by a vote of 47 to 0 with 8 abstentions (Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Sweden, and Syria). The Soviet bloc did not participate in either vote.

The operative part of the embargo resolution reads as follows:

*The General Assembly,*

1. *Recommends* that every State:

(a) Apply an embargo on the shipment to areas under the control of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and of the North Korean authorities of arms, ammunition and implements of war, atomic energy materials, petroleum, transportation materials of strategic value, and items useful in the production of arms, ammunition and implements of war;

(b) Determine which commodities exported from its territory fall within the embargo, and apply controls to give effect to the embargo;

(c) Prevent by all means within its jurisdiction the circumvention of controls on shipments applied by other States pursuant to the present resolution;

(d) Co-operate with other States in carrying out the purposes of this embargo;

(e) Report to the Additional Measures Committee, within thirty days and thereafter at the request of the Committee, on the measures taken in accordance with the present resolution;

2. *Requests* the Additional Measures Committee:

(a) To report to the General Assembly, with recommendations as appropriate, on the general effectiveness of the embargo and the desirability of continuing, extending or relaxing it;

(b) To continue its consideration of additional measures to be employed to meet the aggression in Korea, and to report thereon further to the General Assembly, it being understood that the Committee is authorized to defer its report if the Good Offices Committee reports satisfactory progress in its efforts;

3. *Reaffirms* that it continues to be the policy of the United Nations to bring about a cessation of hostilities in Korea, and the achievement of United Nations objectives in Korea by peaceful means, and requests the Good Offices Committee to continue its good offices.

The Assembly's action contributed considerably to the United Nations collective efforts in Korea. Although the United States and several other countries were already applying stringent economic controls against the aggressors, the Assembly resolution stimulated a large number of other countries to embargo strategic materials. By March 1952 some 45 states had reported their acceptance and implementation of the embargo resolution. These countries participating in the embargo comprised two-thirds of the United Nations membership and such other states as the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Japan, and Spain. The nations applying the strategic embargo included all of the major potential suppliers of Communist China outside of the Soviet bloc. As a result the aggressors were deprived of important sources of strategic materials necessary to the waging of modern warfare.

### *Collective Military Action*

The main burden of the effort to repel the Communist aggression in Korea continued to be the military action by the United Nations forces. As the fighting continued the United States, in its capacity as the Unified Command, sought to broaden and increase contributions made by United Nations members to the collective effort in Korea. United States and United Nations officials reiterated the necessity for additional military contributions in order to strengthen further the United Nations fighting forces and to distribute the burden of collective action. American officials pointed out that the United States was bearing a disproportionate share of this burden; that collective security means not only that all share a common danger but that all must contribute to the common effort in accordance with their means. At the request of the Unified Command, the Secretary-General on June 22, 1951, sent a communication appealing for troop contributions to all United Nations members which had supported the action in Korea but had not contributed troops.

During 1951 a number of additional members followed up their moral support of the United Nations action by providing such material assistance as manpower, equipment, ships, planes, matériel, and money. Ground troops from Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Ethiopia, Luxembourg, and New Zealand went into action alongside the forces of Australia, Greece, France, the Netherlands, the Philippines, Thailand, Turkey, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Republic of Korea, which had already taken their place in the line during 1950.



Eight members continued to support the United Nations collective action with naval forces: Australia, Canada, Colombia, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Thailand, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Seven members—Australia, Belgium, Canada, Greece, the Union of South Africa, the United Kingdom, and the United States were represented by air units.

Forty-two members of the United Nations, in addition to Austria, Japan, Italy, and Cambodia, had offered some form of assistance to the United Nations effort in Korea by the end of 1951. Of these, 27 offers were of military aid and 38 for emergency relief. A complete table entitled "Summaries of Military and Relief Assistance for Korea as of January 15, 1952" is given in appendix I of this report, page 273. Page 288 of the same appendix presents a table showing the percentage of United Nations forces contributed by various members as of December 31, 1951.

The latter table shows that the United States was still bearing the heaviest burden in Korea at the end of 1951. In ground forces the United States was contributing 50 percent of the total, with the Republic of Korea contributing 40 percent. In naval forces the United States contribution was 86 percent; in air forces it was 93 percent of the total. Therefore the United States has continued to express concern over the limited extent of military participation by other United Nations members. The United States recognized that many states found it difficult to contribute forces or to increase their present contributions because of military commitments elsewhere and the economic burdens involved. Even so, the United States considered that further contributions should be made, especially by those states which have not yet contributed forces, and it has continued to press for such contributions.

### *Armistice Negotiations*

By mid-1951 the measures taken by the United Nations to repel the aggression against the Republic of Korea had yielded important results. The augmented United Nations fighting forces had successfully thrown back the Communist spring offensives with staggering losses which swelled the enemy's total casualties to more than a million. In the process United Nations troops had driven the Communists across the 38th parallel and were keeping the enemy off balance by attacking the strategic "iron triangle" of Ch'orwon, Kumhwa, and P'yonggang in North Korea. Aggressive air inter-



diction was making it increasingly difficult for the enemy to bring supplies to the front. The United Nations strategic embargo was increasing the difficulties of the aggressors in replenishing their supplies.

Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway was able to inform the United Nations in his twenty-third report, covering the period from June 1 to 15, that the Communist armies were continuing a slow withdrawal under constant pressure and that the enemy's position had deteriorated materially during the past several weeks. However, the United Nations Commander saw no indication that the enemy would relax his hold on any major portion of North Korea.

The factors involved in the military situation at this stage seemed likely to produce a gradual stabilization of the opposing forces in the vicinity of the 38th parallel. Under the prevailing conditions neither side could expect to achieve significant additional military advantages without committing substantial additional forces to the struggle. It was clear that the Communists had failed in their aggression against the Republic of Korea and that continued effort would result only in further terrible losses.

Against this background, Jacob Malik, Soviet representative on the Security Council, stated in a radio address on June 23: "The Soviet peoples . . . believe that the most acute problem of the present day, the problem of the armed conflict in Korea could also be settled. . . . The Soviet peoples believe that as a first step discussions should be started between the belligerents for a cease-fire and an armistice providing for the mutual withdrawal of forces from the Thirty-Eighth Parallel."

This apparent peace overture was received with interest, tempered by wariness, on the part of the United States and other United Nations members. If it indicated that the Communists were prepared to abandon their aggression against the Republic of Korea and to cease hostilities, the United Nations would have achieved its military objectives in Korea. American officials had made this clear on repeated occasions in the past.

Secretary of State Acheson, in testifying before a Senate committee the first week in June on the question of Gen. Douglas MacArthur's dismissal, had pointed out that "the military objectives of the United Nations forces in Korea are to repel the armed attack which took place against the Republic of Korea and to restore peace and security in the area." He had suggested that a cease-fire in Korea, coupled with reasonable assurance against resumption of aggression, would be a major step toward these objectives. Thereafter we could seek to bring

about the long-range political objective of the United Nations to establish a unified, independent, and democratic Korea. Secretary Acheson made it clear that this political objective could be obtained in the long run only by peaceful negotiation. A similar note had been struck by Secretary-General Trygve Lie who, in a speech in Ottawa June 1, also pointed out that if a cease-fire could be arranged, the purposes of the relevant Security Council resolutions would be fulfilled, provided the cease-fire were followed by the restoration of peace and security in the area.

Therefore the United States immediately initiated diplomatic efforts to clarify the intent of Mr. Malik's remarks of June 23. These efforts appeared to disclose a Communist desire to seek a cease-fire in Korea through negotiations strictly limited to military arrangements with no political strings attached. Consequently General Ridgway, as Commander in Chief of the United Nations Command, was authorized to send the following message on June 29 to the Commander in Chief of the Communist forces in Korea :

I am informed that you may wish a meeting to discuss an armistice providing for the cessation of hostilities and all acts of armed force in Korea, with adequate guarantees for the maintenance of such armistice.

Upon the receipt of word from you that such a meeting is desired I shall be prepared to name my representative. I would also at that time suggest a date at which he could meet with your representative. I propose that such a meeting could take place aboard a Danish hospital ship in Wonsan harbor.

On July 1 Gen. Kim Il Sung, Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army, and Gen. Peng Teh-huai, Commander of the Chinese Communist "Volunteers," replied. They agreed to meet a Unified Command representative "for conducting talks concerning cessation of military action and establishment of peace" and proposed that the meeting take place in the area of Kaesong on the 38th parallel between July 10 and 15. On July 3 General Ridgway replied that his representatives were prepared to meet the Communists at Kaesong on or before July 10 and initiated steps to work out safe-conduct and other arrangements for the meeting.

The first meeting of the armistice negotiators was held at Kaesong July 10, 1951. Vice Adm. C. Turner Joy, as senior delegate, headed the United Nations Command delegation, which included a representative of the Republic of Korea Army. Gen. Nam Il of North Korea headed the Communist delegation, which included representatives of the Chinese People's "Volunteers." The delegations started to consider the preparation of a mutually acceptable agenda for the actual negotiations, but the discussions were interrupted because the Com-

munists refused to admit to the conference site press representatives included in the United Nations delegation. After a 5-day recess, the Communists agreed to consider press representatives as part of the "working personnel" of the United Nations delegations with access to the conference area. In addition, the Communists agreed to detailed provisions, worked out by liaison officers, to insure the neutrality of the conference zone.

The discussions on the agenda question were resumed July 15 on the basis of draft agenda presented by both sides 5 days earlier. The Communist draft agenda included establishment of the 38th parallel as the military demarcation line, withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from Korea, concrete plans for the realization of cease-fire and armistice, and arrangements relating to prisoners of war. The more detailed United Nations agenda proposed the following items:

Location of and authority for International Red Cross representatives to visit prisoner-of-war camps; limitation of discussions to purely military matters related to Korea only; cessation of hostilities and of acts of armed force in Korea under conditions assuring against resumption of hostilities; agreement on a demilitarized zone; composition, authority, and functions of the Military Armistice Commission; agreement on the principle of inspection within Korea by military observer teams; composition and function of these teams; and arrangements pertaining to prisoners of war.

Discussion of the draft agenda disclosed that the Communists hoped, in connection with the demarcation of a cease-fire line, to obtain agreement on agenda language recognizing the 38th parallel as the line of demarcation. The United Nations negotiators patiently pointed out that the actual line of contact was not the 38th parallel, that this artificial boundary did not have terrain features to provide security for the forces of both sides, and that in any event the language of the agenda item should not prejudge the substantive question. The Communists finally accepted these arguments.

The other main issue in the agenda discussions resulted from efforts by the Communist negotiators to inject into the agenda contentious political issues, such as the withdrawal of all foreign troops in Korea. To cope with this propaganda move and at the same time to insure that the substance of the cease-fire negotiations would be properly limited to military matters, the United Nations negotiators secured agreement on an agenda item providing that problems not strictly military in character would be considered for inclusion in recommendations to the governments concerned.



On July 26, 1951, agreement was reached on the following agenda :

1. Adoption of agenda.
2. Fixing a military demarcation line between both sides so as to establish a demilitarized zone as a basic condition for a cessation of hostilities in Korea.
3. Concrete arrangements for the realization of a cease-fire and an armistice in Korea, including the composition, authority and functions of a supervising organization for carrying out the terms of a cease-fire and armistice.
4. Arrangements relating to prisoners of war.
5. Recommendations to the governments of the countries concerned on both sides.

#### FIXING A DEMARCATION LINE

The negotiators, having agreed upon the adoption of the agenda (item 1), proceeded to item 2. At the outset the Communists insisted that the military demarcation line must follow the 38th parallel, while the United Nations negotiators continued to press for a line directly related to the actual line of contact between the forces of both sides which would follow significant terrain features and provide secure defensive positions for these forces. In a military armistice there was no reason why the United Nations Command should give up territory which its forces had taken and which was important to their security.

Meanwhile the negotiations at Kaesong encountered obstacles of another kind. On August 4 United Nations personnel observed armed Communist forces in the conference area in clear violation of the neutral zone guaranties. General Ridgway immediately requested an explanation. Communist assurances of complete compliance with the neutralization guaranties led to resumption of the talks on August 10, but this incident was to foreshadow a series of difficulties connected with violations and alleged violations of the conference zone which in the early fall of 1951 blocked the progress of negotiations for many weeks.

When the deadlock on item 2 continued, Admiral Joy suggested that the conference might temporarily lay this item aside by referring it to a subcommittee of staff officers which would attempt to resolve the impasse. This subcommittee had scarcely begun its work, however, when the Communists suspended the negotiations on August 23 because of an alleged bombing and strafing of the conference site by United Nations forces. Prompt investigation by United Nations liaison officers failed to confirm these allegations, but the Communists demanded a "satisfactory reply" from the United Nations. General Ridgway replied that the charges were obviously fabricated and stated



that his representatives were prepared to resume the negotiations. The Communists rejected this answer as completely unsatisfactory, and negotiations remained suspended on Communist initiative until October 24.

During this 2-month period the Communists hurled a series of additional charges of conference-zone violations against the United Nations. In the main, investigation failed to confirm the charges with the exception of one inadvertent bombing incident at Kaesong on September 10 and an accidental violation by some Republic of Korea medical corpsmen. It was apparent that the Communists were using the Kaesong site for propaganda purposes by fabricating charges of United Nations violations of the neutral zone. Furthermore such allegations enabled the Communists to continue to delay and stall the negotiations.

This misuse of the Kaesong site prompted the United Nations on September 6 to propose that the conference move to another area which would provide better assurance of neutrality. The Communists finally agreed to transfer the negotiations to Panmunjom within a mutually guaranteed small neutral zone including Kaesong and Munsan. This arrangement was formalized on October 22 by an eight-point agreement between liaison officers, establishing conditions under which negotiations would be resumed at Panmunjom.

The main delegations met October 24 to resume consideration of item 2, the fixing of a demarcation line. After extended negotiation, the Communists accepted in principle the United Nations position that the demarcation line should be based on the line of contact. However, disagreement continued as to exactly where the line should be drawn and particularly over whether the town of Kaesong should belong to one side or the other. The Unified Command offered the Communists the alternative of either accepting the United Nations version of the existing line of contact or agreeing that the demarcation line should be fixed on whatever line of contact prevailed when the armistice was signed. Agreement was finally reached whereby the existing lines of contact between the two sides should be the demarcation line if an armistice agreement were signed within 30 days; otherwise it should be the line of contact as of the signing of the armistice.

On November 27 the plenary delegations agreed on a text, worked out in subcommittee, providing that (1) "The actual line of contact between both sides . . . will be made the military demarcation line and that at the time specified in the signed armistice agreement both sides will withdraw two kilometers from the line so as to establish

the demilitarized zone for the duration of the military armistice"; (2) if the military armistice agreement is signed within 30 days, the demarcation line and demilitarized zone as presently determined will not be changed; (3) if the agreement is not signed within 30 days, the subdelegation will revise the line and zone in accordance with changes which have occurred in the actual line of contact.

#### ARRANGEMENTS FOR IMPLEMENTING THE ARMISTICE

The negotiators immediately proceeded to agenda item 3, concrete arrangements for implementation of a cease-fire and armistice agreement in Korea. Again there were sharp differences and extended debates, and the hopes of an armistice within 30 days of the agreement on the demarcation line soon vanished. The 30 days elapsed December 27 without being formally noted. This meant that, when negotiations were successfully completed on the other items, it would be necessary to establish a demarcation line on the basis of the actual line of contact.

The discussions of item 3 were still going on in April 1952. Considerable progress had been made. The Unified Command insisted that there should be no reinforcement of troops or replenishment of supplies, but rotation of personnel and replacement of equipment which did not increase military capabilities should be permitted. The Communists finally agreed but insisted on a limitation of the number of troops to be rotated. The Unified Command wanted inspection by joint teams throughout Korea to assure against violation of the limitations against increase in military capabilities. There was agreement finally that inspection should be undertaken by observers from neutral countries acceptable to both sides at specific ports of entry, or wherever a violation of the armistice was alleged by either side.

The areas of agreement reached were formulated in a set of principles. The agreed principles were (1) cessation of hostilities within 24 hours after the armistice agreement becomes effective; (2) withdrawal of armed forces from the demilitarized zone within 72 hours; (3) within 5 days after the armistice agreement becomes effective, all armed forces of either side to be withdrawn from the rear and from the territorial waters and coastal islands of the other side; (4) no reinforcement of military personnel but rotation within limits to be agreed upon and no increase in the level of matériel but replenishment of equipment; (5) establishment of a Mixed Armistice Commission composed of representatives of both sides to supervise implementation of

the armistice agreement; (6) establishment of a supervisory organ of neutral nations to undertake observation and inspection to assure against violations of the limitations of personnel and equipment. Only one major point of disagreement on principle remained—the Communists continued to object to any limitation on the rehabilitation of airfields.

Within the agreed principles, a number of details remained to be worked out, such as the number of ports of entry to be observed, the number of troops which might be rotated monthly, and the nations to be represented on the supervisory body of the neutral nations. These also promised to be a source of difficulty, disagreement, and delay in the negotiations.

### PRISONERS OF WAR

On December 11, 1951, the Communists agreed to the establishment of a subcommittee to discuss agenda item 4, arrangements relating to prisoners of war. The Communists insisted on immediate agreement on the principle that all prisoners of war should be exchanged on both sides. The United Nations Command, however, refused to discuss the substance of this item until it received a list of all prisoners of war held by the Communists. It pointed out that it had complied fully with the Geneva convention by communicating a list of all prisoners of war in its custody to the Communists through the International Committee of the Red Cross. In this way the Communists already had a complete list of their prisoners of war. On the other hand the Communists had failed to abide by their original undertaking to observe the Geneva convention. Only 110 names had been given to the United Nations, although Communist radio broadcasts the first year in Korea claimed 65,363 prisoners captured prior to March 1951. The United Nations negotiators therefore requested immediate exchange of all prisoner-of-war data and admission of representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross to the enemy's prisoner-of-war camps.

Finally on December 18, 1951, the Communists acceded to the United Nations demand to exchange lists of prisoners of war. The list given to the Communists by the United Nations Command contained more than 116,000 Chinese Communists and North Koreans. The list furnished by the Communists was disappointing since it included only 4,417 names of United Nations personnel and 7,142 names of Republic of Korea soldiers. The United Nations delegation immediately chal-



lenged the completeness of this list and requested additional data concerning other individuals presumed to be prisoners of war. As of April 1952 the Communists had failed to provide such data; they have argued unconvincingly that a majority of the prisoners captured by them were "reeducated" and released at the front, and that the list which they gave the United Nations is a complete accounting for all prisoners remaining in their custody. At the same time they have complained that the United Nations has reclassified certain military prisoners as civilians.

The huge discrepancy between the number of prisoners held by the Communists and those held by the United Nations led our negotiators to propose that the Communists should also agree to exchange other persons in their custody, including foreign civilians and refugee Korean civilians who desired to return to the Republic of Korea. While the Communists refused to link such persons directly with military prisoners, agreement in principle was finally reached on allowing such persons to return to the other side.

However, the Communists continued to argue that there must be an all-for-all exchange of prisoners of war. The United Nations negotiators patiently pointed out that the persons not included in the list given to the Communists on December 18 were actually nationals of the Republic of Korea who had been captured by the Communists and had been wrongly impressed into the service of the North Korean Army. Other persons held by the United Nations were actually civilian refugees, mistakenly classified at first as prisoners of war. In addition, there were still others who would resist being repatriated to the Communists for reasons of their own, including fear of reprisal. The United Nations argued on the grounds of basic humanitarian considerations that these persons must be permitted to exercise free choice and that the repatriation of prisoners should be on a voluntary basis. By March 1952 the United Nations had agreed that every prisoner in its custody would be released but emphasized that it would not use force to make persons return to North Korea if they refused to go voluntarily because their lives would be jeopardized.

In connection with the exchange and repatriation of prisoners, the United Nations proposed from the outset that the neutral machinery of the International Committee of the Red Cross be utilized to insure an equitable exchange of all prisoners as well as to provide its customary welfare services in the prisoner-of-war camps. The United Nations Command has permitted the Committee to function freely in its camps from the beginning of hostilities in Korea. The Com-



munists, while paying lip-service to the Geneva convention, have continued to deny representatives of the International Red Cross access to their camps and to reject any proposal for use of the services of this impartial body in connection with the exchange. By March 1952 it was agreed that joint teams consisting of representatives of the national Red Cross societies of each side would be called upon to assist in the task of exchanging prisoners. In addition, incidental administrative arrangements concerning the exchange of prisoners of war also were agreed upon. The Communists, however, still insisted that all prisoners of war must be returned, while the United Nations negotiators firmly maintained that forced repatriation was out of the question.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS FOR A POLITICAL CONFERENCE

On February 3, 1952, the Communist delegation agreed to concurrent discussion of item 5, recommendations to the governments of the countries concerned on both sides. Plenary sessions began February 6. Initially the Communists proposed a political conference covering the whole range of Far Eastern problems. The United Nations delegation pointed out that it was a military negotiating team without authority to deal with political matters. It was prepared to make procedural recommendations concerning a political conference to deal with Korean political problems upon the conclusion of a military armistice. It would not even consider recommending a discussion of matters outside of Korea.

On February 17 the United Nations delegation accepted a revised Communist proposal recommending that within 3 months after the armistice becomes effective "a political conference of a higher level of both sides be held by representatives appointed respectively to settle through negotiation the questions of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea, the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, etc." In agreeing to this recommendation Admiral Joy made a statement for the record concerning the understanding of this proposal by the United Nations Command.

First, we desire to point out that this recommendation will be made by the Commander-in-Chief, United Nations Command, to the United Nations as well as to the Republic of Korea. Second, in accepting the term "foreign forces" we are doing so on the basis of your statement that this term means "non-Korean Forces", and third, we wish it clearly understood that we do not construe the word "et cetera" to relate to matters outside of Korea.

*Korean Question in the General Assembly*

The United States had originally expected and hoped that a satisfactory armistice would be concluded before or during the sixth session of the United Nations General Assembly, which met in Paris from November 6, 1951, to February 5, 1952, so that the Assembly could consider the future of Korea. While the conclusion of a satisfactory armistice would mark the successful repelling of aggression, the United Nations would continue to have certain responsibilities in Korea. It would be necessary fully to restore peace and security in the area and to take steps toward the achievement of the United Nations political objective—the establishment of a unified, independent, and democratic government of Korea by peaceful means. It would also be necessary to help the Republic of Korea through a reconstruction phase, for which preliminary planning had already been undertaken by the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (see part II, page 165).

Exploratory work on the political future of Korea had been undertaken in November 1950 by the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK). The Commission (Australia, Chile, Netherlands, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand, and Turkey) had submitted a report of its work which was included in the Assembly's agenda as one part of the Korean question. The report summarized UNCURK's studies and work on such matters as Korean unification, the development of representative government, refugees and civil assistance, and economic and social progress.

However, the still inconclusive nature of the Panmunjom negotiations made any Assembly discussion of the future of Korea extremely difficult as well as impractical. Most states considered that such discussion would be academic in the absence of an armistice or other clear-cut developments in Korea and that it might also prejudice the chances for success of the armistice talks. Consequently the great majority of Assembly delegates favored deferring action on the Korean item until armistice negotiations had been concluded.

The Soviet bloc, however, sought to make propaganda capital in the Assembly by playing on the natural hopes and fears of many delegations about the Korean situation. On several occasions the Soviet Union insisted that immediate discussion in the United Nations was the only way to achieve an armistice in Korea. On January 3, 1952, the Soviet Union proposed to the Assembly's Political Committee

a draft resolution which, in part, recommended the immediate calling of a high-level Security Council meeting to examine measures "to help bring to a successful conclusion the negotiations being held in Korea" as the first step in considering other measures to remove the present international tension. Benjamin V. Cohen, the United States representative, opposed the Soviet proposal on the grounds that it threatened to undo the progress already made in the armistice negotiations and to forestall any further progress by injecting extraneous political considerations into a purely military matter. In addition, Mr. Cohen said that the United States was always ready to discuss means of removing international tensions whenever there was hope of solving problems, but "we do not want a high-level conference to be used as a sounding board for harangues which may aggravate rather than reduce the dangers of war." On January 9 the Committee in effect rejected the Soviet move by adopting 40 to 6 with 11 abstentions an amendment deleting the reference to the Korean negotiations and specifying that the high-level Security Council meeting should be held whenever the Council considered that it might prove useful.

The Soviet Union, however, carried its propaganda efforts into the plenary sessions of the Assembly by submitting a draft resolution on January 18, which, among other provisions, called for a solution to the Korean problem on Communist terms. By a vote of 42 to 5 (Soviet bloc) with 12 abstentions the Assembly rejected the first part of the proposal, which called on "countries taking part in the Korean war" immediately to end military operations, conclude an armistice, and withdraw from the 38th parallel within 10 days. The Assembly also turned down the second part of the Soviet proposal, which called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops and "volunteer units" from Korea within 3 months by a vote of 42 to 7 (Soviet bloc, Egypt, and Yemen) with 10 abstentions.

On January 26 the United States, the United Kingdom, and France jointly submitted a draft resolution which in effect would postpone United Nations action on Korean matters until the armistice negotiations were concluded, successfully or otherwise. This proposal was discussed on February 2 by a joint session of the Political Committee and the Joint Economic and Social Committees. The Soviet representative alleged that the tripartite resolution was aimed at paralyzing the United Nations and urged, in the interests of a peaceful settlement in Korea, that the General Assembly actively undertake consideration



of the Korean problem. However, a Soviet motion to this effect was decisively defeated 52 to 5 with 1 abstention. The Three Power resolution then was approved by the overwhelming majority of 51 to 5 with 2 abstentions, and it was adopted by the same vote in plenary session on February 5.

The resolution reads as follows:

*The General Assembly,*

*Desiring* to facilitate to the greatest possible extent the negotiations in Panmunjom and the conclusion of an armistice in Korea, and

*Wishing* to avoid premature consideration of items 17 and 27 of the agenda of the present session,

## I

*Decides* that:

(a) Upon notification by the Unified Command to the Security Council of the conclusion of an armistice in Korea, the Secretary-General shall convene a special session of the General Assembly at the Headquarters of the United Nations to consider the above-mentioned items; or

(b) When other developments in Korea make desirable consideration of the above-mentioned items, the Secretary-General, acting in accordance with Article 20 of the Charter and with the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, shall convene a special session or an emergency special session of the General Assembly at the Headquarters of the United Nations;

## II

*Requests* the Negotiating Committee for Extra-Budgetary Funds established by General Assembly resolution 571 B (VI) of 7 December 1951 to undertake negotiations regarding voluntary contributions to the programme of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency for the relief and rehabilitation of Korea.

Ambassador Ernest A. Gross, speaking for the United States, said: "The United States Government, responsible for the Unified Command, has pledged itself and pledges itself again here, to do everything in its power to bring about a just, an honorable and a satisfactory armistice in Korea. . . . We do not think that discussions here and now can possibly facilitate the armistice negotiations." In his view, the action taken by the General Assembly demonstrated the awareness of the organization that the United Nations policy "remains and will remain to see a unified and independent Korea built after an armistice is reached."

## COLLECTIVE SECURITY—STRENGTHENING THE UNITED NATIONS

The Communist aggression in Korea stimulated the United Nations to make an accelerated effort to build an effective security system. The United Nations response to the challenge of armed attack in Korea demonstrated that collective security could be made to work. But it also emphasized the need for strengthening the United Nations capacity to deter or suppress future aggressions.

The United Nations had to meet the aggression in Korea without the means which the Charter had envisaged would be available in such circumstances. Soviet obstruction had prevented fulfillment of the Charter plan for creating military forces which the Security Council could call on when necessary. Moreover persistent Soviet abuse of the veto had raised grave doubts whether the Security Council would be able to exercise its primary responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security. Only fortuitous circumstances had enabled the United Nations to take swift action against the North Korean aggression: there was a United Nations Commission on Korea present to report the facts of the attack, the Soviet delegate had boycotted the Security Council and therefore was not able to veto its action recommendations, and American forces were available in Japan to rush to Korea with desperately needed assistance to help check the initial onslaught. The United Nations, taking advantage of these circumstances, created and organized a cooperative military enterprise which was unique in history and which offered considerable promise for the future.

The Korean experience revealed the need for further planning to realize the potentialities of collective action through the United Nations and to strengthen the United Nations as an instrument of collective security for the future. Such an undertaking fell squarely within the basic purposes of the Charter, which lists the taking of "effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace" as an integral means for maintaining international peace and security. Moreover the Charter is broad enough to provide opportunity for the member states to take positive steps toward fulfilling this purpose.

As a first step the General Assembly in November 1950 had adopted the uniting-for-peace resolution introduced by Secretary Acheson. This resolution set forth a program which constituted a far-reaching and significant advance in the development of the United Nations.

First, it provided that the General Assembly recommend prompt collective action against aggression, including the use of force, if the Security Council was unable to do so because of the veto. Second, it established a Peace Observation Commission which could observe and report on situations likely to endanger international peace and security. Third, it recommended that all member states maintain elements within their own armed forces so trained, organized, and equipped as to be promptly available for United Nations collective action. Fourth, it established a Collective Measures Committee to study and report on methods which might be used to maintain and strengthen international peace and security under the Charter.

### *Collective Measures Committee*

During 1951 the work initiated by the uniting-for-peace resolution was carried forward by the Collective Measures Committee. The Committee's task was envisaged as a next step in a long-range program designed progressively to strengthen the United Nations capacity to fulfill the transcendent Charter purpose of maintaining world peace. This task involved basic planning, coupled with efforts to stimulate states to prepare themselves for participation in collective action, so that steady progress could be made over a period of years. The objective of this effort was to increase the readiness of the United Nations to deal with threats or acts of aggression.

The Collective Measures Committee, composed of representatives of Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Egypt, France, Mexico, Philippines, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia, began its work in March 1951. United States Deputy Representative Harding F. Bancroft stressed the importance of the Committee's task in laying the foundations for an effective collective security system. At the opening meeting of the Committee, he said:

. . . if the necessary steps cannot be taken by the Security Council, the United Nations must nevertheless proceed by other means within the framework of the Charter to muster its strength in adequate measure and in immediate readiness to meet aggression wherever and whenever it may occur. The United Nations is mustering its resources for peace.

That is the purpose of the resolution under which this Committee was created. It is the task of this Committee to consider the methods which can be used to accomplish this objective.

The results of the Committee's work were set forth in its first report to the General Assembly and to the Security Council of October 3,



1951. This report emphasized two essential aspects of the creation of a security system within the framework of the United Nations. First, was the need for preparatory action by states so that they would be in a position to participate promptly and effectively in any future collective action undertaken by the United Nations. Secondly, the Committee considered arrangements for coordinating the participation of states in order to increase the effectiveness of collective action, whether it might involve political measures, economic measures, or the use of armed forces.

#### PREPARATORY ACTION

As an important part of the preparatory aspect of its work, the Collective Measures Committee requested United Nations members to submit information about what they had done or contemplated doing to carry out the recommendation of the uniting-for-peace resolution that they maintain units within their armed forces in a position of readiness for United Nations service.

The United States response of June 8 pointed out that its armed forces in Korea were already actively serving the United Nations. "After termination of hostilities in Korea and after the United States armed forces now opposing aggression in Korea have been withdrawn," the response stated, "the extent to which the United States will maintain armed forces which could be made available for United Nations service will be reviewed." In addition, the United States reported that it was maintaining substantial forces in Europe under the North Atlantic Treaty, which comes within the framework of the Charter. These forces could, pursuant to the treaty and the Charter and in accordance with due constitutional process, "participate in collective military measures to maintain or restore peace and security in the North Atlantic area in support of United Nations action." Finally, the United States said it would continue to keep the matter under constant review in light of changing circumstances and "in furtherance of the policy of the United Nations to build up an effective collective security system."

In general the responses of United Nations members were encouraging. By March 1952 a total of 41 replies had been received, of which 5 were negative and 3 were mere acknowledgments. The remaining 33 responses, while differing in individual characteristics, were positive in tone and substance and indicated that members were fully aware of the desirability of strengthening their capacity to take action

pursuant to a United Nations recommendation against aggression.

The report of the Collective Measures Committee pointed out that these responses were but the first steps in a developing program and should be judged by the common determination and promise that they demonstrated. The Committee recognized that it was difficult for some states to maintain specific units in their armed forces for possible availability to the United Nations but pointed out that for many members the development of such "earmarked" forces would be the most direct method of carrying out the Assembly's recommendation. It suggested that even though some members were unable to maintain specific units, it might be possible for them to pay special attention to organizing and training units in their existing forces so that such units could be more efficiently integrated into a combined United Nations force.

Much needs to be done by states over a period of years before realistic results are achieved. But progress is essential so that, in the event of another aggression, contributions of forces would come from a substantially greater proportion of United Nations members than has been the case in Korea.

The Committee stressed the need for other forms of preparatory action to supplement contributions of armed forces. Specifically, the Committee report pointed out the need for states to take such steps as might be necessary to enable them to provide assistance and facilities to United Nations forces engaged in collective military measures. Thus states could put themselves in a position promptly to grant various forms of ancillary assistance, including rights of passage and related rights, to United Nations forces engaged in resisting a breach of the peace or act of aggression. To facilitate such preparation, the report stressed the need for states to examine their legislation and administrative regulations in order to remove any avoidable limitation on their ability to provide ancillary support. Moreover the Committee suggested that states continue the survey of their resources recommended in the uniting-for-peace resolution to determine the nature and scope of the assistance they might be able to furnish in support of future United Nations collective military action.

#### PROCEDURES FOR COORDINATING ACTION

The second aspect of the Collective Measures Committee's work, which comprised the major part of its report, related to the methods, techniques, and procedures by which the coordination of national action in the political, economic, and military fields could be most effec-

tively arranged. The need for such planning had been borne out by the difficulties encountered in Korea in welding together the armed forces and other assistance provided by many states. The Committee examined the Korean experience in detail in order to profit by the lessons learned and to formulate certain guide lines and techniques which could facilitate the application and coordination of national strengths in any future United Nations action.

### *Political Measures*

The report listed various political measures available to the United Nations, including such concerted measures as partial or complete severance of diplomatic relations with the aggressor, suspension or expulsion by the United Nations or its specialized agencies, and non-recognition of changes brought about by the threat or use of force. The Committee pointed out that the usefulness of such measures would vary with the circumstances of each case; that they should be regarded as primarily for preventive action or as a supplement to other types of collective measures; and that their chief importance lay in representing the moral judgment of the United Nations.

### *Economic Measures*

The Committee made a thorough study of collective economic and financial measures available to the United Nations. The study involved both sanctions directed against the economy of the aggressor country and economic and financial measures of assistance to the victim of aggression as well as methods to provide for the most equitable sharing of the total burden of resisting aggression.

The report outlined the basic considerations which should underlie the selection of each of these measures; it considered the national action which should be taken by cooperating states, the extent to which the coordination of such national action by the United Nations could be provided, and the techniques and machinery that should be established to make the imposition of a particular sanction most effective.

The report pointed out that economic and financial measures, because of their highly diverse applications to differing national economies, require procedures that are flexible enough to be adapted to specific situations; that, to be most effective, collective economic and financial measures taken by the United Nations must include steps by member states to prevent the circumvention of controls and to meet problems arising from the noncooperation of any state. The



report also stressed the need for maximum cooperation from non-members of the United Nations and from appropriate United Nations bodies and specialized agencies.

An important principle in the growth of the structure of international law was formulated and accepted by the Committee; namely, that states should not be subjected to legal liabilities under treaties or other international agreements as a consequence of carrying out United Nations collective measures.

### *Military Measures*

The Committee analyzed the experience of the collective action in Korea and sought to adapt it to agreed principles and procedures of general application. It developed the concept that, in any case of the use of force under United Nations auspices, there should be a central Executive Military Authority responsible for the coordination of the contributions from many states and for the actual conduct of military operations in the field.

The Committee formulated a wide variety of principles and procedures for use in the application of military measures. Among these were the general responsibilities of the Executive Military Authority; the nature of the relationship of the Executive Military Authority to states contributing to the collective action, to the victim state, and to other participating states whose territory might be near the area of hostilities; and the role that the Security Council or the General Assembly would play in formulating the policy framework within which the forces in the field would operate.

The report also analyzed the types of assistance and facilities, in addition to armed forces, that states could contribute to the collective action and formulated the procedures by which requests for assistance would be made and offers of assistance submitted and accepted. Problems connected with the operation and command of United Nations forces, of consultative procedures with contributing states, both in the theater of operations and elsewhere, the importance of logistical support for United Nations forces, and the manner in which civilian relief and refugee matters should be handled were all considered. In addition, such other questions as public-information aspects of United Nations military measures, the identification of the operations as United Nations operations, and the role which United Nations and other international bodies should play were analyzed.

*Relations with Regional Defense Arrangements*

The Committee considered the relationship between collective self-defense arrangements and the United Nations and pointed out that in certain cases the Executive Military Authority might consist of some or all of the states parties to such an arrangement. The report pointed out that such arrangements "constitute an important aspect of the universal collective security system of the United Nations" and could, within the limits of their constitutional status, provide effective forces and facilities in their respective areas in order to assist United Nations action in meeting aggression.

Moreover the Committee developed the important concept of the mutually supporting relationship between the activities of regional and collective self-defense arrangements and the collective security system of the United Nations. The report pointed out that regional and collective self-defense arrangements can and should make a valuable contribution to the United Nations collective security system. The United Nations as an instrument for security is stronger when it is bolstered by the combined defensive strength of states which have joined together for their own security. By relating such arrangements to the universal collective security system there is assurance that they will be employed in support of Charter principles.

In the debate at the sixth session of the General Assembly on the Collective Measures Committee report, United States delegate Benjamin V. Cohen made these points clear. Soviet delegate Andrei Vyshinsky had attacked the North Atlantic Treaty as inconsistent with membership in the United Nations. Mr. Cohen pointed out that the treaty itself expressly recognized in article 7 that it did not affect the rights and obligations of members under the Charter or the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security. Furthermore in its report to the United States Senate on the North Atlantic Treaty, the Committee on Foreign Relations had made clear the overriding character of the Charter and the determination not to compete with or impair the authority of the United Nations.

*General Assembly Action*

Under the agenda item, "Methods which might be used to maintain and strengthen international peace and security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter," the report of the Col-

lective Measures Committee was thoroughly discussed in the Assembly's Political Committee. The United States and 10 other members of the Collective Measures Committee jointly introduced a draft resolution designed to carry forward the work initiated by the uniting-for-peace resolution and furthered by the Collective Measures Committee. This resolution, as amended during debate, was adopted by the Assembly on January 12, 1952, by a vote of 51 to 5 with 3 abstentions.

In the operative part of the resolution the Assembly took note of the Collective Measures Committee report and expressed appreciation of the Committee's constructive work. It recommended to member states that they take further action necessary to maintain United Nations units within their armed forces; that they take such steps as would be necessary to enable them to provide assistance and facilities to United Nations forces; that they continue the survey of resources provided for in the uniting-for-peace resolution; and that they determine, in the light of existing legislation, the appropriate steps for carrying out effectively United Nations collective measures in accordance with their constitutional processes.

The resolution also invited nonmember states to take note of the Collective Measures Committee report and to consider ways and means, in the economic as well as in other fields, whereby they could contribute most effectively to collective measures undertaken by the United Nations.

It further recommended to members which belong to other international bodies or arrangements that, in addition to their individual participation in the United Nations collective security system, they seek to obtain, when appropriate, in and through such bodies and arrangements, within their constitutional limitations, all possible support for collective measures undertaken by the United Nations.

In addition, the resolution requested that the Secretary-General appoint as soon as possible the panel of military experts provided for in the uniting-for-peace resolution, so that they could be available on request to states wishing to obtain technical advice regarding the training, organization, and equipment of United Nations units. It directed the Collective Measures Committee to continue its studies for another year and to report to the seventh session of the General Assembly in the fall of 1952. Finally, the Assembly recognized that nothing in the present resolution should be construed to permit measures to be taken within the territory of a state without the free and express consent of that state.



In expressing full United States support of this resolution, Benjamin V. Cohen said:

The report of the Collective Measures Committee and the resolution before us . . . are based on the proposition that the more effectively the Members of the United Nations are organized to unite their strength to maintain international peace and security, the less likely it is that world peace will be challenged. . . . They make clear that the organization of a system of collective security is not intended to exclude but to facilitate efforts to obtain peaceful settlement in accordance with the Charter. . . .

Korea has proved that collective action under the Charter can be achieved. The Uniting for Peace resolution reflects the determination of the United Nations that Korea should mark the beginning of the progressive development of an effective collective security system . . . the report . . . opens further avenues toward progress. . . . The steps envisaged in the resolution will contribute to increased faith and confidence in the United Nations as a security organization. . . .

The program we in this Assembly are embarked on is designed to be universal in application: to meet any aggression from any source. It is not directed against any State or group of States. As far as my Government is concerned, it will always remain that way. We hope the day will come soon when the Soviet Government will see that its best interests are served by the development of an effective United Nations collective security system, and will lend its active support to the work. . . .

### *Soviet Attacks Against Collective Security*

The Soviet Union and its satellites launched repeated attacks against the whole concept of collective security during the sixth session of the General Assembly. At one stage the U.S.S.R. tried unsuccessfully to have the Collective Measures Committee abolished. It also sought unsuccessfully to have the Assembly declare participation in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization illegal under the Charter. And it failed in strenuous efforts to secure condemnation of the United States for alleged "subversive activity" under the Mutual Security Act.

The last Soviet charges were directed against section 101 (a) (1) of the Mutual Security Act of 1951, which authorized an appropriation of \$100,000,000 for "any selected persons who are residing in or escapees from the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania . . . either to form such persons into elements of the military forces supporting the North Atlantic Treaty Organization or for other purposes. . . ." Congressman Mike J. Mansfield denied Soviet allegations that the United States through this legislation was interfering in the domestic affairs of the Soviet Union or its satellites. He affirmed that the United States had not

committed and would not commit any act of aggression against the Soviet Union or any other country and stressed that the whole history of the American people underscored the fundamental fact that they considered aggression to be a criminal act.

Mr. Mansfield, who with Congressman John M. Vorys of the United States delegation had considered the Mutual Security Act in the House Foreign Affairs Committee, explained the purposes of the act. He pointed out that it was in conformity with Charter principles and had as its aim the implementation of the Charter purpose, "to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace." He noted that the act reflected the broad outlines of the policy of mutual aid as a means of building a community of free nations, economically strong and capable of defending themselves against attack, and pointed to the sudden and brutal Communist attack on the Republic of Korea as having led inevitably to an acceleration of United States programs of military assistance. The "escapee clause," section 101 (a) (1), was intended to assist refugees from political persecution to take part in the defense of the North Atlantic community if they elected to do so. "If these unfortunate people are granted asylum, if they are permitted to join the NATO defense forces at their own request, does it then follow that the United States or the NATO powers collectively are interfering in the domestic affairs of the Soviet Union . . . ?" asked Mr. Mansfield.

"It is one of the supreme ironies of all time that the Soviet regime should be pressing a charge of domestic interference against any foreign government . . .", continued the United States delegate. He cited a wealth of evidence from Soviet and Cominform sources to demonstrate the pattern of subversion practiced by these states in all quarters of the globe. A number of delegations substantiated these facts by citing the experiences of their governments with Soviet-directed subversion—in Greece, Costa Rica, Canada, Yugoslavia, New Zealand, Philippines, etc. On January 10, 1952, the Assembly decisively rejected the Soviet draft resolution which sought to condemn the Mutual Security Act and recommend its appeal.

## DISARMAMENT

Like other United Nations members, the United States has increased its armed strength in recent years in response to heightened inter-

national tension and open Communist aggression. But we have not done so willingly or for other than defensive purposes. Our postwar policy of unilateral demobilization and disarmament was reversed only when we found that strength was essential to the safety of the United States and of the free world. The United States has shouldered the burden of armaments as a guaranty of survival. It has not ceased to advocate action through the United Nations to end the armaments race and to bring about the regulation and limitation of armaments and armed forces under conditions affording security to all.

Since 1946 the United States has sought in United Nations agencies the establishment of controls over atomic energy which would bring about the prohibition of the use of atomic weapons, and the regulation of armed forces and conventional armaments. Because of Soviet intransigence, United Nations efforts to deal with these problems in the Atomic Energy Commission and in the Commission for Conventional Armaments did not reach fruition.

As the strength of the free world increased and as it became apparent that the Soviets were manufacturing atomic weapons, it appeared possible that a new approach to the problem might achieve better results. Consequently on October 24, 1950, President Truman suggested to the fifth session of the General Assembly that the valuable work already done by the United Nations Atomic Energy and Conventional Armaments Commissions might be revitalized if carried forward in the future through a consolidated disarmament commission. On December 13, 1950, the Assembly established a committee, composed of the 11 members of the Security Council and Canada, to consider and report to the next regular session of the General Assembly "on ways and means whereby the work of the Atomic Energy Commission and the Commission for Conventional Armaments may be coordinated and on the advisability of their functions being merged and placed under a new and consolidated disarmament commission."

### *Committee of Twelve*

This matter was considered by the Committee of Twelve (Brazil, Canada, China, Ecuador, France, India, Netherlands, Turkey, U.S.S.R., United States, United Kingdom, and Yugoslavia) from February through September 1951.

The United States presented its general views on the subject in a working paper on May 25. This paper outlined the organization and



function of a proposed new Commission for the Control of Armaments and Armed Forces and set forth certain basic principles regarding its work. These included (1) emphasis on the preparation of coordinated plans for international control in both the non-atomic and atomic fields and (2) provision that the new Commission should consider and develop any other proposals that would be no less effective than the existing United Nations atomic energy plan, although this plan should continue to serve as the basis for the Commission's work. Most members of the Committee approved these views with some reservation about the need for further study, perhaps by the General Assembly, of the functions of the proposed new Commission. The Soviet representative, reversing the position which his Government had advocated since 1946, opposed the proposal for creating a new unified Commission and accused the United States of seeking to prolong the disarmament deadlock rather than to reach agreement, particularly because of its reference to the United Nations atomic-energy plan.

As an outgrowth of the Committee discussion the United States submitted on August 10 a brief draft resolution which reflected the majority view favoring the establishment of a single Commission. The draft resolution proposed that the future Commission should be established under the Security Council but did not touch on its terms of reference, which would be decided by the General Assembly. The Soviet representative, however, proposed amendments to the draft resolution which would have forced the new Commission to base its work on the untenable Soviet theses that (1) there should be reduction of armed forces and nonatomic armaments before there was any verified knowledge of the levels from which the reduction should take place and before any plans were developed for checking on such reduction and (2) atomic weapons should be prohibited before there was any control system to insure that such prohibition would be more than a paper promise. These Soviet propositions had been rejected by the General Assembly each year since 1948.

On August 29 the Committee rejected the Soviet amendments and adopted a slightly revised version of the United States draft resolution by a vote of 11 to 1. The resolution—

1. Recognized that comprehensive and coordinated plans for the international control of all armaments and armed forces, including atomic energy, should be developed by the United Nations.
2. Expressed the Committee's belief that these control plans should make possible with appropriate safeguards the regulation, limitation, and balanced reduction of all armaments and armed forces, including

internal security and police forces, and the effective international control of atomic energy to insure its use for peaceful purposes only.

3. Recalled the atomic-energy control plan developed by the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission and the useful planning work accomplished by the Commission for Conventional Armaments.

4. Recommended that the General Assembly establish a new Commission, under the Security Council, to carry forward the tasks presently assigned to the Atomic Energy and Conventional Armaments Commissions.

In analyzing the situation at this stage, President Truman told his Wake Forest College audience on October 15 that good progress had been made in carrying forward his 1950 proposal for further work on disarmament and a merger of the two United Nations commissions in this field. The President added that the United States was ready now, as always, to sit down in the United Nations with the Soviet Union and all the nations concerned and work together for the lifting of the burden of armaments and securing the peace. He hoped that the growing strength of the free world would convince the leaders of the Soviet Union that it was to their best interest to lay aside both their aggressive plans and their phony peace propaganda and join with the United States and other free nations to work out practical arrangements for achieving peace.

### *Tripartite Proposals*

On November 7, 1951, the United States, France, and the United Kingdom announced that they would submit to the sixth session of the General Assembly joint proposals for proceeding with the regulation, limitation, and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments, including atomic. While reaffirming their unshakeable determination to continue to develop the strength now necessary for their security and that of the free world, the three Governments declared their belief that if all governments would sincerely join in such disarmament efforts the danger of war would be greatly reduced and the security of all nations enhanced.

A few hours after the tripartite declaration had been released, President Truman, in a radio address to the American people, explained the significance of the new disarmament proposals, which were the result of long and careful preparation. He reaffirmed the United States determination to build up the defenses of the free world as one way to security and peace. But, he explained, there was another

way to security and peace which the United States would much prefer—to see nations cut down their armed forces on a balanced basis that would be fair to all. The President hoped that the General Assembly would establish a new consolidated Commission, as recommended by the Committee of Twelve, and that this Commission would take up the proposals which were being made by the United States, France, and the United Kingdom.

The President explained that these proposals involved three principal points.

First, a continuing inventory of all armed forces and all armaments should be undertaken in every country having substantial military power and should be checked and verified in each country by inspectors who were nationals of other countries and who would be working under the United Nations.

Second, while this process of inventory and inspection was taking place, the nations should work out specific arrangements for the actual reduction of armed strength.

Third, on the basis of the two previous steps, the reductions which were the goal of the program should be made as soon as this could be done with full knowledge and fairness to all.

The President emphasized that the key to the plan was the proposal for a progressive and continuing disclosure and verification, which would find out what arms and armed forces each country had. He pointed out that no responsible government could agree to cut its own defenses unless it knew where such a cut would leave it in relation to the armed forces of other countries. This disclosure and verification, or inventory and inspection, would proceed by stages in which the least vital information would be disclosed first before proceeding to more sensitive matters. And, because the program for reducing armaments would necessarily be complex and take a long time to put into effect, there would have to be safeguards against its violation. Consequently the fact finding would have to be continuous, so that all countries could know the state of world armament on any given date and whether the armed forces of any other country were increasing or diminishing. In order further to protect each country from violations, each stage of the program for reducing armaments should be entered upon only after the previous one had been completed. In other words, all countries would have to lay their cards on the table and keep them there at all times.

This kind of a program would give the Soviet Union and its satellites a plan that they, like other countries, could adopt with safety because there would be adequate safeguards against bad faith.



The President urged the Kremlin to accept this proposal and to make it known to the people of the Soviet Union. The burden of armaments could be lifted. New energies and resources could be liberated for a greatly enlarged program of reconstruction and development. New hope and opportunities would be given everywhere for better conditions of life. Through the United Nations we could wage the only kind of war we seek, the war against want and human misery.

The President reaffirmed the determination of the United States to win real peace—peace based on freedom and justice. And he said:

We will do it the hard way if we must—by going forward, as we are doing now to make the free world so strong that no would-be aggressor will dare to break the peace. But we will never give up trying for another way to peace—the way of reducing the armaments that make aggression possible.

That is why we are making these new proposals to the United Nations. We offer them in good faith and we ask that they be considered in good faith. We hope all other nations will accept them and will join with us in this great enterprise for peace.

### *Opening Discussion in the General Assembly*

On November 8 Secretary of State Acheson, in his initial speech at the sixth session of the General Assembly, declared that one of the most urgent international problems was the level of armaments among nations. He explained that the United States, France, and the United Kingdom after long study had arrived at a series of proposals for the regulation, limitation, and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments which met the test of reasonableness and feasibility. He asked that discussion of these proposals be added to the Assembly's agenda as an item of urgency and importance. Secretary Acheson outlined the proposals, emphasizing the necessity for progressive and continuing disclosure and verification, for applying such a disarmament program to all states which had a substantial military potential rather than to only four or five major powers, and for working out criteria to determine the exact amounts and kinds of armaments and armed forces which each country would finally be permitted to retain. As examples of such criteria, he suggested:

(1) Limiting the size of all armed forces, including para-military, security, and police forces, to a fixed percentage of population—with a ceiling beyond which no country could go;

(2) Restricting the proportion of national production which could be used for military purposes to an amount that would bear a direct relation to what was needed for the armed forces permitted under the program; and here, again, there

might be a ceiling expressed in terms of a percentage of the national product; and

(3) Developing mutual agreements as to the composition of national military programs within the over-all limitations and restrictions. Such mutually agreed programs should be developed within the framework of United Nations principles in conferences under United Nations auspices.

Secretary Acheson referred to the provision of the United Nations Charter which speaks of promoting the "establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources." He pointed out that if the world could use its resources, its skills, and energies for nonmilitary projects, as the United States most earnestly desired, then vast new opportunities would open for the better and happier conditions of life which all men sought. He emphasized, however, so long as some nations talked of peace while their actions made for war, the free peoples would continue with determination and steadiness to build the defensive strength which their security required. Even so, Secretary Acheson declared that nations must never cease trying to change this state of affairs and that the United States firmly believed a workable agreement was within reach if all nations would approach this task with good faith and a will to peace.

The very next day Foreign Minister Andrei Vyshinsky of the Soviet Union charged that the tripartite proposals were an attempt to befuddle the people of the world. In the course of his usual vituperative attacks against the United States and other free nations, Mr. Vyshinsky scoffingly likened the proposals to a dead mouse and said he had hardly been able to sleep because of his laughter over these proposals. Aside from this the Soviet delegate could only offer vague generalities calling for a world disarmament conference to be held by June 1, 1952.

Mr. Vyshinsky's contemptuous attitude provoked such widespread indignant reaction that he was obliged to effect a hasty change of tune. On November 16 the Soviet delegate took the unprecedented step of intervening for a second time in the general debate to criticize the tripartite proposals in some detail and to introduce amended Soviet proposals calling for—

1. A General Assembly declaration that atomic weapons were weapons of mass destruction and proclaiming their unconditional prohibition and the establishment of strict international control over the enforcement of this prohibition.

2. A General Assembly decision to instruct a new unified commission, to be called the Atomic Energy and Conventional Armaments Commission, to prepare and submit to the Security Council not later

than February 1, 1952, a draft convention. This convention would insure implementation of the General Assembly decision that atomic weapons should be prohibited and their production stopped and that previously manufactured atomic bombs would be used exclusively for civilian purposes. It would provide for establishment of strict international control to insure observance of this convention.

3. A General Assembly recommendation that the Five Powers reduce their armaments and armed forces one-third within a year.

4. A General Assembly recommendation that within one month all states should submit complete official data on their armaments and armed forces, including atomic weapons and also military bases in foreign territories.

5. The establishment of an international control organ within the framework of the Security Council, to supervise prohibition of atomic weapons and reduction of armed forces and armaments and to verify the data submitted regarding armaments and armed forces.

6. A world conference at which all states, both United Nations members and nonmembers, should consider the question of substantial reduction of armed forces and armaments and the question of practical measures to prohibit atomic weapons and establish international control over the observance of such prohibition. This world conference should be convened no later than June 1, 1952.

### *Initial Consideration in the Political Committee*

The report of the Committee of Twelve, the tripartite proposals, and the refurbished Soviet proposals were all referred to the Assembly's Political Committee. On November 19 the United States, France, and the United Kingdom submitted a draft resolution, and the Soviet Union shortly thereafter introduced its proposals as amendments to the tripartite resolution. The tripartite resolution, which amplified the November 7 declaration, called for—

1. The establishment under the Security Council of a Disarmament Commission with the same membership as the Atomic Energy and Conventional Armaments Commissions.

2. The Commission to prepare proposals to be embodied in a draft treaty (or treaties) for the regulation, limitation, and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments. The Commission should be guided by certain principles:

(a) A preliminary objective is to bring about the limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments to levels



adequate for defense, but not for aggression, and to achieve effective international control of atomic energy to insure the prohibition of atomic weapons.

(b) There should be progressive and continuing disclosure and verification of all armed forces and all armaments, including atomic, such verification being based on effective international inspection to insure the adequacy and accuracy of the information disclosed.

(c) While any other plan which might be put forward should not be prejudged, the United Nations plan for international control of atomic weapons should continue to serve as the basis for the control of atomic energy unless and until a better or no less effective system could be devised.

(d) There must be an adequate system of safeguards to insure observance of the disarmament program.

(e) The treaty or treaties should be open to all states for adherence and must be ratified by at least those states whose military resources are so substantial that their absence from the program would endanger it.

3. The Commission to consider from the outset the plans for progressive and continuing disclosure and verification.

4. The Commission—in working out plans for regulation, limitation, and balanced reduction—to formulate criteria of general application; to formulate for each state, taking into account the agreed criteria, proposals for over-all limits and restrictions on all armed forces and all armaments; and to consider methods according to which states could agree among themselves, under the auspices of the Commission, concerning the allocation within their respective military establishments of the permitted national armed forces and armaments.

5. The Commission to begin work within 30 days from the adoption of the resolution and to report periodically to the Security Council and the General Assembly.

6. A conference of all states to be convened in order to consider the proposals for a draft treaty or treaties prepared by the Commission, as soon as the work of the Commission should have progressed to a point where it believed any part of its program was ready for submission to the governments.

Secretary Acheson elaborated on these proposals in the Political Committee on November 19. He explained that there were no easy solutions to the very complex disarmament problems; that arms reduction and the prohibition of the atomic bomb could not be brought about by mere resolutions; and that the problems required patient discussion and analysis in a permanent body. Therefore the practical way

to start was by creating one commission which could be charged with certain duties and given guidance so that it would have some direction as to where to go and how to get there. He set forth the four principal elements of the tripartite plan.

First, an international inventory and checkup of armed forces and armament: the *disclosure and verification* system. The disclosure and verification had to apply to all arms and armaments, not merely to what some nation wished to describe as its armed forces. This had to be a *continuing* process so that everybody could know at all times what was happening. It had to be a *progressive* process because it would deal with the very essentials of security of national states in which reliance could not be placed on mere statements without adequate verification. Disclosure and verification had to proceed by progressive steps from the less secret, or less damaging to national security, to those items which were more secret and more damaging to the national state if disclosed. This was necessary to get the system working, for the more secret matters could be disclosed only after a demonstration that the system actually was working. The early stage would involve disclosure and verification of all types of armed forces and organized reserves, together with their conventional arms and armaments. Concurrently certain parts of the atomic field should also be disclosed and verified.

Secretary Acheson stressed that the proposals would include, in stages, disclosure and verification of atomic armaments; that this represented a change in the position of the United States, which previously had believed there could be no such disclosure until the whole system of atomic-energy control had been established. This change was made in the hope that the United Nations might make successful progress toward disarmament. This was no trick or subterfuge; the progress from one stage to another should be an administrative matter within the control of the Disarmament Commission and not a political decision reserved to the various states.

The second element in the program was the reduction of all arms and armaments to agreed levels, and here all countries with any kind of substantial military or paramilitary establishment must fall within the system. How to bring about this reduction and limitation is a tremendously difficult problem, and hence the Commission was to attempt to find some criteria of general application to be used as the basis upon which agreement would be worked out as to how armed forces were to be limited and the point to which they would be reduced. It was recognized that there was no one formula which could be applied to every country; that the criteria would afford only general guidance.

The third element in the proposals was the prohibition of the atomic bomb, and here Mr. Acheson reviewed the past efforts of the United States and the majority of the members of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission to secure prohibition of the atomic bomb as a result of effective international control of atomic energy. He emphasized that at all times the United States proposals and the United Nations proposals had provided for prohibition of the atomic bomb; that the program now before the Political Committee made that same provision.

The fourth element in the tripartite plan was the creation of safeguards to make sure that all nations complied with the agreements into which they would enter if these proposals were carried out and to warn the world if any nation did not do so.

Turning to the question of the way in which these proposals could be worked out and put into effect, Secretary Acheson emphasized that the views of the United States were flexible. One method would be for the Disarmament Commission to direct its primary attention to establishing a system of disclosure and verification, since this would facilitate taking the subsequent steps of limitation and reduction of armaments and prohibition. Alternatively it might be better to work out concurrently the disclosure and verification system, the system of reduction of armaments, the system for prohibition of atomic weapons, and the safeguards. While the United States believed that it was preferable to concentrate on disclosure and verification first, this was a matter in which it would adjust its views to the views of others.

Mr. Acheson pointed out that the disarmament proposals were, of course, closely related to other events going on in the world. It was obvious that no general treaty for the reduction of armaments could be put into effect while fighting was going on, for instance, in Korea, since nations would not reduce armaments while simultaneously trying to conduct resistance to aggression. Moreover there was an obvious connection between the reduction of international tensions in the world and the reduction of armaments. During a period of seriously mounting tensions, it was highly unlikely that nations would enter into a system of armaments reduction. On the other hand, the formulation of plans for a system of armaments reduction, and the working out and implementation of a disclosure and verification system, would help to reduce these tensions and facilitate solutions for these problems. The tripartite proposals, while not ends in themselves, opened a broad highway along which all could march together to find solutions to their problems, to reduce the tensions and difficulties between them, to move toward peace, toward cooperation, and



away from the very dangerous rapids which all could see before them.

As the Political Committee discussion developed, many smaller states, particularly those of the Middle East and Asia, expressed the belief that any agreement on disarmament had to be reached through direct negotiations between the Great Powers because of their preponderant military strength and that such agreement would not be promoted by public discussions among 60 states in the Committee. As a result, the Committee on November 30 established a subcommittee (U.S.S.R., France, United Kingdom, and United States, with the Assembly President as chairman) to seek by private discussion to formulate mutually acceptable proposals which all four Great Powers could recommend to the Political Committee. Ambassador Philip C. Jessup of the United States stated that the Three Powers were encouraged by the fact that Mr. Vyshinsky finally had agreed to participate in the disarmament subcommittee but pointed out that the intransigence revealed in the Soviet delegate's statements before and after adoption of the resolution creating the subcommittee made it clear that the task ahead would not be easy.

### *Subcommittee Report*

The subcommittee started work on December 3, and on December 10 Assembly President Luis Padilla Nervo of Mexico reported the results of its 10 private sessions to the Political Committee. The report was divided into two parts covering areas of agreement and areas of disagreement.

The Four Powers agreed that the general objective of the program should be to lift from the peoples of the world the burden of increasing armaments and the fear of war and to liberate new energies and resources for positive programs of reconstruction and redevelopment. They agreed that a new Commission should be established to take the place of the Atomic Energy Commission and the Commission for Conventional Armaments. The United States, France, and the United Kingdom agreed to accept the Soviet proposal that the Commission should be called the Atomic Energy and Conventional Armaments Commission. All four powers agreed that the new Commission should be under the Security Council, and they also reached agreement on its membership and rules of procedure. They agreed that the Commission should prepare proposals or measures to be embodied in a draft treaty or treaties but disagreed about the objectives which these proposals or measures were intended to achieve.

There was a considerable area of agreement with regard to the following terms of reference of the Commission:

(1) All armed forces, including paramilitary, security, and police forces, and all armaments, including atomic, should be included in the Commission's area of work; (2) there should be full disclosure of information regarding all armaments and all armed forces, although there were some differences regarding publication of this information; (3) verification including inspection should be applied to all armed forces and all armaments, although there were serious differences as to the extent of such verification and inspection; (4) there should be safeguards to insure fulfillment of the program, but there was serious disagreement as to their extent.

While the members of the subcommittee agreed that the Commission should draft conventions or treaties, the Three Powers wanted the Commission to submit drafts to a world conference whenever any part of the Commission's program was ready; whereas the U. S. S. R. wanted to set impractical time limits within which the Commission would submit the draft treaties to the Security Council. All four powers agreed that there should be an international control organ, with its composition, rights, and duties defined in a draft convention. Finally, the members of the subcommittee agreed that there should be a world conference to include all states, United Nations members and nonmembers, to consider these draft treaties, but there was considerable difference of opinion regarding the time and the method of convening the world conference as well as disagreement on the meaning of the tripartite proposition that the treaty must be ratified by all nations having "substantial" armed forces.

The areas of disagreement revealed serious and fundamental divergencies on points of major importance. The following were the principal points of disagreement:

1. The United States, France, and the United Kingdom believed that the necessary means for attaining the general objective was the development by the United Nations of comprehensive and coordinated plans, under international control, for the regulation, limitation, and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments to levels adequate for defense but not for aggression; and for the effective international control of atomic energy to insure the prohibition of atomic weapons and the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only.

The Soviet Union believed that the specific means for attaining the general objective were, first, a General Assembly declaration of an unconditional prohibition of production of atomic weapons; then,

establishing international control to enforce this prohibition of atomic weapons; and, finally, the one-third reduction of all armed forces and nonatomic armaments by the Big Five within one year. The Soviet Union opposed the idea of balanced reduction, arguing that this would postpone the actual decisions on reduction. Mr. Vyshinsky argued that the idea of reducing to levels adequate for defense but not for aggression might mean an increase of armaments and not a decrease and was not a concrete proposal to reduce armaments. He opposed the idea of effective international control to insure prohibition of atomic weapons on the ground that it did not provide for immediate and unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons, that it placed control before prohibition, and that unless there was prior prohibition there would be nothing to control.

The Soviet proposal for an immediate Assembly declaration of the unconditional prohibition of atomic weapon production was opposed by the Three Powers on the ground that until a system of control was in operation, the prohibition would be unenforceable and thus a source of danger to complying states. Furthermore the Soviet proposal that the Assembly should "declare" the establishment of strict international control over enforcement of the prohibition of atomic-weapon production was considered meaningless unless there was prior agreement on the precise nature of the control and unless the control system were actually in operation. As for the Soviet proposal that the Assembly recommend that the five Great Powers reduce their nonatomic armaments and armed forces by one-third within a year, the Western Powers pointed out that this slightly refurbished but old Soviet proposal had been rejected by every General Assembly since 1948; that it would preserve or possibly intensify the present imbalance strongly favoring the Soviet Union; that before the amount of reduction could be decided, there had to be verified information as to the existing state of armaments.

2. The second area of serious divergence concerned the principles for the guidance of the new Commission.

(a) *Atomic Energy Control*

While willing to examine other plans, the Three Powers declared that the United Nations plan for the international control of atomic energy and the prohibition of atomic weapons should continue to serve as the basis for the control of atomic energy unless and until a better or no less effective system could be devised. This plan had been carefully worked out over a long period of time and had been accepted by a vast majority of the United Nations.



The Soviet Union flatly refused to accept the United Nations plan, characterizing it as an infringement on national sovereignty, as setting up a monopolistic trust under United States control, and as postponing indefinitely the prohibition of atomic weapons. Mr. Vyshinsky argued that there had to be a prior Assembly resolution to prohibit atomic weapons before the United Nations could enforce or control any such prohibition. He admitted there would be a considerable time lag between an Assembly declaration of an unconditional ban on atomic weapons and the establishment of international control over the enforcement of that ban.

The Western Powers emphasized the length of this time lag between such an Assembly declaration and the actual implementation of any control over atomic energy. They asserted that inspection alone was not an adequate safeguard in terms of control. The General Assembly declaration banning atomic weapons would create a false illusion that such a ban was being respected, when in fact there had to be a prior effective international control of atomic energy to insure that atomic weapons were not being produced.

(b) *Stages of Disclosure and Verification*

The United States, the United Kingdom, and France maintained that there must be progressive and continuing disclosure and verification, carried out concurrently with regard to both conventional armaments and armed forces and atomic energy; that putting into effect this disclosure and verification was the first and indispensable step in carrying out the actual disarmament program.

The Soviet Union was absolutely opposed to the concept of stages in disclosure and verification. Mr. Vyshinsky argued this would result in indefinitely postponing disclosure on the most destructive and dangerous arms, such as atomic weapons. The Soviet representative brushed aside the point that these stages were necessary to give all nations safeguards by assuring that all would live up to their agreements and carry out each stage of disclosure and verification before going on to the next stage which would involve matters more dangerous to national security.

(c) *Directives To Be Given to the Commission*

The Three Powers maintained that the new Commission should have some guideposts in order to work out its plans and that these directives should be contained in the Commission's terms of reference.

The U. S. S. R. objected to the specific directives proposed by the Three Powers concerning formulation of criteria, proposals for overall limits of armed forces and armaments, and allocation of armed

forces and armaments within national military establishments. The Soviet Union insisted that, while the Commission might be given directives, this matter should be handled by instructing the Commission to prepare and submit to the Security Council within 3 months practical proposals for implementation of the General Assembly resolution.

### *Continuation of Political Committee Consideration*

On December 11 Minister of State Selwyn Lloyd of the United Kingdom, on behalf of the Three Powers, analyzed the results of the subcommittee discussions. He pointed out that, while Mr. Vyshinsky rejected the concept of stages in the tripartite proposals, the Soviet plan itself involved a succession of stages. The first stage would be the Assembly decision to prohibit atomic weapons and to establish an international control, but this decision would not bring about any control and the elaboration of such a control system would really be the second stage in the Soviet plan. This second stage would involve preparation of a convention on control by the new Commission, endorsement of the convention by the Security Council, acceptance by member states, and discussions and ratification by a world conference. The third stage in the Soviet plan would be the physical establishment of the control organ and the recruitment of its staff. During these three stages the security of the world, so far as atomic weapons were concerned, would depend solely upon the promises of individual governments. This was a position which the United Kingdom, France, and the United States could not accept.

Moreover the effect of the Soviet proposals was to separate atomic from conventional armaments, whereas the Western Powers maintained that these two fields required concurrent handling; that the consequences of devastation by nonatomic armaments should be avoided just as much as those caused by atomic attack. Mr. Lloyd remarked that, in effect, the Soviet position amounted to a demand that the Western Powers surrender immediately their chief weapon of defense, atomic armaments, leaving the Soviet Union in unrestricted possession of those instruments of aggression against the use of which the atomic weapons now served as a deterrent. Finally, the Soviet proposal for a one-third reduction of forces by the Great Powers could only exaggerate the existing lack of equilibrium now favoring the Soviet Union. Such a reduction could not contribute to peace unless it was known from what strength the Great Powers were reducing and to what levels they should reduce their forces.

Despite these disagreements, Mr. Lloyd said that the points upon which the Four Powers were agreed offered hope that progress might be made in the new Disarmament Commission which had been agreed upon as the proper body for further consideration of the disarmament question.

On December 13 the United Kingdom, France, and the United States tabled a revision of the tripartite resolution, seeking to meet a number of Soviet objections raised in the subcommittee meetings and also points made by other members of the Political Committee. Speaking for the Three Powers, Ambassador Philip C. Jessup, after explaining the reasons for the revised tripartite resolution, emphasized that the proposed program would benefit the people of the Soviet Union as much as all other peoples and reaffirmed the fixed desire and hope of the three sponsors of the resolution that the negotiations in the disarmament commission would result in agreement.

Additional draft resolutions and amendments to the revised tripartite resolution were then submitted by various states.

On December 19 the Political Committee adopted the revised tripartite resolution together with amendments added by Lebanon, Peru, and Yugoslavia. The resolution as a whole was adopted by a vote of 44 to 5 (Soviet bloc) with 10 abstentions. The committee rejected Soviet revisions consisting merely of some verbal changes in the old Soviet amendments, an Egyptian amendment calling upon the Assembly's Legal Committee to draft at once a treaty providing only for unconditional prohibition of the use of atomic weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction, a Polish draft resolution providing that the new Commission should be established with its only task that of considering the tripartite resolution and the Soviet amendments, and a Czechoslovak amendment which was word for word the same as the Polish resolution.

On January 11 the plenary session of the Assembly adopted the resolution by a vote of 42 in favor, 5 opposed, and 7 abstentions.

Following the vote, Ambassador Jessup explained the significance which the United States attached to the creation of the Disarmament Commission. He concluded by saying:

The members of the United Nations have made it plain that they view the character of the resolution before us as neither cynical nor visionary. Free men do not trifle with peace. They will fight if attacked. They will build their defenses when they feel that their existence is threatened. But they will always seek a world in which recourse to arms will be neither possible nor necessary. This is what we of the free world are doing today—building our strength because we must, planning for disarmament because we desire a world free from the danger of war. It will be the task of the Disarmament Commission to plan the



way to that better world. It is a task in which all have an equal stake. By our vote today, we have made a start upon that task.

The General Assembly, by this resolution, accomplished the following:

1. Established under the Security Council a Disarmament Commission, composed of the members of the Security Council plus Canada, which is to function under the rules of procedure of the Atomic Energy Commission with necessary modifications.

2. Directed the Disarmament Commission to prepare proposals to be embodied in a draft treaty (or treaties) for the (i) regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and armaments; (ii) elimination of all major weapons adaptable to mass destruction; (iii) effective international control of atomic energy to insure the prohibition of atomic weapons and the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only. The Commission is to be guided by certain principles:

(a) There must be progressive and continuing disclosure and verification of all armed forces (including paramilitary, security and police forces) and all armaments (including atomic).

(b) Such verification must be based upon effective international inspection, carried out in accordance with the decisions of the international control organ (or organs) which is to be established.

(c) The Commission shall be ready to consider any proposals or any plans for control that may be put forward involving either conventional armaments or atomic energy. Unless a better or no less effective system is devised, the United Nations plan for the international control of atomic energy and the prohibition of atomic weapons should continue to serve as the basis for the Commission's work in this field.

(d) There must be an adequate system of safeguards to insure observance of the disarmament program.

(e) The treaty (or treaties) shall specifically be open to all states for signing and ratification or adherence. The treaties shall provide what states must become parties thereto before the treaties enter into force.

3. Directed the Commission to draw up plans to establish an international control organ (or organs) within the framework of the Security Council in order to insure implementation of these treaties, with functions and powers defined in the treaty establishing the control organ.

4. Directed the Commission to consider from the outset plans for progressive and continuing disclosure and verification.

5. Directed the Commission to determine how over-all limits and restrictions on all armed forces and armaments could be calculated and fixed, and to consider methods according to which states could negotiate agreements concerning the determination of these over-all limits and restrictions and the allocation of permitted national armed forces and armaments within national military establishments.

6. Directed the Commission to commence work within 30 days, reporting periodically to the Security Council and the General Assembly, and submitting its first report by June 1, 1952.

7. Declared that a conference of all states should be convened to consider the proposals for the draft treaty or treaties prepared by the Commission, as soon as the Commission believes any part of its program is ready for submission to governments.

### *"New" Soviet Proposals*

In the plenary session of the General Assembly at which the disarmament resolution was adopted on January 11, Mr. Vyshinsky announced that the Soviet Union would submit considerable modifications of its disarmament proposals in the Political Committee in connection with consideration of a Soviet omnibus resolution dealing with the North Atlantic Treaty, Korea, and a peace pact as well as with disarmament proposals. The next day the Soviet Union introduced a revised draft resolution in the Committee, nearly identical with its previous proposals, save for the following three major points:

1. It called for prohibition of atomic weapons and institution of international control over the enforcement of this prohibition, both to be put into effect simultaneously.

2. As previously, it called upon all states to submit within one month complete official data on the situation of their armaments and armed forces but added to this a provision that data on military bases in foreign territories should be included.

3. It provided that the international control organ (which in the Soviet plan was to carry out the General Assembly's decision prohibiting atomic weapons, the reduction of armaments and armed forces, and verification of the data submitted on armaments and armed forces) should have the right to conduct inspection "on a continuing basis; but it shall not be entitled to interfere in the domestic affairs of States."

Both British Minister of State Selwyn Lloyd and United States Ambassador Ernest A. Gross suggested that the proper place to

study these Soviet proposals was in the new Disarmament Commission which had just been created by the General Assembly. They assured the Soviet Union that its proposals would receive full and honest examination in this Commission in the hope that they represented real grounds for progress.

Ambassador Gross promised that the United States would present important proposals to the Disarmament Commission and hoped other governments would do so. With respect to the changes in the Soviet draft, he pointed out that the Soviet resolution left unanswered the critical question of why the Soviet Union continued to insist on a General Assembly paper proclamation prohibiting atomic weapons; and that the new Soviet language, conceding that the prohibition of atomic weapons and the introduction of atomic control should be put into effect simultaneously, did not answer this question. He referred to previous Soviet proposals, as early as 1948, calling for simultaneous prohibition of atomic weapons and establishment of control systems, which had been rejected by the Assembly because the control systems advocated by the Soviet Union had been found to be inadequate. Furthermore the Soviet proposal giving the international control organ the right to inspection on a continuing basis was strongly conditioned by Soviet insistence that the control organ should not be entitled to interfere in the domestic affairs of states. This provision could be utilized to render totally ineffective any system of control and inspection, since it was subject to the interpretation that the state itself would determine whether inspection of an armaments facility interfered in its domestic affairs. Next, the Soviet draft continued to advocate a one-third reduction in armaments and armed forces of the Big Five Powers, a proposal often rejected by the Assembly because this would exaggerate the existing imbalance of power favoring the Soviet Union and would be useless as a method of reducing present international tensions. Finally, as for the proposal that all states should submit information on their armaments and armed forces within a month, the General Assembly had already expressed its conviction that what was needed was careful elaboration by the Disarmament Commission of a system of progressive and continuing disclosure of information which could be verified by an international inspectorate. Such a system obviously could not be organized and put into effect within one month.

Thereupon, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States introduced a draft resolution by which the General Assembly would refer to the Disarmament Commission the Soviet disarmament pro-



posals and the record of their consideration in the Assembly, together with any other proposals made during the Assembly session on matters falling within the terms of reference of the Commission. The General Assembly adopted this tripartite resolution on January 19 by a vote of 40 to 5 with 3 abstentions.

On February 4, 1952, the Disarmament Commission held its first meeting in Paris and started work on the important tasks laid upon it by the General Assembly.

## PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT AND OTHER EFFORTS TO IMPROVE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

In addition to pushing ahead with the general programs of collective security and disarmament, the United Nations continued to place great emphasis on efforts to alleviate or resolve specific political problems by peaceful means. The Charter recognizes the importance of peaceful processes as a primary means for the maintenance of international peace and security. Such processes as negotiation, conciliation, mediation, and judicial settlement provide peaceful methods for adjusting and settling differences among states, thereby helping to reduce international tensions and prevent a resort to violence.

During 1951 and early 1952 the United Nations dealt with a number of specific political problems in an effort to improve international relations. Some were essentially "cold war" issues involving hostile Soviet-bloc activities against Yugoslavia and Greece, respectively, and the continued division of Germany. Many other problems reflected, in varying degree, nationalist movements for political independence, for economic autonomy and development, and for social equality in various parts of the world. These forces were manifested in such political problems as the British-Iranian dispute, Palestine, Kashmir, Morocco, the treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa, and the disposition of the Italian colonies. Still others, such as the problems concerning China, involved many difficult and complex factors.

### *China*

Three problems involving China were carried over from previous years into 1951—(1) the charge by the National Government of China

that the Soviet Union had violated the Sino-Soviet treaty of 1945; (2) the question of Chinese representation in the United Nations; and (3) Formosa.

#### SINO-SOVIET TREATY VIOLATIONS

On February 1, 1952, the sixth session of the General Assembly formally determined that the Soviet Union had "failed to carry out" its treaty of friendship and alliance of August 14, 1945, with the National Government of China. This finding resulted from Chinese National Government charges of Soviet treaty violations which had been before two previous Assembly sessions for consideration. The matter had been referred to the Assembly's Interim Committee, which had been unable to complete its investigation, largely because events in Korea had kept the fifth session of the Assembly in session and prevented the Interim Committee from meeting during 1951.

The matter came before the sixth session of the General Assembly in January 1952, when the Political Committee took up the Chinese charges. Tingfu Tsiang speaking for the Chinese National Government placed particular emphasis upon two clauses of the treaty and agreements of August 14, 1945, as follows:

1. Article 5, which provides that the contracting parties "agree . . . to act in accordance with the principles of mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-intervention in each other's internal affairs."

2. An exchange of notes relating to the treaty of friendship and alliance which stated that the "Soviet Government agrees to render China moral support and assist her with military supplies and other material resources, it being understood that this support and assistance will go exclusively to the National Government as the central Government of China."

Dr. Tsiang traced the Soviet violations of the letter and spirit of the treaty which began almost immediately after the conclusion of the agreements. The Soviet Government, he said, had prevented the reestablishment of Chinese national authority in Manchuria and, instead, had helped the Chinese Communists to assume control of important areas of Manchuria. The Soviet command in Manchuria had cooperated with the Chinese Communists so that they might occupy important points in the wake of Soviet withdrawal and fall heir to stocks of Japanese arms.

Dr. Tsiang charged that the Soviet Union, having secured special rights and privileges in China's three eastern provinces under the 1945 agreements, began the progressive absorption of northern China. He described the successive steps of Soviet absorption with respect to Tannu Tuva, Outer Mongolia, Sinkiang, and the three eastern provinces. This process was well advanced in Outer Mongolia despite the Soviet pledge "to respect the political independence and territorial integrity of Outer Mongolia." Moreover, Dr. Tsiang asserted that the process of absorption is observable in Manchuria, which under Soviet pressure has become a political unit by itself, semidetached from the rest of China. Turning to the province of Sinkiang, Dr. Tsiang pointed to Mr. Molotov's assurances in 1945 to the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs: "With regard to recent events in Sinkiang, the Soviet Government confirms that, as stated in Article 5 of the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance, it has no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of China." Subsequently, he said, political, economic, and military pressure had made Sinkiang in fact a colony of the Soviet Union.

The Chinese delegate then described the Sovietization of mainland China, especially in the cultural field, where he pointed to the exclusion of old classics of China from the curriculum of schools and to the role of Soviet cultural advisers. Dr. Tsiang stressed the burdens imposed upon the Chinese people in being forced to serve the Communist cause in Korea. The Sovietization of China has been promoted by Moscow, he charged, not only for the sake of the resources of China but also for expansion beyond China's southern and southwestern borders. Along the whole frontier, he continued, from Tibet in the extreme west to Kwangsi and Kwangtung in the southeast, political and military preparations have been made for further expansion.

In view of these facts the delegate of China proposed a resolution which, as amended, by the General Assembly "determines that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in her relations with China since the surrender of Japan, has violated the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of 14 August 1945."

The Soviet delegate sought to dismiss the charges on the ground that "there is no government which offers this libel and this pettifoggery and consequently this treaty does not exist either."



John Sherman Cooper of the United States pointed out that the Soviet defense "centered around the frivolous contention that a government which the Soviet Union does not recognize and which it does not want in the United Nations has no legal right to press a charge of this sort. It is a contention without morality or without ethics because in effect it says that the perpetrator of a crime cannot be condemned if he says the victim is dead."

There was a feeling among some delegations, reflected in the abstentions on the final vote and expressed by Selwyn Lloyd of the United Kingdom, that the Chinese complaint was today of only "academic importance." Approval of the resolution, according to this view, could not change the situation in China but might aggravate tensions instead.

To this argument Mr. Cooper replied that the General Assembly in passing upon the charges submitted by the Chinese delegation would concern itself with the future as well as with the past. A resolution would not restore to the Chinese people control over their great destiny, but it would be a pronouncement by the United Nations of its insistence upon the solemnity of international obligations and its concern that they be observed. It was relevant and important that the Assembly express its moral judgment on the violation of this treaty in the hope that it might deter other treaty violations in the future. The United States, continued Mr. Cooper, had independent sources of information in China during the early postwar years and through those sources could corroborate the charge of treaty violation. The most obvious violation of the treaty of 1945 was that described by the Pauley Commission, the looting of Manchuria during the period of Soviet occupation in violation of the economic promises and basic purposes of the treaty. Further the Wedemeyer report stated, "The Chinese Government's position in Manchuria has been seriously weakened by Soviet actions," and gave evidence along the lines cited by Dr. Tsiang. In light of this first-hand information, Mr. Cooper said the United States could only conclude that—

Pledged to friendship and alliance, the Soviet Union was hostile. Pledged to assist, it refused assistance. Pledged to cooperate, it obstructed. Pledged to provide material resources, it gave none, but seized those of China. Pledged to support the legal Government of China, it gave its aid to the Communist armies.

The Political Committee approved the Chinese resolution by 24 votes to 9 with 25 abstentions, and the plenary meeting on February 1, 1952, approved it by a vote of 25 to 9 with 24 abstentions.

## SOUTHEAST ASIA

On January 28, 1952, Mr. Cooper recalled that Soviet Foreign Minister Vyshinsky on January 3 had alleged that the Chinese Communist regime was the victim of aggression and was subjected to danger constantly on the part of the United States and certain other United Nations members. Reports that the United States planned to maintain Chinese National troops "on the borders of Thailand, Burma, Vietnam and Yunnan Province," Mr. Cooper said, were charges that were, of course, entirely false and without foundation. He referred to accusations leveled against the United States and other free governments by the Soviet spokesman in an effort to justify Communist aggression in Korea. Mr. Cooper said:

I am sure that all of the peace-loving states represented here must share the concern of my Government over the threat of further Communist aggression in Asia which may be latent in the Soviet representative's statement of January 3. At this time I must, on instructions of my Government, state clearly that any such Communist aggression in Southeast Asia would, in the view of my Government, be a matter of direct and grave concern which would require the most urgent and earnest consideration by the United Nations.

The United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, and the Philippines associated themselves with the United States statement. The French representative said that any intervention from outside to support forces which the French and Vietnamese were now fighting would call for immediate intervention on the part of the United Nations.

The Burmese delegate informed the Political Committee that it did not appear that the Chinese National troops in Burma were being maintained by governments other than the National Government. He said that in conversations with the American Embassy at Rangoon the Burmese Government had accepted assurances that the United States Government had nothing to do with these troops. He added that any attempt to make Burma a base would be resisted and that, while he welcomed statements concerning Communist aggression in Southeast Asia made by the United States and other delegates, he hoped that these statements were not limited to a possible Communist aggression.

The United States delegate later replied that aggression anywhere in the world was of concern to the United States as a loyal member of the United Nations and that the United States did not view aggression as being susceptible of measurement by a double standard.

## CHINESE REPRESENTATION IN THE UNITED NATIONS

Throughout 1951 the question of Chinese representation continued to confront the United Nations. As in 1950 the Soviet bloc, with the support of certain other countries which recognized the Chinese Communist regime, submitted proposals in the United Nations and certain specialized agencies calling for the unseating of representatives of the National Government of China and the seating of representatives of the Peiping regime. The United States strongly opposed all these proposals. The large majority of United Nations members continued to recognize the National Government of China and shared the United States view on the Chinese representation issue. In addition, some of the members which recognized the Chinese Communist regime refused to support the Soviet-bloc proposals, believing that the armed intervention of this regime against United Nations forces in Korea made it inappropriate to consider seating Chinese Communist representatives.

The fifth session of the General Assembly had established a Special Committee to consider the Chinese representation question, but such consideration was not undertaken because of the Korean situation. After rejecting a Polish draft resolution designed to replace the National Government representatives by Communist representatives, the Committee decided on October 16, 1951, to report that under the circumstances it was unable to make any recommendation. When the Assembly President proposed on November 5 that the fifth session of the Assembly merely take note of this report, the Soviet representative countered with a draft resolution to refer consideration of the representation question to the sixth session opening the next day. The Assembly rejected this Soviet draft resolution by 20 votes to 11 with 11 abstentions, and thereupon approved the President's suggestion to take note of the Special Committee's report.

Upon the opening of the sixth session of the Assembly, the Soviet Union again demanded the inclusion of the Chinese representation question on the Assembly's agenda. The General Committee on November 10, 1951, adopted a Thailand resolution recommending that the Assembly reject the Soviet request and postpone consideration, for the duration of the meeting in Paris of the sixth regular session, of any further proposals to exclude representatives of the National Government of China from the Assembly or to seat representatives of the Chinese Communist regime. During the Assembly debate on this



recommendation Secretary Acheson expressed strong opposition to the Soviet proposal and said:

I think that the minds of all of us—or almost all of us, at any rate—revolt at the necessity or the proposal even that we should be called upon to debate and consider here the seating of a regime at the very moment when that regime is engaged in defying to the greatest extent that it possibly can the authority of this General Assembly and of this world organization; at a time when that regime is engaged with its troops in killing the countrymen of at least a score of delegations seated in this hall—those countrymen are defending the cause, the prestige, the honor of the United Nations and the cause of world peace—that we should consider this at a time when this regime is under indictment by this very organization in which it is now proposed to sit—under indictment as a party to aggression in Korea; that we should consider seating this regime at the very time when its international conduct is so low that it would take considerable improvement to raise it to the general level of barbarism.

On November 13 the Assembly approved the General Committee's recommendation by 37 votes to 11 with 4 abstentions. A Byelorussian effort to move reconsideration of this decision was defeated on December 7, 1951, by a vote of 39 to 7 with 4 abstentions.

Similar unsuccessful attempts have been made in other bodies of the United Nations and specialized agencies to exclude Chinese National Government representatives or to seat Chinese Communists. Since January 1950, when the Chinese representation question was first raised, this issue has been voted upon approximately 90 times in some 50 organs and bodies of the United Nations and specialized agencies. Only one body, the Executive and Liaison Committee of the Universal Postal Union, has seated Chinese Communists, but it subsequently reversed its action and adopted a United States proposal to seat the representative of the Chinese National Government. All the rest of these organs and bodies have consistently refused to seat Chinese Communists or unseat Chinese National Government representatives. In most cases during 1951, those bodies competent to consider the question decided to postpone consideration of the matter pending a decision of the General Assembly or because of the international conduct of the Chinese Communist regime. Consequently representatives of the Chinese National Government continued to represent China in every United Nations and specialized agency body in which China participated.

#### FORMOSA

In September 1950 the question of Formosa was placed on the agenda of the General Assembly. When the item came up in the

Political Committee on November 15, 1950, the Chinese Communist intervention in Korea had created a new situation which was under active consideration by the Security Council. Accordingly the Committee approved a United States proposal to postpone discussion in the Assembly in the hope that the situation would be further clarified.

When the question of Formosa was reached again in the Assembly on February 7, 1951, the United Kingdom proposed further postponement because, "in view of the unsettled nature of the situation in the Far East, any decision taken might give rise to misunderstanding at a later date." With the United States voting in favor of the proposal, it was adopted by a vote of 38 to 5 with 5 abstentions. The matter was not taken up at the sixth session of the Assembly in late 1951 and early 1952.

### *Germany*

The problem of German reunification was brought into the United Nations in 1951 after persistent Soviet obstruction of the protracted efforts to reach a satisfactory German peace settlement. The United States, France, and the United Kingdom, at the request of the German Federal Chancellor, asked the General Assembly on November 5 to consider the appointment of a United Nations commission to investigate the possibility of holding genuinely free elections throughout all Germany. The three Western Powers pointed out that they had advocated consistently since 1945 the reunification of Germany on democratic lines which would insure the reestablishment of a free German Nation able to play its part in the peaceful association of free European nations. They also called attention to their repeated proposals for Germany's unification through free all-German elections, all of which had been ignored or rejected by the Soviet and East German authorities.

On November 13, 1951, the Assembly voted 47 to 6 with 2 abstentions to place the item on its agenda and referred it to the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. At the first meeting of the Committee on December 4 on this question, the United States, France, and the United Kingdom jointly introduced a draft resolution proposing the creation of a Commission to make a simultaneous investigation in the Federal Republic of Germany, Berlin, and Soviet zone of Germany to ascertain and report whether conditions in those areas were such as to make possible the holding of genuinely free and secret elections. The Commission, under the terms of the resolution, would make specific inquiry into the

constitutional provisions in force with reference to individual freedom and particularly regarding the degree to which, in practice, the individual enjoyed freedom of movement, freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention, and freedom of association and assembly.

After hearing statements from representatives of the Western and Eastern zones of Germany and of the sectors of Berlin, the Committee began general debate. Former Senator John Sherman Cooper of the United States summed up the purposes that the tripartite resolution sought to achieve as follows:

The object of this resolution is to secure the aid of the United Nations in taking a necessary step toward the unification of Germany. The unification of Germany is, as every one of us knows, the most profound wish of the German people. In this case, their wish accords with the fundamental interest of the United Nations—the preservation and promotion of peace.

A divided Germany must always endanger the stability of Europe. A united Germany, democratic and non-aggressive in practice and spirit, would reduce the tensions and fears of the people of both Western and Eastern Europe. It could remove one of the major differences between the three Western Powers and the Soviet Union. The unification of Germany will mark a substantial advance toward peace.

The Soviet Union opposed the proposal for the appointment of the Commission on the ground that the United Nations under article 107 of the Charter is not competent to deal with the German problem and that the four occupying powers and the German people themselves should find a solution.

The Committee refused to accept the Soviet position and on December 19 voted 45 to 6 with 8 abstentions to set up a Commission composed of representatives of Brazil, Iceland, the Netherlands, Pakistan, and Poland. The Commission was given the power not only to determine through investigation whether conditions existed throughout Germany making possible free elections but also to recommend, after investigation, steps which might be taken to establish such conditions. In the resolution creating the Commission the United Nations declared its readiness, after being satisfied that conditions throughout Germany made possible the holding of free elections, to offer its assistance in guaranteeing freedom of elections.

On December 20, the General Assembly passed the resolution by a vote of 45 to 6 with 8 abstentions.

Poland announced that it would not participate in the activities of the Commission and thus far the Soviet zone authorities have opposed the Assembly action. But the United States, as the American representative pointed out in explaining the affirmative vote of our delega-



tion, considered it important to leave the door open for the Eastern zone authorities to change their minds "when it becomes evident to the Soviet Government that its refusal to let the Commission in provides too startling a contrast with its professed devotion to the idea of German unity."

For this reason and because the West Germans and the Western occupying powers are prepared to cooperate, the other four members went ahead to organize the Commission. On February 23 the Commission sent a communication to the chairman of the Allied High Commission in Germany, requesting that arrangements be made to hold meetings in mid-March between members of the Commission and the appropriate authorities to discuss "the arrangements deemed necessary by the Commission to enable it to undertake its work." The authorities of the Federal Republic and of the Western sections of Berlin responded promptly, designating officials to carry on the desired discussions. On the other hand, the Soviet zone authorities by March 1952 had failed to make any official response although they had given the impression through their controlled press that they did not intend to cooperate with the Commission.

### *Greece*

By 1951 the situation involving Greece and its Communist neighbors in the Balkans had improved considerably, but dangerous tensions continued to exist. The Cominform, having failed to overthrow the Greek Government by guerrilla warfare, undertook highly organized subversive activities looking toward the same eventual objective. In addition, the Soviet bloc continued to hold captive some 25,000 Greek children and several thousand adults who had been removed by the Communist Greek guerrillas during the period of their active warfare in northern Greece.

The United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans (UNSCOB) continued its dual efforts to promote better relations between Greece and its Balkan neighbors and to watch over the northern Greek borders as a means of discouraging further Cominform interference with internal Greek affairs. While its conciliation efforts remained frustrated by Soviet-bloc intransigence, the Special Committee's observation services continued to be of value both as a deterrent factor and as a source of accurate, impartial reports on the Greek border situation.

In its report to the sixth session of the General Assembly, covering the period from August 1, 1950, to August 1, 1951, the Special Com-

mittee noted a steady improvement in relations between Greece and Yugoslavia, which was exemplified by the restoration of full diplomatic relations in late 1950, by the repatriation of a significant number of Greek children, and by the conclusion of various trade and communications agreements. In contrast, the report cited evidences of continuing concerted efforts by the Cominform countries to reorganize a militant Greek Communist movement. It noted that Albania and Bulgaria continued their refusal to permit any international verification of the disarming and disposition of the Greek guerrillas which had fled into their territories in 1949 and that the two northern states had taken no steps to facilitate the repatriation of Greek military personnel held in their territories or other Greek nationals who desired to return to Greece. In addition, the Special Committee's report called attention to the continued activities of the Greek guerrilla radio in Rumania, which persisted in broadcasting propaganda hostile to Greece together with instructions to Communist groups within Greece. The report showed that since the military defeat of the Greek guerrillas in 1949 the guerrilla movement had merely changed its tactics, reverting to underground agitation and organization without abandoning its ultimate objective—the eventual overthrow of the Greek Government.

From the evidence available to it the Special Committee drew the conclusion that aid and encouragement to the Greek guerrilla movement continued to come not only from Albania and Bulgaria but also from other central and eastern European states which cooperated in making possible the instruction, equipment, and clandestine introduction into Greece of guerrilla agents. The Committee further concluded that the threat to Greece had changed in character since 1949 but that serious tension continued in the Balkan area and that, therefore, continuing vigilance on the part of the United Nations would be advisable. In light of these conclusions, the Special Committee recommended that the General Assembly reaffirm its past recommendations on peaceful settlement of the disputes between Greece and her northern neighbors and that the Assembly “consider the advisability of maintaining United Nations vigilance over the Balkans in the light of the present nature of the threat to Greece in that area.”

The sixth session of the General Assembly took action on both major aspects of the Greek problem: (1) the continuation of United Nations observation and (2) the question of repatriating Greek children from the Soviet bloc countries.

## UNITED NATIONS OBSERVATION

The Assembly's *Ad Hoc* Political Committee considered two main draft resolutions, one providing for the termination of the Special Committee, and the other providing for the establishment of a sub-commission of the Peace Observation Commission which could provide observation in any area of tension in the Balkans upon the request of any state in the area. During the Committee discussion, United States representative Benjamin V. Cohen stated that United Nations vigilance along the Greek frontiers, maintained through UNSCOB, had been "an important and powerful factor in deterring would-be aggressors against Greece from enlarging the scope of their hostile activities against that country," adding that "such threat as remains is now part of the general tension in the Balkan area. Though Greece may be less immediately threatened than before, and though UNSCOB's work was essentially finished," he said, "it would be rash in view of the tension in the Balkan area to assume that vigilance was no longer necessary." The United Nations, accordingly, would be well advised to make specific provision "for the instant renewal of observation anywhere in the Balkans, on the request of any state or states concerned." The United States believed that the best means of doing this, Mr. Cohen continued, was to authorize the creation of a small subcommission of the Peace Observation Commission which would sit at United Nations headquarters at New York and which could furnish observers on the request of any state in the area.

On November 23 the Committee approved the two draft resolutions designed to effectuate this transfer of functions and decisively rejected a Soviet draft resolution calling for "the cessation of interference" in Greece by the United States, a general amnesty in Greece, the annulment of all death sentences passed on Greek "democrats," the establishment of diplomatic relations between Greece and Albania and between Greece and Bulgaria, and the immediate dissolution of UNSCOB.

At a plenary meeting on December 7 the Assembly adopted the two draft resolutions approved by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee by a vote of 48 to 5 with 1 abstention. The first resolution approved the current UNSCOB report, expressed appreciation and gratitude for the services of UNSCOB's members and observers, and provided for the termination of UNSCOB within 60 days. The second resolution requested the Peace Observation Commission to establish a Balkan



subcommission of three to five members, with its seat at United Nations headquarters in New York, with authority—

(a) To dispatch such observers as it may deem necessary to any area of international tension in the Balkans on the request of any State or States concerned, but only to the territory of States consenting thereto;

(b) To visit, if it deems necessary, any area in which observation requested under sub-paragraph (a) is being conducted;

(c) To consider such data as may be submitted to it by its members or observers and to make such reports as it deems necessary to the Peace Observation Commission and to the Secretary-General for the information of Member States.

In accordance with this latter resolution, the Peace Observation Commission (composed of China, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, France, India, Iraq, Israel, New Zealand, Pakistan, Sweden, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Uruguay) met in Paris on January 23, 1952. Over the opposition of the Czechoslovak and Soviet representatives, it established a five-member Balkan subcommission, which for the calendar year 1952 is composed of Colombia, France, Pakistan, Sweden, and the United States. The same day the Greek Government requested of the new Balkan subcommission "the immediate dispatch of observers to the frontier areas of Greece." The subcommission held its first meeting on January 31 in Paris and accepted the Greek Government's request for observation. The subcommission invited the Governments of Colombia, France, Pakistan, Sweden, and the United States each to make available one observer and the United Kingdom Government to provide the principal observer, who was instructed to submit periodic and special reports as necessary. Five days later, on February 5, UNSCOB came to an end, having completed as much of its task as the situation permitted.

#### GREEK CHILDREN

As to the problem of unrepatriated Greek children, it is of interest that the Soviet bloc did not deny harboring them. Among the numerous letters from these states to the United Nations Secretary-General, a Czechoslovak communication of September 19, 1951, referred to the "generosity of the People's Democracies in offering hospitality, instruction, and education to the thousands of Greek children sent there by their parents at a time when civil war was raging and Fascism was bringing famine, poverty, and unbridled terror to Greece." These children were sent to the "People's Democracies" at the request of

their own parents, according to the Czechoslovak statement, and "the great majority of these parents, with few exceptions, fled as refugees and are now with their children in the People's Democracies." However, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies had carefully investigated the matter in connection with their efforts to assist in repatriation. The Czechoslovak letter admitted that the International Committee of the Red Cross had submitted to the "People's Democracies" lists of requests from parents in Greece for the return of 9,839 children, but attempted to cover up this discrepancy by charging that these various Red Cross agencies were "completely biased" in favor of the "Fascist" Greek Government.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations, reporting to the Assembly on November 8, 1951, referred to the lengthy efforts of the International Red Cross organizations to bring about the repatriation of the Greek children and described the further efforts of the Standing Committee on the Repatriation of Greek Children (Peru, Philippines, and Sweden) and of himself to the same end. "Every attempt has been made, through the machinery of the United Nations and the International Red Cross organizations, to discover an opening through which some progress, however small, could be made," he stated, "but such an opening has not been found, and, in fact, communications in a number of instances have not even been answered." Speaking for the Standing Committee and himself, the Secretary-General concluded by recommending that the General Assembly "consider taking immediate steps to bring the various parties together," by inviting the governments directly concerned to have representatives discuss with the Standing Committee the best means for repatriating the Greek children.

The three states represented on the Standing Committee accordingly introduced in the Assembly's *Ad Hoc* Political Committee on November 21, 1951, a draft resolution calling for such consultation, if possible not later than December 15. The Committee approved this step on November 26 by a vote of 49 to 0 with the 5 Soviet-bloc members abstaining. The Governments of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Rumania were invited to designate representatives to meet with the Standing Committee in Paris. Bulgaria and Hungary did not even reply to the invitation, and Rumania refused to participate. A Czechoslovak representative met with the Standing Committee which, on January 26, 1952, reported its unproductive discussions with him. Therefore, the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee resumed consideration of the question of the Greek children on January 29, and, after favorable Committee action, a plenary meeting of the Assembly on

February 2, 1952, adopted a resolution introduced by the Dominican Republic.

This resolution "viewed with concern" the fact that, of the countries harboring Greek children, only Yugoslavia had taken the necessary steps to enable such children to return to their homes; recognized that the United Nations must continue its efforts in this matter; thanked the International Committee of the Red Cross, the League of Red Cross Societies, the Standing Committee, and the Secretary-General for their efforts; expressed the hope that it would be possible to make rapid progress with the repatriation of the Greek children in Czechoslovakia; "deeply regrets" that other states (i.e., Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania) had declined to consult with the Standing Committee; considered that the "technical and other grounds advanced" by noncooperating countries for nonreturn were inadequate in respect of children for whose repatriation requests had been submitted and verified by the International Red Cross organizations; urged all countries holding them to return such children; decided to continue the Standing Committee; requested the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies to continue their work "for this humanitarian purpose"; and requested further progress reports from the International Red Cross organizations and the Secretary-General.

### *Iran*

The dispute between the United Kingdom and Iran, which arose from the effect of the Iranian Government's oil nationalization law of May 1, 1951, on the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, was brought into the United Nations in an effort to facilitate a peaceful settlement.

At British request, the International Court of Justice on July 5 indicated provisional measures, pending its final decision, designed to insure against any action which might prejudice the rights of either party, aggravate or extend the dispute, or hinder the carrying on of the industrial and commercial operations of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. The Court also said there should be established by Iranian-British agreement a board of supervision, composed of two representatives appointed by each party and a fifth member who would be a national of a third state, to insure that the company's operations would be carried out in accordance with the provisional measures indicated by the Court. The United Kingdom accepted the



Court's order on July 6. The Government of Iran on July 9 communicated its rejection of the interim measures and withdrew its acceptance of the Court's compulsory jurisdiction.

Despite protracted efforts at mediation by W. Averell Harriman, special representative of the President of the United States, the negotiations between the United Kingdom and Iran had reached an impasse in late September. On September 25 the Iranian Government announced it was requiring the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's staff remaining at Abadan to leave the country by October 4. On September 28 the United Kingdom requested the Security Council to take up its complaint that Iran had failed to comply with the provisional measures indicated by the International Court of Justice. The British request was accompanied by a draft resolution which called upon the Government of Iran "to act in all respects in conformity with the provisional measures indicated by the Court and in particular to permit the continued residence at Abadan of the staff affected by the recent expulsion order, or the equivalent of such staff," and "to inform the Security Council of the steps taken by it to carry out the present situation."

On October 1 the Security Council decided by a vote of 9 to 2 (U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia) to admit the item to its agenda, after discussing the question whether the Council was competent to consider the case. The Soviet Union and Yugoslavia maintained the matter was essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of Iran and therefore not appropriate for Council action. Most of the representatives who favored placing the British item on the Council agenda stressed that they approved this procedure without prejudging the competence of the Council. The Iranian representative contended throughout the deliberations that the Council was incompetent to consider the question. At this meeting Sir Gladwyn Jebb announced that arrangements had been made for the evacuation of all remaining British personnel from Abadan on October 3.

At the request of Iran the Security Council session scheduled for October 11 was postponed until October 15. During this period attempts to reopen negotiations between the British and Iran continued as various officials of the United States and Secretary-General Lie met with Prime Minister Mosadeq, who had arrived in New York on October 8 to present the Iranian case.

At this stage the original British draft resolution, apparently directed toward reestablishing the *status quo* in Abadan, had been

overtaken by events, since the evacuation of Abadan personnel was completed on October 4. When the Security Council met again on October 15 the British introduced a revised resolution which called for the "resumption of negotiations at the earliest practicable moment in order to make further efforts to resolve the differences between the parties in accordance with the principles of the provisional measures indicated by the International Court of Justice," and for the "avoidance of any action which would have the effect of further aggravating the situation or prejudicing the rights, claims, or positions of the parties concerned." Premier Mosadeq followed with a statement which reaffirmed his Government's position that the Security Council had no jurisdiction to hear the case. He appealed to the Council to assist Iran in its struggle to recover its economic independence.

The following day a joint amendment to the British resolution was submitted by India and Yugoslavia deleting reference to the action taken by the International Court, to the provisional measures indicated by the Court in the operative part of the resolution, and to the rights and claims of the parties concerned. The United Kingdom indicated its willingness to accept these amendments.

However, when the Security Council reconvened on October 19 it became clear that the 7 votes necessary to pass the resolution, as amended, could not be attained. Instead, the Council adopted a French proposal by a vote of 8 to 1 (U.S.S.R.), with 2 abstentions (United States and Yugoslavia), postponing further consideration until the International Court had ruled on its competence in the case. Therefore the case has remained on the Security Council agenda.

The scene of activity now shifted back to the Court. On November 21, 1951, Iran appointed a representative to the International Court and subsequently requested the Court to grant an extension of the time limit within which the Iranian Government was to deposit a counter memorial or a preliminary objection. Several postponements were granted in early 1952. Meanwhile the United Nations continued its attempts to find a just and workable solution through the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which on December 28 submitted various proposals for the consideration of the Iranian Government with a view to getting the oil industry back in operation. However, discussions between Bank representatives and Iranian officials were suspended in March 1952 without significant progress toward a solution of the oil problem.

*Italian Colonies (Former)*

During 1951 and early 1952 the United Nations took further steps toward bringing the former Italian colonies into new relationships with the international community along the lines determined by the General Assembly in 1949 and 1950 after the Four Powers (United States, France, United Kingdom, and U.S.S.R.) were unable to agree on the disposition of these colonies within the time limit set by the Italian peace treaty. The Assembly had determined that Libya would become an independent state by January 1, 1952; that Eritrea would become federated with Ethiopia by September 15, 1952; and that former Italian Somaliland would become independent after a 10-year period of Italian trusteeship under the United Nations.

## LIBYA

The most significant progress was the achievement of complete independence by Libya on December 24, 1951. Independence was achieved as the result of 2 years' work under the auspices of the United Nations Commissioner for Libya, Adrian Pelt of the Netherlands, and an advisory United Nations Council for Libya composed of representatives of the interim administering powers (France and the United Kingdom), the United States (represented by Ambassador Lewis Clark), Egypt, Pakistan, and Italy, and four Libyan representatives. The Commissioner prepared a plan setting forth the various stages by which the Libyans should develop their constitution and establish their own government. The plan and time schedule were generally reflected in a resolution adopted by the fifth session of the General Assembly on November 17, 1950.

The resolution recommended (1) that a National Assembly, representative of the inhabitants of Libya, be convened before January 1, 1951; that a provisional government be established, if possible, by April 1, 1951; and that the administering powers progressively transfer their powers so that by January 1, 1952, all powers would be exercised by the Libyan Government; (2) that the Commissioner, aided by the Council, draw up a program for the transfer of power by the administering powers to the provisional government; and (3) that the appropriate bodies of the United Nations extend technical and financial assistance to Libya in response to the latter's request.

Implementation of these provisions during 1951 was not an easy task. Internal problems made agreement on the constitution by the



Libyans themselves difficult. The bulk of Libya's population lived in Tripolitania, where there was a tendency to favor a unitary state. The Cyrenaicans, the second largest group but much less numerous than the Tripolitarians, insisted on a federal form of government with considerable authority left in provincial hands, particularly with respect to such matters as customs revenues.

### *Achievement of Independence*

The Libyan National Assembly first met on November 25, 1950, at Tripoli to draft a constitution for Libya. On December 2 it decided that the Libyan state should be federal in form and that it should be a monarchy with His Highness the Amir Mohammed Idris al Senussi of Cyrenaica as King.

On March 29, 1951, the Libyan National Assembly established the Provisional Federal Government of Libya, with Mahmoud Muntasser as Prime Minister. By September 1951 the committee on the constitution had transmitted its draft constitution to the National Assembly. However, continued disagreement on several points between Tripolitarians and Cyrenaicans within the National Assembly seriously threatened orderly progress toward statehood. These points included the choice of a capital of Libya, the extent of the constitutional powers of the federal parliament in relation to the King, the requisite majority for votes of censure in the lower legislative chamber, and the control of customs and immigration matters as between the federal government and the provincial governments.

After much discussion and negotiation, including the mediation of the United Nations Commissioner, the National Assembly unanimously adopted the whole of the constitution on October 7, 1951, and it was promulgated the same day. The question of the capital, the last problem to be resolved, was decided in favor of the Cyrenaican desire that both Tripoli in Tripolitania and Benghazi in Cyrenaica be capitals of the United Kingdom of Libya. The Fezzanese also accepted this arrangement.

Meanwhile consideration was being given to the method and timing of the transfer of powers by the administering powers (the United Kingdom and France) to the Provisional Libyan Government. It was decided that the various powers of government should be transferred progressively in groups, with the final group—including foreign relations and defense—to be transferred on the day of independence.

On October 12 the United Kingdom and France commenced the transfer of powers to the Provisional Libyan Government. The fourth and final group of powers was transferred on December 24, 1951, and later that day King Idris formally proclaimed the independence and sovereignty of the United Kingdom of Libya. The Provisional Government and the National Assembly ceased to exist and the constitution went into effect. The King designated Mahmoud Muntasser, Prime Minister in the Provisional Government, as Prime Minister of independent Libya. On its day of independence, Libya applied for membership in the United Nations in accordance with the aim expressed by the General Assembly in 1949. Nationwide elections, in accordance with the constitution, were held in February 1952, and the elected House of Representatives sat for the first time the following month. Thus the will of the General Assembly was translated into fact and within the time limit prescribed. It was indeed an historic achievement by the United Nations and by the Libyan people.

Meanwhile substantial progress had also been made in coping with the difficult economic problems arising from Libya's serious deficiency in natural resources and from its lack of technically trained personnel. As one of the world's poorest countries, Libya approached independence in 1951 facing the prospect of relatively large budget deficits and an adverse balance of payments. It was clear that the new state would require outside help to survive. The *way* in which outside assistance was to be furnished, however, proved to be a source of prolonged disagreement in the United Nations Council for Libya and elsewhere. The United States, the United Kingdom, France, and Italy considered that while the United Nations as such should contribute technical assistance to Libya, it should also be possible for individual countries to contribute financial and technical assistance on a bilateral basis. The Commissioner, on the other hand, expressing the fear that Libya might be dominated by any country or countries furnishing aid on a direct basis, at one time recommended a plan calling for the pooling of financial assistance and the supervision of this centralized operation by the United Nations. Egypt, a member of the Council for Libya, with similar ideas, also opposed the American-British-French-Italian view. However, only the United Kingdom, and France on a smaller scale, offered to contribute the financial aid (as distinct from technical assistance), which Libya could not do without, and their offers involved the bilateral method.

Accordingly on December 13, 1951, the Provisional Libyan Government and the United Kingdom concluded a provisional financial assistance agreement under which the United Kingdom would meet future Libyan Government deficits, would provide 100-percent sterling backing for the initial issue of Libyan currency, and would contribute 500,000 pounds to two Libyan Government finance and development agencies. At the same time the French Government concluded a similar provisional agreement with the Provisional Libyan Government providing for financial assistance to the Fezzan. As a part of these agreements, the British and French Governments were given a voice in naming financial and economic advisers to serve as Libyan officials.

In the field of technical assistance, a Libyan-American Technical Assistance Service was established under an agreement between the United States and the Provisional Libyan Government to provide Point Four aid under the Mutual Security Program. Members of the service began to arrive in Libya in November 1951, to initiate studies and planning. On independence day, December 24, 1951, the Libyan Government also concluded a basic technical assistance agreement and four supplementary agreements with the United Nations. This had the effect of continuing technical aid originally provided by the United Nations under agreements with the administering powers. The first supplementary agreement provided for the appointment of a United Nations resident technical assistance representative to coordinate United Nations technical assistance and to advise the Libyan Government on its economic, social, financial, and development programs.

#### *General Assembly Consideration*

This was the situation when the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee of the sixth session of the General Assembly took up the annual reports of the United Nations Commissioner and of the administering powers in Libya. The Committee considered the matter from January 23 to 28, 1952, with the Prime Minister of Libya, the Commissioner, and a representative of the Italian Government participating in the discussions. On the first day 12 powers (Australia, Chile, Denmark, Greece, Iraq, Liberia, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Peru, the Philippines, the United States, and Uruguay) jointly submitted a draft resolution "noting with appreciation" the part played by the Commissioner, the Council for Libya, and the administering powers in the achievement



of Libyan independence within the time limit and congratulating the people and the Government of Libya. The draft resolution requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the specialized agencies "to continue to extend to Libya, upon its request, such technical assistance as they may be in a position to render in accordance with the principles of their technical assistance programme"; and expressed the view that Libya "should now be admitted to the United Nations." This draft resolution, as far as it went, was generally acceptable to the other delegations, except that of the Soviet Union, which introduced an amendment, later rejected by the Committee, to delete the paragraph regarding Libyan admission to the United Nations.

The 12-power draft, however, did not go far enough for Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yemen, which jointly submitted amendments providing that individual financial contributions to Libya should be paid into a special United Nations account as a means of insuring international supervision or control over such contributions. The Arab cosponsors subsequently accepted three substitute Chilean paragraphs which (1) called on the Economic and Social Council to study "ways and means by which the United Nations, with the cooperation of all governments and the competent specialized agencies," could furnish financial assistance to Libya, "giving consideration to the possibility" of opening a special account for voluntary contributions and to report thereon to the seventh session of the General Assembly in late 1952; (2) requested the Secretary-General to give the Economic and Social Council "any assistance necessary to enable it to carry out that task"; and (3) requested the Secretary-General to give in his studies special attention to the economic problems of Libya.

Benjamin V. Cohen explained that the United States opposed the first and second Chilean paragraphs. He stated that the United Nations should avoid the establishment of special guidance or control in sovereign, independent Libya and pointed out that these paragraphs could only have the effect of putting pressure on the Libyan Government. However, the *Ad Hoc* Committee approved the two paragraphs as amendments to the 12-power resolution on January 28 by votes of 23-22-3 and 23-20-5. There was no opposition to the third Chilean paragraph. The Committee then unanimously approved the 12-power draft resolution as amended. The Soviet bloc did not participate in the voting after the Soviet amendment to delete the reference to Libyan admission to the United Nations had been rejected at the outset.

A Soviet draft resolution, referring to the "aggressive Atlantic Bloc" and calling for the withdrawal of all foreign military personnel and the closing of all foreign military bases in Libya, was rejected by the *Ad Hoc* Committee by votes of 38-5-10 and 32-6-14. A similar Egyptian draft resolution was defeated in the Committee by 29-13-11, with the Soviet bloc and several Arab states among the 13 supporters. Various countries, including Libya itself, as well as the United States, considered that this was a question for Libya and not the United Nations to decide.

At a plenary meeting on February 1, 1952, the General Assembly adopted the amended 12-power resolution by a vote of 53-0-0, with the Soviet bloc not participating in the voting. The Soviet Union again put forward its draft resolution, which was rejected by 34-6 (Soviet bloc and Egypt)-10.

The General Assembly also considered a report by the Secretary-General on the problem of war damages in Libya. This consisted of an expert estimate of the monetary extent of damage to various types of nonmilitary property during World War II. The grand total was approximately 12,500,000 pounds, a very large sum in relation to the Libyan economy. On January 22, 1952, the Assembly's Economic and Financial Committee adopted a British-French draft resolution, inviting the Secretary-General and the United Nations Technical Assistance Board "to give sympathetic consideration" to Libyan requests for assistance which would strengthen its economy, including the repair or reconstruction of damaged property and installations. The General Assembly adopted this resolution without amendment by 30-0-6 (Soviet bloc and Syria) on January 29, 1952.

As to the adjustment of the frontiers between Libya and Egypt—a question deferred from the fifth to the sixth session—the General Assembly on February 1, 1952, adopted by 46-0-5 (Soviet bloc) a simple resolution which "took note" of Egypt's intention to negotiate the question with Libya "in a friendly and good-neighbourly spirit."

## ERITREA

During 1951 steps were taken to initiate a plan of constitutional development for Eritrea in order to carry out the General Assembly resolution of December 2, 1950, which provided for the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia under the sovereignty of the Ethiopian Crown.

The Assembly had elected a United Nations Commissioner, Eduardo Anze Matienzo of Bolivia, to carry out certain provisions of that reso-

lution and had authorized the British Administering Authority to continue to conduct the affairs of Eritrea during the interim period before September 15, 1952, when the federation is to be completed. The British Administration, in consultation with the United Nations Commissioner, was directed to prepare as rapidly as possible the organization of an Eritrean administration, induct Eritreans into all levels of the administration, and make arrangements for convoking a representative assembly of Eritreans chosen by the people. The Commissioner was directed, in consultation with the Administering Power, the Government of Ethiopia, and the inhabitants of Eritrea to prepare a draft of the Eritrean Constitution to be submitted to the Eritrean Assembly and to advise and assist the Eritrean Assembly in its consideration of the constitution. This constitution would have to be approved by the Commissioner, adopted by the Eritrean Assembly, and ratified by the Emperor of Ethiopia before going into effect.

Early in 1951 Mr. Matienzo arrived in Eritrea and undertook a series of separate consultations with the British Administration and the Government of Ethiopia on the subject of the draft Eritrean Constitution. These discussions were concerned chiefly with varying interpretations of the General Assembly resolution and how to reconcile divergent interests. The Commissioner also spent considerable time touring Eritrea and consulting with groups of the local inhabitants on the problems involved in setting up an Eritrean Government. The results of these initial preparatory activities during 1951 were reported to the United Nations; but no political aspects of the Eritrean question required formal consideration by the sixth session of the General Assembly.

However, the Assembly did consider the determination of the future status of the Italian state and private property and concessions in Eritrea. The United Kingdom, in its capacity as interim administering authority of Eritrea, introduced a draft resolution in the Economic and Financial Committee which, after the addition of an explanatory note, provided for former Italian Government property to be handed over to the proper authority in Eritrea by September 15, 1952. The resolution dealt with such matters as the disposition of church property, insurance policies taken out in Italian companies by residents of Eritrea, Italian pension funds, public debt, status of concessions and leases, etc. In addition, the resolution provided for the establishment of a United Nations Arbitral Tribunal to settle disputes, which might have the same membership as the similar tribunal previously established for Libya.



In addition to the United Kingdom, the two governments most interested in the resolution were Ethiopia, which wished to assure full protection for the rights of the new Federal Government, and Italy, whose observer delegation wished to protect the rights and interests of Italians in Eritrea. The question was referred to a sub-committee where a few interested delegations resolved remaining differences.

The matter thus was settled to the satisfaction of all delegations except those of the Soviet bloc which claimed that the resolution was aimed at the protection of the alleged foreign imperialist monopolies. A plenary meeting of the Assembly adopted the resolution on January 29, 1952, by 39-5 (Soviet bloc)-5.

This problem furnished an interesting example of the use of the United Nations General Assembly to handle, through "international legislation," difficult matters where action by a broadly representative international body could provide a generally acceptable solution to difficult problems of both an economic and a political nature.

#### ITALIAN SOMALILAND

Former Italian Somaliland, which became a trust territory under Italian administration with the approval by the General Assembly of a trusteeship agreement on December 2, 1950, is discussed on page 224 of part III of this report, "Functioning of the Trusteeship System."

#### *Kashmir*

During 1951 and early 1952 the Security Council remained seized of the dispute between India and Pakistan over the state of Jammu and Kashmir. This state, commonly called Kashmir, was one of more than 500 princely states whose status was left undetermined when the subcontinent was partitioned into the independent nations of India and Pakistan in August 1947. These states had the choice of joining either India or Pakistan, and in most instances the option was exercised without difficulty on the basis of geographical proximity and preponderance of Hindu or Moslem population. Kashmir, contiguous to both Pakistan and India and with a mixed though predominantly Moslem people, quickly became an object of contention and the scene of armed struggle.

In January 1948 the dispute was brought before the Security Council, which established the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP). The Commission obtained agreement to a cease-fire, effective January 1, 1949, and also to the principles under which a truce and plebiscite could be brought about. However, neither the Commission nor its successor, Sir Owen Dixon of Australia, was able to bring about any significant progress toward settlement of the Kashmir problem during 1949 and 1950.

At the beginning of 1951, therefore, the Security Council was confronted with a dispute still dangerously deadlocked, although many of the issues involved had been clarified and the original cease-fire agreement remained effective. The most immediately threatening aspect of the situation was a proposal by the All-Jammu and Kashmir National Conference in the Indian-controlled area for the convening of a constituent assembly to determine "the future shape and affiliations" of Kashmir. Pakistan had strongly protested that this move sought to nullify the international agreement by both parties, embodied in UNCIP resolutions of 1948 and 1949, to settle the future of Kashmir by a free and impartial plebiscite. Accordingly, Pakistan on December 14, 1950, requested the Security Council to take measures to implement the parties' commitments and to call upon India to refrain from proceeding with the proposed constituent assembly and from taking any other action prejudicial to the holding of a free and impartial plebiscite to determine whether Kashmir should accede to India or Pakistan.

In January 1951, efforts to bring the parties closer together were made at the London Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, but no agreement between the Indian and Pakistani Prime Ministers could be effected. Accordingly, the United Kingdom and the United States assumed the initiative by submitting a joint draft resolution when the Security Council resumed consideration of the Kashmir question on February 21. The resolution observed that India and Pakistan had accepted the provisions of the UNCIP resolutions. Therefore any action by the proposed constituent assembly would not constitute a disposition of the state in accordance with the principles already accepted which required that the will of the people be expressed through a free and impartial state-wide plebiscite under United Nations auspices.

The sponsors of the resolution further observed that the main points of difference between India and Pakistan were the procedure for and the extent of demilitarization of Kashmir and the degree of control over the exercise of the functions of government necessary to insure

a fair and free plebiscite. The British-American draft, therefore, provided for the appointment of a United Nations representative to succeed Sir Owen Dixon, who had resigned. This representative was instructed to effect the demilitarization on the basis of proposals made by Sir Owen, with appropriate modifications, and to present to India and Pakistan detailed plans for carrying out a plebiscite. The representative was to report to the Security Council within 3 months after his appointment.

To accomplish this task, the draft resolution authorized the new representative to take into account such possibilities as the provision of United Nations forces to facilitate demilitarization and the holding of the plebiscite; the assignment to the loser in the plebiscite of local areas, contiguous to its frontier, in which the vote had been overwhelmingly in the loser's favor; and different degrees of supervision as might be appropriate in different areas. Finally, the resolution called on the parties to accept arbitration on all unresolved points of difference remaining after their discussions with the United Nations representative.

Sir Zafrulla Khan of Pakistan gave general support to measures to implement the previous agreement and suggested that the Council deputize an outstanding person who should have full power to effect demilitarization by disbanding the military forces of the parties, to supervise the state government, and to decide finally on any points of difference. However, he opposed the clause in the draft resolution concerning boundary adjustments because it would mean a partial partition of Kashmir and was in contravention of the agreement.

Sir Benegal Rau of India took exception to several aspects of the joint resolution which he considered went beyond the governing UNCTE resolutions. India, he said, was unable to accept Sir Owen Dixon's proposals as a basis for demilitarization, the entry of any foreign troops into Kashmir, or any interference with the lawful government of the state, or the principle of arbitration. Instead Sir Benegal believed that the solution of the problem lay in bilateral discussions between India and Pakistan.

As a result of the views expressed and private consultations, the United Kingdom and the United States presented a revised draft resolution on March 21. This draft omitted references to Sir Owen's demilitarization proposals and to detailed plans for carrying out the plebiscite. It also deleted the specific subjects upon which the United Nations representative might negotiate with the parties—the use of outside forces, boundary adjustments, and supervision of the government—and substituted the general directive that he effect demilitari-



zation on the basis of the two UNCTC resolutions. The draft retained the preamble reference to the proposed constituent assembly and the provision for arbitration.

India still objected to the draft resolution as seeking "to reopen, in favor of Pakistan, issues which had been settled by the resolution of August 1948." However, the Council adopted the revised draft resolution on March 30 by a vote of 8 to 0 with 3 abstentions (India, Soviet Union, and Yugoslavia). India abstained in accordance with the Charter provision which bars parties to a dispute from voting on peaceful settlement recommendations dealing with the dispute. Sir Zafrulla Khan subsequently informed the Council that Pakistan accepted the resolution.

On April 30 the Security Council appointed Frank P. Graham from the United Nations Panel for Consultation and Inquiry to be the United Nations representative for India and Pakistan by a vote of 7 to 0 with 4 abstentions (India, Netherlands, U.S.S.R., and Yugoslavia).

Dr. Graham, formerly United States Senator from North Carolina, arrived on the subcontinent early in July and during the ensuing 2 months negotiated with Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan and high ranking Pakistani officials in Karachi and with Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and high-ranking Indian officials in New Delhi. He also visited Kashmir for conversations with local leaders and to gain first-hand information on his assigned task.

On October 15, Dr. Graham submitted a report to the Security Council on his negotiations. He reported that these negotiations had culminated in his submitting to the two governments a 12-point program for the demilitarization of Kashmir and that while general agreement had been reached on a number of the points, differences on some of the proposals remained.

Under this program India and Pakistan are to—

1. Reaffirm their determination not to resort to force and to adhere to peaceful procedures in settlement of the Kashmir question.
2. Agree that each government would refrain from warlike statements against the other.
3. Reaffirm their acceptance of the ultimate disposition of Kashmir through a free, impartial plebiscite under the auspices of the United Nations.
4. Reaffirm their willingness to observe the cease-fire agreement.
5. Agree that the demilitarization of Kashmir would be effected through a single, continuous process.

6. Agree that the demilitarization would be completed during a period of 90 days or some other mutually agreeable time.

7. Agree that, at the end of the demilitarization period, the number of forces remaining on either side of the cease-fire line would be of a mutually acceptable organized strength.

8. Agree that the demilitarization should be carried out in such a way as to involve no threat to the cease-fire agreement.

9. Agree that the representatives of the two governments would, under the auspices of the United Nations, draw up a specific program of demilitarization.

10. Agree that the Government of India should cause the plebiscite administrator to be formally appointed to office no later than the final day of the demilitarization period.

11. Agree that the completion of the program for demilitarization would be carried out without prejudice to the functions of the United Nations representative and the plebiscite administrator with regard to the final disposition of forces.

12. Agree that any differences regarding the program of demilitarization would be referred to the military adviser of the United Nations representative and, if disagreement continued, to the representative himself whose decision would be final.

Dr. Graham outlined the four basic points of difference between the two governments. As to the period of demilitarization, India doubted that 90 days was an adequate time, whereas Pakistan believed that it was. With regard to the withdrawal of troops, the two governments disagreed as to the circumstances under which the Indian Government would withdraw the bulk of its troops. With respect to the forces remaining on either side of the cease-fire line at the end of the demilitarization period, Pakistan considered that these forces should be of approximately the same strength, whereas India held that there should be a force of 4,000 men on the Pakistani side and about 28,000 troops on the Indian side. Finally, with regard to the appointment of the plebiscite administrator, Pakistan considered that the administrator should be appointed as much in advance of the end of the demilitarization period as possible, whereas India considered that the matter should be omitted as not being a part of the demilitarization program.

On November 10 the Security Council considered a British-American draft resolution which noted with approval the basis for a program of demilitarization put forward by Dr. Graham; noted with gratification the areas of agreement by the parties; and instructed Dr. Graham to continue with his negotiations and to report back to the Council at the end of 6 weeks. The second round of Dr. Graham's

negotiations with the parties was conducted in Paris where the sixth session of the General Assembly was in session.

On December 18, Dr. Graham submitted a second report which indicated that while some progress had been made toward enlarging the areas of agreement by the two parties, two principal points of difference remained—the size of forces to be left on either side of the cease-fire line at the end of the demilitarization period and the Indian agreement to the installation of the plebiscite administrator prior to the end of the demilitarization period. With the approval of the Security Council given him on January 31, Dr. Graham returned to the subcontinent for a third series of negotiations during March.

### *Morocco*

Tension between France and Morocco arising from growing Nationalist sentiment in the French Zone of the Protectorate was brought to the attention of the United Nations on October 4, 1951, when the Egyptian Foreign Minister requested that the following item be placed on the agenda of the sixth session of the General Assembly: "Violation of the principles of the Charter and of the Declaration of Human Rights by France in Morocco."

In an explanatory memorandum the Egyptian request stated: "The conflict between France and Morocco, due to the national claims of the Moroccan Government and people, has again reached a highly critical phase, as may be seen from the incidents which have occurred since the beginning of this year."

This referred to alleged French attempts to depose the Sultan at the beginning of the year and the subsequent evidences of unrest in Morocco. The Egyptian communication explained that Egypt felt obliged to present the matter to the Assembly "in order to satisfy the just aspirations of the Moroccan people and avoid the developments to which this state of tension dangerous to peace in that region might give rise." The Egyptian request was supported by the other Arab League states.

When the question of placing this item on the Assembly's agenda arose in the General Committee, the Canadian member expressed the opinion that the problem required more study and made a recommendation to the General Assembly that consideration of the question of placing the item on its agenda be "postponed for the time being."

The French representative questioned the legal competence of the Assembly to consider the question. Ambassador Austin for the United



States remarked that the matter was of considerable complexity and questioned whether discussion at this time would really advance the cause of the Moroccan people. However, the Arab and Soviet representatives argued that the Canadian postponement motion was illegal under the rules of procedure of the General Assembly. Finally, the motion was put to a vote on November 9 and was carried by 6 (United States, Canada, Dominican Republic, France, Norway, and the United Kingdom) for postponement to 4 against (Iraq, Poland, U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia) with 4 abstentions (Chile, China, Mexico, and Thailand).

On November 13 the question came up in the plenary meeting of the Assembly where the Egyptian delegate argued that the Committee recommendation for postponement was contrary to the rules of procedure. He then introduced a proposal to include the item on the agenda. Thereupon the French delegate made a statement in which he denied the Charter and human-rights violations alleged, declared that French policy in Morocco had always been in keeping with the provisions of the Charter relating to non-self-governing territories, and reiterated that this question was one of French domestic jurisdiction and therefore not within the competence of the Assembly. The Egyptian delegate then replied that the French declaration required careful consideration and moved that the debate be postponed for a few days.

At the request of the Egyptian delegate discussion was resumed in the plenary session on December 13. During the course of the vigorous debate which ensued, Ambassador Gross indicated that the United States would vote in favor of postponement, as it had in the General Committee, on the grounds that it was in the best interests of all concerned that the parties be permitted to pursue their own avenues of settlement in good faith by less formal means than debate in the Assembly. Subsequently, the Assembly accepted the General Committee's recommendation for postponement by a vote of 28 to 23 with 7 abstentions.

### *Palestine*

During 1951 and early 1952 the United Nations continued its efforts to adjust and resolve various differences between Israel and the surrounding Arab states on the Palestine problem. Although the United Nations had succeeded in getting these states to stop hostilities and sign armistice agreements in 1949, subsequent efforts to conclude a settlement of the Palestine problem had made little headway. As

1951 opened, the continuing deadlock kept the area in an uneasy state and threatened further outbreaks of violence. Under these circumstances the United Nations remained confronted by the following two major political and security aspects of the Palestine problem: (1) a political settlement of the outstanding differences between Israel and the surrounding Arab states and (2) enforcement of the 1949 armistice agreements among these states. In addition, the United Nations continued its efforts to alleviate the plight of the Palestine refugees, as outlined in part II, page 161.

#### EFFORTS TOWARD POLITICAL SETTLEMENT

During 1951 the Palestine Conciliation Commission (United States, Turkey, and France) undertook new efforts to promote a political settlement between Israel and the surrounding Arab states. After careful preparation by the Commission, a 2 months' conference in Paris of intense negotiations with the parties concerned failed to produce any noticeable advance toward a settlement of the Palestine problem. The Commission's efforts, however, did result in a substantial clarification of the issues between the parties and a reemphasis on the importance of a prompt solution to the acute Arab refugee problem. In addition, the Commission produced for the first time estimates concerning the possible extent of compensation which the Arab refugees might claim from Israel for property they had formerly held in Israeli territory.

The Commission's first efforts in 1951 concerned the establishment of a refugee office in accordance with the General Assembly resolution of December 14, 1950. The Commission appointed Holger Andersen of Denmark as director of its refugee office and he, together with Commission experts, set to work to determine the estimated value of property in Israel abandoned by Arab refugees. An estimate of approximately 100,000,000 Palestine pounds was placed on the value of immovable property and an estimate of 20,000,000 Palestine pounds on movable property. The Commission considered that the value of abandoned Arab property constituted a debt by the Government of Israel to the refugees but noted that its estimates were arrived at without considering Israel's capacity to pay. Consequently the Commission pointed out that further consideration had to be given to the ways and means of Israel's paying and the Arab refugees' receiving compensation, assuming agreement on Israel's obligation.

## PARIS CONFERENCE

The Palestine Conciliation Commission's major effort at political negotiation was undertaken at a conference among the parties in Paris from September 13 to November 19, 1951. The Commission on August 10 had invited the Governments of Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Israel to send representatives to the conference as a further means of seeking a settlement of all outstanding issues between them. In this connection the Commission indicated that it "would be prepared to exercise its mediatory functions by suggesting specific solutions to specific problems for consideration by the parties."

The replies of the parties in accepting the Commission's invitation foreshadowed the general tone of the conference. The Arab Governments reiterated their belief that the Commission should assume a mediatory role and submit proposals to the parties. They emphasized, however, that such proposals should be directed to the implementation of United Nations resolutions, particularly as they related to the refugee problem. Israel suggested that, if tangible results were to be achieved, the Commission should obtain assurances from the parties that they accept as the objective of the conference the final settlement of all outstanding issues. The Government of Israel questioned the desirability of the Commission's submitting its own proposals to the parties and indicated its preference for direct negotiations with the Arab states.

When the conference formally convened, the chairman, Ambassador Ely E. Palmer of the United States, submitted the Commission's carefully prepared and comprehensive mediatory proposals to the Arab states on September 17 and to Israel on September 21. In brief the following were the proposals:

1. The signatories of the armistice agreements would reaffirm their intention to settle all differences solely by peaceful procedures; would refrain from any use of force or acts of hostility; and, with just respect for the right of each party to security and freedom from attack, would promote peace in Palestine.
2. The parties would agree to a mutual cancellation of all claims arising from war hostilities.
3. The Government of Israel would agree to the repatriation of a specified number of qualified Arab refugees which could be integrated into its economy.
4. The Government of Israel would accept the obligation to pay as compensation for property abandoned by those refugees not repatri-



ated a total sum based on estimates made by the Commission's refugee office, such payment to take into consideration Israel's ability to pay.

5. The parties would agree upon a mutual release of all blocked accounts and would make them payable in pound sterling.

6. The parties would agree to consider revision or amendment of their armistice agreements, including territorial adjustments, creation of an international water authority for the Jordan and Yarmuk Rivers and Lake Tiberias, border regulations with special attention to access to the Holy Places in the Jerusalem area, and arrangements to facilitate the general economic development of the area, including resumption of communication and economic relations between Israel and her neighbors.

Major emphasis was placed on the first proposal for reaffirmation by the parties of their peaceful intentions. The Israeli delegation immediately indicated a willingness to subscribe to a nonaggression pact to supplement the armistice agreements. The Arab delegations held that the armistice agreements constituted continuing nonaggression pacts and that such agreements were unnecessary. Therefore they could not accept the text of the Commission's first proposal, although they later indicated their desire to promote the establishment of an atmosphere necessary to continue the Commission's work and to facilitate the peaceful settlement of the Palestine problem. The Commission had not contemplated the conclusion of a formal pact, and it therefore considered the Israeli proposal as premature. On the other hand, the Arab views did not fully satisfy the intent of the Commission's first proposal. Nevertheless the Commission considered that the pacific intentions implicit in the Arab and Israeli responses provided a basis for the parties to undertake further considerations of its other proposals. Both delegations indicated their willingness to do so, but the Israeli delegation qualified its answer by insisting again upon acceptance of its proposal for a non-aggression pact.

With regard to the Commission's other proposals the delegations took the following positions:

1. On the question of war damages, both sides accused the other of responsibility and accordingly objected to the proposal.

2. On the matter of repatriation of refugees, the Israeli delegation declared that political and security considerations together with problems relating to the economic stability of Israel made the return of Arab refugees impossible. The Arab delegations reiterated their belief that the Commission and Israel were under obligation to re-

quire the repatriation of all refugees wishing to return to Israel pursuant to the General Assembly resolution of 1948.

3. With respect to the payment of compensation, Israel reaffirmed its readiness to discuss the matter of compensation based on an understanding that a total sum to be agreed upon would end Israel's responsibility for compensation. The Arab delegations held that the United Nations as well as Israel was responsible for the payment of compensation and, accordingly, such payment could not be tied to Israel's ability to pay. Beyond this the Arab delegations expressed their views concerning the basis for evaluating compensation.

4. On the matter of blocked accounts, the Israeli delegation reminded the Commission that previous deliberations on this problem in February 1950 had produced no result. The Arab delegations indicated a willingness to accept the Commission's proposal.

5. With regard to the possible revision of the armistice agreements, the delegations were unable to agree on any of the points raised by the Commission.

In view of these divergent positions, the Commission decided to terminate the conference on November 19 because the Commission had been unsuccessful in its efforts to persuade the Arab and Israeli delegations to discuss the comprehensive pattern of proposals in a fair and realistic spirit of give-and-take, since neither side had indicated a willingness substantially to recede from its rigid position and to seek a solution through mediation along the lines set forth in the proposals.

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION

When the General Assembly began consideration of the Palestine Conciliation Commission's report, it was confronted with a detailed record of failure. The Commission had concluded its report with the observations that it could not carry out its mandate under the existing terms of reference and that, if and when the parties were ready to accept the principles underlying its recent proposals, general or partial agreement could be sought through direct negotiations with United Nations assistance or mediation.

On January 7, 1952, the United States, together with France, Turkey, and the United Kingdom, introduced a draft resolution in the Assembly's *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. This Four Power resolution urged the governments concerned to seek agreement with a view to

an early settlement of their outstanding differences. It noted that the Commission had reported its inability to fulfill its mandate but considered that the Commission nevertheless should continue to be available to the parties, in accordance with past resolutions, to assist them in reaching agreement. The resolution also authorized the Commission in its discretion to designate a representative or representatives to assist in carrying out its functions, and it was decided that the Commission's headquarters should be transferred to New York with a representative to remain in Jerusalem.

This Four Power draft resolution met with prompt opposition. The Soviet Union submitted its annual resolution proposing the abolition of the Commission. It was rejected. Of more immediate consequence, separate amendments to the Four Power resolution were submitted by Colombia, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Indonesia, Iran, and the Philippines. These amendments recalled *all* previous Assembly resolutions on the Palestine question and emphasized the necessity for strict observation by the Commission of these previous resolutions, particularly as they related to repatriation and compensation. In addition, the amendments provided for increasing the membership of the Commission to seven and continuing its headquarters in Jerusalem.

The United States opposed these amendments because some of the earlier Assembly resolutions had been overtaken by events and their implementation was no longer possible. However, the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee adopted the amendments in approving the Four Power resolution on January 15, 1952.

Subsequent negotiations, instituted largely at the behest of the Arab delegations, indicated the possibility of a draft resolution more acceptable to all sides. With the concurrences of the four sponsoring powers and the Arab delegations, the Canadian delegation submitted amendments to the resolution approved by the *Ad Hoc* Committee which deleted the emphasis on repatriation and compensation and revised the text to urge the governments to seek agreement with a view to an early settlement of their outstanding differences, instead of requiring them to observe past Assembly resolutions. It was agreed that the Commission's membership would remain unchanged and that the question of headquarters would be left out of the final resolution. Discussion in the plenary meeting, therefore, was brief and harmonious and resulted in the Assembly's adoption of the revised resolution on January 26 by a vote of 48 to 5 (Soviet bloc) with 1 abstention (Iraq).



## ENFORCEMENT OF THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENTS

During 1951 enforcement of the armistice agreements between the Arab states and Israel continued to be governed by the provisions that differences between the signatories were to be handled by the various bilateral Mixed Armistice Commissions set up pursuant to these agreements. Although the operations of these Mixed Armistice Commissions continued to be generally effective, two major complaints were brought to the Security Council during 1951, one by Syria against Israel and the other by Israel against Egypt.

## SYRIAN-ISRAELI CASE

The Syrian-Israeli dispute concerned certain engineering operations being conducted by an Israeli company in the Huleh Marsh area, both outside and inside of the demilitarized zone between Syria and Israel. Syria complained on February 14 to the Mixed Armistice Commission that the drainage activities of the Palestine Land Development Company were giving Israel a military advantage contrary to the provisions of the armistice agreement and that they constituted an unwarranted exercise of Israeli authority in the demilitarized zone between Syria and Israel. The Commission sought the opinion of Lt. Gen. William E. Riley (U.S.M.C. retired), Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization.

On March 7 General Riley ruled against the Syrian allegation that Israel was achieving a military advantage. However, certain aspects of the Huleh project affected the normal life of inhabitants of the zone. Therefore, General Riley recommended that the company cease operations in the demilitarized zone until the parties could reach a mutual agreement through the Mixed Armistice Commission for continuation of the project. The company refused to stop its operations despite General Riley's request and the ensuing efforts of the Mixed Armistice Commission to deal with the problem. The situation worsened and led to the outbreak of fighting in the demilitarized zone. On April 4, seven Israeli policemen were killed near the Arab village of El Hamma in the demilitarized zone. Israeli planes bombed the village in retaliation the following day. Israel notified General Riley that it could no longer rely on the impartiality of the Commission's chairman and would not attend further meetings over which he presided.

This was the general state of affairs when Syria and Israel brought the matter before the Security Council on April 17. After initial debate, the Council on May 8 adopted a resolution calling for a cease-fire, which went into effect on May 14.

Once the fighting had been stopped, the United States concern was that the Syrian-Israeli Mixed Armistice Commission should be strengthened and be permitted to function effectively. The authority of the Chief of Staff of the Truce Supervision Organization also had to be made quite clear, particularly since Israel was disputing this authority in the demilitarized zone. Consequently the United States—joined by France, Turkey, and the United Kingdom—submitted a resolution designed to achieve these purposes.

The resolution reaffirmed the provisions of the armistice agreement relating to the responsibilities of the chairman of the Mixed Armistice Commission (General Riley) and called upon the parties to participate in all the Commission's meetings and to respect the chairman's rulings. In addition, the resolution endorsed General Riley's earlier request that Israel insure the cessation of all Huleh reclamation operations in the demilitarized zone pending an agreement for continuation. It found that Israel's retaliatory bombing on April 5 and any aggressive military action taken by either party in or around the demilitarized zone constituted a violation of the Council's cease-fire resolution of July 15, 1948, and was inconsistent with their armistice agreement and with their obligations under the Charter. Finally, the resolution called upon Israel to return all Arab refugees expelled from the demilitarized zone and held that the transfer of persons across the international frontier could occur only with the permission of the chairman of the Mixed Armistice Commission. On May 18 the Security Council approved this resolution by a vote of 10 to 0 with 1 abstention (Soviet Union).

It should be noted that Israel publicly apologized for the bombing during the Council discussions and that General Riley subsequently found that certain Syrian military personnel had been engaged in fighting in the demilitarized zone. On June 5 the Palestine Land Development Company suspended operations until agreement was reached with General Riley permitting it to resume activities on land clearly understood to be non-Arab-owned property.

General Riley in his report of November 6 to the Secretary-General indicated that the Mixed Armistice Commission had not been able to resume its meetings. However, Israel had given assurances that members of the Truce Supervision Organization would have full freedom of movement in the demilitarized zone. Somewhat less than

half of the refugees who had been expelled from the demilitarized zone had returned, approximately half of them having indicated a desire not to return. Finally, the report noted that the problems concerning the compensation of refugees for the property and homes destroyed and the rights of Israeli policemen in the demilitarized zone had been subject to negotiation with General Riley but no satisfactory agreement had been reached.

#### ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN CASE

The second case to come before the Security Council during 1951 concerned the restrictions imposed by Egypt on ships passing through the Suez Canal with cargoes destined for Israel. On July 11 Israel placed its complaint before the Council, alleging that Egypt had in effect blockaded Suez Canal traffic destined for Israel in violation of the intent of the Egyptian-Israeli armistice agreement.

This case had begun in the Egyptian-Israeli Mixed Armistice Commission in August 1949 when Israel submitted a complaint against the Egyptian practice. However, the Egyptian representative had asserted that the Commission lacked competence to deal with the matter because its terms of reference enabled it to act only on aggressive or hostile acts committed by the military or paramilitary forces of a signatory state. This view was finally upheld on June 12, 1951, by a special committee composed of General Riley and the parties. General Riley, who had voted with the Egyptian representative on the competence question, stated his conviction that the Egyptian action was clearly a violation of the *spirit* of the armistice agreement and "must be considered as an aggressive action." Consequently he considered that Egypt should either lift the restrictions or the question should be referred to some "higher competent authority such as the Security Council or the International Court of Justice."

The Security Council debate, which began on July 26, was dominated by long legal and technical arguments relating to such questions as Egypt's right to exercise certain belligerent rights against a former enemy with whom it had concluded an armistice but not a treaty of peace. The United States and most other Council members considered that the armistice agreements were of a permanent character and that Egypt had no valid grounds for continuing its shipping restrictions against Israel. They felt that the armistice agreement should be abided by in spirit as well as in letter. Moreover, the United States considered that, in the absence of more lasting agreements between the



parties, it was essential that the authority and operations of the mixed armistice commissions should be supported and strengthened by the Security Council. Ambassador Austin stated before the Council on August 16:

If Egypt, through the technicality, threatens the underlying intent of its Armistice Agreement with Israel, this Council must appreciate the effect that such action would have, not only on the observance of the Egyptian-Israeli Agreement, but on the integrity of other Armistice Agreements. One evasion of these Agreements invites others. We cannot permit a challenge of this kind to serve as a precedent for jeopardizing the present stability of the Palestine area and progress toward peace for the area.

The United States accordingly joined France and the United Kingdom in sponsoring a draft resolution which found the Egyptian practices to be inconsistent with the establishment of a permanent peace in Palestine as anticipated in the armistice agreement; determined also that these practices were an abuse of the right of visit, search, and seizure and were not justified on the grounds of self-defense; and therefore called upon Egypt to terminate the restrictions. On September 1 the Council approved the resolution by a vote of 8 to 0 with 3 abstentions (U.S.S.R., China, and India). As of March 1952 the Egyptian Government had not complied with this resolution.

### *South Africa: Treatment of Indians*

During 1951 and early 1952 the General Assembly continued consideration of the matter of the treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa. This situation, which had been before five previous Assembly sessions, stemmed from India's contention that persons of Indian descent in South Africa suffer discrimination and deprivation of fundamental rights and that the Union of South Africa had unilaterally repudiated agreements previously made with India on this matter, thus giving rise to a situation which impairs the friendly relations between the two countries. The Union of South Africa maintained that it had not violated any international agreements, that its legislative and other measures of segregation were not repressive but precautionary, and that this was a domestic question with which the United Nations had no competence to deal.

In December 1950 the Assembly had adopted a resolution calling for a round-table conference between the parties—India, Pakistan, and the Union of South Africa—by April 1, 1951. If the conference were not held by that date, a commission of three members should be set up

by the parties to help in their negotiations. Finally, the 1950 resolution provided that the matter should be placed on the agenda of the sixth session of the General Assembly.

In March 1951 the Union of South Africa notified the Secretary-General that it was unable to agree to either a round-table discussion or the establishment of a commission pursuant to the General Assembly resolution. Instead it would be willing to confer with representatives of India and Pakistan outside the framework of the United Nations and without reference to previous General Assembly resolutions on the matter.

Thus the situation remained at an impasse when it came before the sixth session of the General Assembly. On November 13, 1951, the Assembly accepted the item for its agenda by a vote of 40 to 1 with 12 abstentions and referred it to the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. In the Committee a joint resolution was introduced by Burma, India, Indonesia, Iran, and Iraq recommending the setting up of a three-man commission to assist the three parties in their negotiations. One member was to be appointed by the Union of South Africa, one jointly by India and Pakistan, and the third by the other two or, failing agreement, by the Secretary-General. The draft resolution also called upon the Union of South Africa to suspend enforcement of the Group Areas Act pending the conclusion of negotiations. Finally, it provided that the item be included in the agenda of the next regular session of the Assembly.

In the debate which followed, the United States alternate representative, Anna Lord Strauss, suggested that—

Perhaps we need at this moment the moral help of a personality in whom the parties have confidence—one person above political controversies who can help bring them together. . . . I emphasize this idea because I believe so strongly in the method of conciliation.

This idea was taken up by other Committee members and was finally incorporated in the joint draft resolution by its sponsors in the form of a request that the Secretary-General, failing establishment of the commission—

lend his assistance to the Governments of India, Pakistan and the Union of South Africa, provided such assistance is deemed necessary and helpful by him, with a view to facilitating appropriate negotiations between them; and further, in his discretion and after consulting the Governments concerned . . . appoint an individual who would render such additional assistance for the purpose of facilitating the conduct of the said negotiations.

On January 5, 1952, the Committee adopted the resolution by a vote of 41 to 2 with 13 abstentions. The United States voted for the resolution as a whole. In the paragraph-by-paragraph vote the United States abstained on the provision calling on South Africa to suspend implementation of the Group Areas Act on the grounds that it was unwise thus to single out one piece of national legislation, and it voted against the provision placing the item on the agenda of the next session in the belief that to do so might prejudice the efforts of the Secretary-General. On January 12 the plenary meeting of the Assembly adopted the resolution by 44 to 0 with 14 abstentions.

### *Yugoslavia*

The dispute between the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia was brought to the United Nations when the Yugoslav delegation on November 9, 1951, requested the sixth session of the General Assembly to consider the problem. The Yugoslav memorandum stated that the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Albania, Czechoslovakia, and Poland were engaged in "hostile activities" against Yugoslavia. These activities "amounted to a system of aggressive pressure, which was being intensified according to plan," and were motivated by the purpose of encroaching upon the sovereignty and threatening the territorial integrity and national independence of Yugoslavia. As a result the Yugoslav memorandum asserted that the worsening situation was fraught with danger for international peace.

The Assembly decided by a vote of 44 to 5 with 4 abstentions to include the Yugoslav item on the agenda and referred it to the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee.

Mr. Djilas of Yugoslavia spelled out the charges against the Cominform countries. He pointed out that these countries had been launching persistent demands for the overthrow of the Yugoslav Government and quoted extracts from Bulgarian, Rumanian, and Hungarian broadcasts inciting Yugoslav citizens to revolt and to sabotage military defenses. Mr. Djilas asserted that trained bands of terrorists had been sent into Yugoslavia for organized sabotage. The Cominform countries were employing various political and economic measures against Yugoslavia, discriminatory diplomatic practices, maltreatment of Yugoslav citizens abroad, abrogation of treaties, and an economic and communications blockade. Moreover Mr. Djilas pointed



to the military pressure employed: the building up of armed strength by Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania far beyond the levels set by the peace treaties; the construction of fortifications and large-scale maneuvers by these Soviet satellites along the Yugoslav border; and the provocation of border incidents.

Mr. Cooper of the United States noted the seriousness of the situation and emphasized that any new recourse to aggression in the world might, as President Truman stated, "strain to the breaking point the fabric of world peace." Mr. Cooper said the United States was able to confirm some of the Yugoslav charges from independent observation and that there was available to all a historical record disclosing a general pattern of Cominform conduct which would help evaluate the Yugoslav complaint. This pattern disclosed the subversion of free institutions, the armed *coup d'état* in Czechoslovakia, armed attempts to overthrow the Government of Greece, efforts to starve the Western zones of Berlin into submission, efforts to wreck the postwar recovery of non-Communist countries, hate campaigns against other countries, and propaganda trials. Mr. Cooper cited Cominform resolutions and official statements hostile to the Yugoslav regime. He laid particular stress on mass deportations in distinct violation of human rights provisions of the peace treaties. He said the United States could also sustain the Yugoslav contention that Rumania, Hungary, and Bulgaria were violating the military provisions of these treaties. "When all of these demonstrations of hostility are brought together, combined and focused on a single country, they are clearly aggressive pressure against the prospective victim," concluded Mr. Cooper.

The Assembly on December 14, 1951, adopted the Yugoslav draft resolution without amendment by 50 votes to 5 (Soviet bloc) with 2 abstentions. The resolution noted that the Government of Yugoslavia had already declared its willingness to carry out the recommendations in the resolution and recommended that the governments concerned—

1. Conduct their relations and settle their disputes in accordance with the spirit of the United Nations Charter.
2. Conform in their diplomatic intercourse with the rules and practices which are customary in international relations.
3. Settle frontier disputes by means of mixed frontier commissions or other peaceful means of their choice.

## ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS

During 1951 and early 1952 various important organizational problems were considered in the United Nations, including (1) the admission of new members and (2) elections to the Security Council. As in previous years the differences between the Soviet bloc and other states gave rise to difficulties in the solution of these two organizational matters.

### *Admission of New Members to the United Nations*

The question of the admission of new members to the United Nations has been one of the most perplexing problems which has confronted the organization since its establishment. Article 4 of the Charter provides that membership is "open" to all states which meet certain qualifications; that is, to states which are peace loving, accept the obligations contained in the Charter, and, in the judgment of the United Nations, are able and willing to carry out these obligations.

The Soviet Union, however, has used its veto in the Security Council 23 times to block the admission of a number of candidates which the General Assembly, by large majority votes, has specifically determined to be qualified for membership. It has ignored the General Assembly's request that the permanent members of the Security Council refrain from exercising the veto in connection with membership applications as well as other Assembly resolutions and an International Court of Justice advisory opinion on the membership question.

By 1951 the applications of 14 candidates for membership had long been pending before the Security Council, some since 1946. On a number of occasions in the past the Security Council had considered these 14 applications. However, the admission of nine of the candidates (Austria, Ceylon, Finland, Ireland, Jordan, Italy, Republic of Korea, Nepal, and Portugal) had always been blocked by the veto of the Soviet Union; while the applications of the five Soviet-supported candidates (Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Mongolian People's Republic, and Rumania) had never received the seven affirmative votes required for a Security Council recommendation.

The last time that the Security Council had acted upon these pending applications was in September 1949, when it voted upon a "package deal" proposed by the Soviet Union for the simultaneous admission of 13 of the applicants, all except the Republic of Korea. In

offering this proposal, the Soviet Union had made it clear that it would continue to block the admission of the applicants it had previously vetoed unless its list of 13 were accepted in entirety. The Security Council rejected the Soviet proposal, because its adoption would have meant endorsement of the 5 Soviet-supported candidates which the majority did not consider qualified under the Charter. Although the General Assembly in 1949 and 1950 had adopted resolutions requesting the Security Council to keep all pending applications under consideration, it was evident that the position of the Council members had not changed and that reconsideration would serve no useful purpose.

The large majority of United Nations members, having become increasingly impatient over the impasse in the Security Council on the membership question, were determined to make a special effort toward some solution of the problem at the sixth session of the General Assembly in late 1951 and early 1952.

#### ITALIAN CASE

First of all the Assembly considered the particular problem of Italian membership because the continued exclusion of Italy had become a matter of special concern. Since its application in May 1947, Italy's admission had been vetoed four times by the Soviet Union. The overwhelming majority of United Nations members on three occasions had approved General Assembly resolutions which determined that Italy was a peace-loving state and was able and willing to carry out the obligations of the Charter. In addition, the Assembly in 1949 had adopted a resolution giving Italy responsibility for administering the Trust Territory of Somaliland for ten years. As a nonmember of the United Nations, however, Italy was seriously handicapped in discharging this responsibility, since it was ineligible for membership in the Trusteeship Council and could not enjoy full membership rights in the General Assembly under whose supervision the Trusteeship Council operates. As an interim measure the eighth session of the Trusteeship Council, in February 1951, gave Italy the right to participate without vote in the deliberations of the Trusteeship Council relating to the Trust Territory of Somaliland and to general questions relating to the operation of the international trusteeship system. At the same session it decided to request the sixth session of the General Assembly to consider the question of Italy's full participation in the Trusteeship Council.



The Assembly's Fourth Committee (Trusteeship) considered this question on November 27 and 28, 1951. The French representative introduced a draft resolution which recognized Italy's special claim to membership on the basis of its trusteeship responsibilities and requested that the Security Council give urgent consideration to recommending Italy's immediate admission to the United Nations. Congressman John M. Vorys of the United States delegation expressed strong United States support for the French draft resolution and emphasized that the special circumstances involved required that Italy's application be handled separately and promptly by the Security Council. He recalled that the United States had strongly favored Italy's admission since its application was first submitted and that the United States, together with the United Kingdom and France, had recently reaffirmed its determination to make every effort to secure Italy's membership in the United Nations. He stressed that Italy fully satisfied the Charter requirements for admission and was entitled to membership on its own merits, apart from any "deal" which would make its admission dependent on the admission of other states.

The Soviet Union and its satellites, however, strongly opposed the French draft resolution on the grounds that the Fourth Committee was not competent to examine the question of the admission of new members and that the French proposal discriminated against certain other candidates.

The Committee on November 28 adopted the French draft resolution by a vote of 50 to 5 (Soviet bloc), and on December 7 the General Assembly approved this resolution by a vote of 54 to 5 (Soviet bloc) with 1 abstention.

The Security Council considered the Assembly's resolution concerning Italy's admission on December 18 and 19. It took up a draft resolution submitted by France which recommended the admission of Italy to the United Nations. The Soviet representative reiterated its charges made in the Assembly that the Fourth Committee was not competent to consider the membership question and contended that other states, including the Soviet-sponsored applicants, were just as entitled to membership as Italy. He thereupon submitted a draft resolution, similar to the Soviet "package deal" proposal of 1949, recommending that the General Assembly admit 13 of the pending applicants, excluding the Republic of Korea. The Soviet Union again indicated that it would continue to veto Italy's application unless all 13 applicants included in its proposal were admitted simultaneously.

Ambassador Gross, in supporting the French draft resolution, stressed that each applicant was entitled under the Charter to sep-

arate consideration; that the International Court of Justice had stated that a member cannot subject its consent to the admission of a candidate to the condition that other states be admitted simultaneously; and that Italy should not be tied in with other candidates. The matter did not come to a vote, and the Security Council did not consider the membership question further during the General Assembly's sixth session, which was concluded on February 5, 1952.

#### BROAD MEMBERSHIP QUESTION

The Security Council's discussions foreshadowed the debate on the membership question, which began in the General Assembly's Political Committee on January 18, 1952. By this time the United Nations members were concerned not only with the 14 membership applications which had been under review for a number of years but also with two other applications which had only recently been submitted. Vietnam applied for admission on December 17, and the newly established United Kingdom of Libya applied on December 24, 1951. (In addition, telegrams requesting admission were received from the Vietminh and North Korean regimes dated December 29, 1951, and January 2, 1952, respectively. The North Korean regime had sent a similar telegram in February 1949, but the Security Council had decided not to refer this communication to its membership committee.)

The representative of Peru, speaking in the Political Committee, expressed the view that the Security Council was bound by the Charter aim of universal membership; that it should objectively pass upon the qualifications of states with due regard to facts establishing the existence of these qualifications and without using discretionary powers; and that applicants had a right to submit evidence in support of facts which would justify their admission. He submitted a draft resolution, incorporating these ideas, to the Political Committee. This resolution as amended upon the suggestion of a number of delegations (1) declared that the judgment of the United Nations on the admission of new members should be based exclusively on the conditions contained in article 4 of the Charter; (2) recommended that the Security Council reconsider all pending applications, that its members take into account such facts and evidence as applicants might present, and that the Council base its action exclusively on the conditions contained in the Charter and on the facts establishing the existence of these conditions; and (3) requested the permanent members of the Security Council to confer soon with a view to assisting the

Council to come to positive recommendations regarding the pending applications.

The Soviet representative on January 21 voiced opposition to the Peruvian proposal that applicants should be permitted to submit evidence of their qualifications. He argued that this proposal was inconsistent with the Charter and the rules of procedure of the Security Council and the General Assembly and contended that the Peruvian resolution was designed to exert pressure on the Security Council and to discriminate against certain candidates. The Soviet representative introduced a draft resolution whereby the General Assembly would request the Security Council to reconsider the applications of Albania, Mongolian People's Republic, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Finland, Italy, Portugal, Ireland, Jordan, Austria, Ceylon, and Nepal, as well as to consider the application of Libya.

The United States supported the Peruvian resolution and opposed the Soviet proposal. On January 22 Ambassador Gross outlined in considerable detail the reasons for this position. He pointed out that the Peruvian resolution provided a method by which applicants could present evidence of their qualifications for membership. Ambassador Gross reiterated United States support for the admission of all qualified applicants and recalled that three of these applicants were of particular concern to the United Nations: Italy, which had been given United Nations trusteeship responsibilities; the Republic of Korea, which United Nations forces were fighting to defend; and Libya, which had achieved its independence under United Nations auspices. He stated that the United States continued to oppose the admission of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, and the Mongolian People's Republic, which it considered did not meet the basic Charter requirements for membership. The United States therefore opposed the Soviet draft resolution, the intent of which was to request the Security Council to act favorably upon all the applicants listed. Ambassador Gross deplored the Soviet practice of vetoing Italy and other qualified candidates because the Soviet-sponsored applicants, none of which had ever received seven affirmative votes in the Security Council or a majority in the Assembly, had not been admitted.

On January 25, 1952, the Political Committee voted on both the Peruvian and Soviet draft resolutions. It adopted the Peruvian resolution, as amended, by a vote of 36 to 9 with 12 abstentions. The Committee also approved the Soviet resolution by a vote of 21 to 12 (United States) with 25 abstentions. This vote on the Soviet proposal reflected the growing concern of many members that some way had to be found to break the continued deadlock on the membership question.



It was doubted that the Peruvian resolution would solve the problem.

Finally, on January 29 the Committee approved by 41 votes to 6 with 11 abstentions a draft resolution sponsored by Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua. This resolution, as amended, requested the Security Council to report to the Assembly at its seventh session in late 1952 on the status of applications still pending and directed that the question of the admission of new members should be included in the provisional agenda of that session. In addition, the resolution referred to the next session a proposal to request an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice on the rules to be followed in interpreting the result of Security Council votes on recommendations for the admission of new members and also to ask the Court whether the negative vote of one of the permanent members of the Security Council could nullify a recommendation for admission which had obtained seven or more votes.

On February 1, 1952, the plenary meeting of the Assembly considered the three membership resolutions approved by the Political Committee. The Peruvian resolution was adopted by a vote of 43 to 8 with 7 abstentions, and the Central American resolution by a vote of 36 to 5 with 14 abstentions. The Soviet resolution received 22 votes in favor with 21 opposed and 16 abstentions. Before the vote on the Soviet resolution, the United States had requested the Assembly to determine this to be an important matter requiring a two-thirds rather than a simple majority for approval. Inasmuch as the Assembly approved the United States request, the Soviet resolution was rejected.

On February 6, 1952, the Security Council resumed debate on the membership question and voted upon the French and Soviet draft resolutions which it had discussed in December 1951. The French resolution recommending Italy's admission received 10 affirmative votes but was vetoed by the Soviet Union. The Soviet proposal, which was amended to include Libya in the original list of 13 applicants to be admitted simultaneously, was rejected by a vote of 6 (Brazil, China, Greece, Netherlands, Turkey, and United States) to 2 (Pakistan and U.S.S.R.) with 3 abstentions (Chile, France, and United Kingdom). The U.S.S.R. had vetoed Italy's application for the fifth time and the majority of Security Council members again had refused to accept the Soviet "package deal."

Thus the membership problem remained unsolved. However, the consideration of this matter in the sixth session of the General Assembly revealed increasingly strong sentiment for some arrangement to bring about the admission of new members to the United Nations.

*Security Council Elections*

On December 6, 1951, the General Assembly began elections to fill the three seats on the Security Council to be vacated on December 31, 1951, by Ecuador, India, and Yugoslavia. Chile and Pakistan were immediately elected to fill two of the vacancies, both having received the required two-thirds majority of the members present and voting on the first ballot. The election for the third seat, however, resulted in a major deadlock. The principal candidates for this seat were Greece and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic. The General Assembly conducted a series of ballots on December 6, 13, and 20 in an effort to resolve the deadlock. On the nineteenth ballot Greece finally obtained the required two-thirds majority.

In addition to the Soviet bloc, a number of other members supported the election of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic in the belief that, as a matter of equitable geographical distribution, the Soviet group was entitled to one of the nonpermanent Security Council seats. The United States and others, however, consistently opposed the election of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic and supported Greece. In the opinion of the United States, the election of a member of the Soviet bloc would only further the Soviet Union's obstructionist policies in the Council. Greece, on the other hand, had been a consistent and staunch supporter of United Nations programs and had contributed fighting forces to the United Nations to resist Communist aggression in Korea. It therefore seemed fully qualified to serve on the Security Council, particularly in view of the fact that article 23 of the Charter provides that in electing the nonpermanent members to the Security Council due regard should be given "in the first instance to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution."

## *Economic and Social Affairs and Human Rights*

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A SIGNIFICANTLY increased emphasis on economic development characterized the United Nations economic and social activities during 1951 and early 1952. The majority of United Nations members pushed forward with various cooperative efforts to expand the world economy in order more adequately to satisfy human needs and aspirations. At the same time there were related efforts toward greater social progress and a better understanding and practice of fundamental human rights. All this work was aimed at the United Nations goal of making the world a better and safer place in which to live.

The surge for economic development was especially strong among the two-thirds of the world's population who live in underdeveloped areas. During the past decade many of these people have become acutely aware of the disparity between the conditions of their own lives and the conditions prevailing in the more highly developed areas of the world. They have also become aware of the true revolutionary concept, ingrained in American and other democratic peoples, which rejects the inevitability of poverty and injustice and demands continuous improvement.

The legitimate aspirations of underdeveloped areas can be realized most effectively and rapidly in the context of a generally expanding world economy. This objective is also important to the more developed countries whose relatively higher standards of living are related directly to the maintenance and improvement of healthy economic conditions in an interdependent world. Moreover, the free world's necessary defensive efforts require a strong economic foundation on a world-wide basis. Finally, economic development is essential to help provide the peoples of underdeveloped areas with a real stake in the future of the free world and, correspondingly, to help meet the superficially attractive appeal of communism.



Early in 1951 the United States International Development Advisory Board, under the chairmanship of Nelson Rockefeller, recommended to the President “. . . that strengthening the economies of the underdeveloped regions and an improvement in their living levels must be considered a vital part of our own defense mobilization.” Insofar as the economies of the underdeveloped countries are strengthened, the attainment of the political objectives of our defense program and the achievement of our defense targets are made easier.

During 1951 the United States and other free nations increased their efforts to help other peoples help themselves toward greater productivity and stability. An important part of these efforts was carried forward through the United Nations expanded technical assistance program, which already has demonstrated the tangible benefits of sound cooperative activity. On other related fronts the United Nations and the specialized agencies also made real gains in the struggle against misery, disease, and ignorance, thereby contributing to the strengthening of the free world. The increased effectiveness of these activities was due not only to a heightened appreciation of the need for such work but also to the significant improvements in program coordination and priorities within the United Nations system.

The record also shows that the Soviet Union and its satellites, despite efforts to pose as the saviors of the oppressed and hungry, continued their obstructionism both inside and outside the United Nations. The Iron Curtain countries, as United States Representative Lubin remarked, did not provide “a single Red ruble” for the United Nations programs to promote economic and social progress which, if realized, would frustrate their drive for revolution and conquest.

## ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

### *World Economic Situation*

As 1951 opened the world economic situation had undergone significant changes and presented somewhat different problems compared with previous years. The major concern of many United Nations members had become focused on shortages and inflationary pressures created by sharply accelerated demands of defense programs since the outbreak of aggression in Korea. This concern had been reflected in a General Assembly resolution of December 1950 which requested

the Economic and Social Council, when examining the world economic situation, to pay special attention to current changes with a view to recommending measures "designed to make possible the uninterrupted progress of programmes of economic stability and development."

The Economic and Social Council undertook its annual review of the world economic situation at its twelfth session from February 20 to March 21, 1951, in Santiago, Chile. The Council's discussion was based mainly on the *World Economic Report, 1949-50*, prepared by the United Nations Secretariat. The report provided a survey and analysis of significant world economic developments and trends. It pointed out that the general levels of both production and trade had risen to new heights during the period under review, despite serious economic difficulties encountered by a number of countries. The general rise in production was due primarily to marked increases of output by the industrialized nations, whereas some of the underdeveloped countries had made relatively slight gains. The report also noted a reorientation of international trade, particularly as many countries had recovered sufficiently from wartime dislocations to reduce their abnormally high imports from the Western Hemisphere, increase their exports, and decrease the dollar deficits which had marked the immediate postwar period.

Notwithstanding the improved production and trade situation, the report warned that a threat of inflation and of serious shortages of goods would confront the world in 1951. Strenuous defense efforts, stemming from the Korean aggression, were creating greatly increased demands upon the world's production resources and stimulating speculative activity and anticipatory buying. These factors threatened to produce strong inflationary pressures and to diminish drastically the availability of capital goods for purposes other than rearmament. Consequently, the report expressed grave concern that rearmament would affect adversely the world economic situation, by a reduction of civilian investment and consumption and by a deterioration in the terms of trade, on the part of industrial nations; and by increased difficulties of underdeveloped countries obtaining needed supplies, particularly capital goods required for their economic development.

The Economic and Social Council focused its attention upon the major problems highlighted by the report. Many of the Council members emphasized the need for measures designed to cope with impending inflation and shortages. As expected, the Soviet-bloc delegates accused the United States and its friends of trying to solve their economic difficulties through wars and war preparations. These

delegates asserted that American "dictated" policies were retarding the development of underdeveloped countries and threatening Western Europe with economic bankruptcy.

Isador Lubin, United States representative to the Economic and Social Council, and several other delegates stressed that aggression in Korea and threats of aggression elsewhere had forced their countries to build up military defenses. This necessity not only reduced the priority of many desirable economic and social programs but also altered the scope of assistance which these countries could provide to other areas of the world. Mr. Lubin emphasized that the prevailing world situation required effort to expand the production of commodities likely to be scarce in relation to vital demands and to utilize existing resources efficiently. The United States, he said, found that expanded production and the optimum use of resources, coupled with price stabilization, enabled it to meet abnormal defense demands while simultaneously increasing the consumer's real purchasing power. Moreover, the United States was able to supply the free world with its most essential needs for recovery and development and for the defense necessary to safeguard that development.

With respect to other aspects of the prevailing economic problems, Mr. Lubin said that the United States was prepared to work out, through the International Materials Conference, in which both the producing and consuming countries are represented, a fair distribution of scarce commodities and that United States export prices would be controlled as long as its domestic prices were controlled. In addition, Mr. Lubin expressed the belief that shortages would not be as acute as during World War II because (1) a far smaller proportion of the larger United States gross national product would be devoted to defense; (2) the Western European countries were in a better position to export capital goods, and increasing German and Japanese industrial output was also becoming available to underdeveloped countries; (3) abundant shipping was available and the sea lanes were open; and (4) some of the underdeveloped countries had increased their industrial capacity, thereby reducing their absolute dependence on imports of some commodities.

Mr. Lubin concluded by stating that the American people look forward to the time when it will be possible to devote an even greater portion of the free world's efforts to speeding up the process of economic development and raising standards of living.

On March 20 the Council adopted a resolution which summarized the world economic situation and recommended that all United Nations



members take special measures for adequate production and equitable distribution of capital goods, essential consumers goods, and raw materials; raising living standards and furthering economic development; regulating equitably prices of essential goods moving in international trade; and preventing the development of inflationary pressures. This resolution was approved by a vote of 13 to 0 with 4 abstentions (Czechoslovakia, Poland, U.S.S.R., and Mexico).

The Council's activities on the general world economic situation were supplemented during 1951 by the work of the three United Nations regional economic commissions. The Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) met in Lahore, Pakistan, in February; the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), in Mexico City and the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), in Geneva during May and June. These annual meetings have become increasingly important as forums for considering particular regional problems and interests and for joint planning and action programs to promote economic development and stability within these regions.

The commissions considered the economic surveys of their respective regions and many specific problems confronting their regions in 1951. ECAFE was primarily concerned that greatly needed economic development in Asia and the Far East would be hampered by shortages of capital goods, and it therefore requested supplying countries to make known to underdeveloped countries the best ways by which the latter could secure the necessary supplies to meet their needs. The United States representative stated that the United States was undertaking, subject only to the priority of essential security requirements, to share its supply of scarce goods to meet the essential needs of other friendly countries. ECAFE made substantial progress in mapping out a priority program for its own work in improving trade and production and in promoting better utilization of manpower, available natural resources, and transportation. Soviet allegations that United States aid programs in the area were designed to subjugate the region to American domination were firmly refuted by the representatives of all the countries receiving such aid.

The Economic Commission for Latin America also showed great concern over the potential shortages of capital goods. ECLA took the constructive line that the period during which such shortages might be most strongly felt should be used for economic planning and technical training. Countries would then be in a better position to push forward their development programs as soon as capital goods again became more abundant.

As it developed, shortages were not as severe as anticipated and United States exports to underdeveloped countries held up well during 1951 despite heavy competing demands.

At the plenary session of the Economic Commission for Europe, the activities of its various technical committees—agriculture, coal, electric power, industry and materials, inland transport, manpower, steel, timber and trade—were reviewed. In addition, the Commission discussed the European economic situation, using for background information the annual *Economic Survey of Europe* prepared by the Secretariat. There was extensive debate on the possibility of expanding East-West trade. The Eastern European countries stated that they would welcome increased trade and urged the Western countries not to follow the United States export licensing policies. The United States representative, however, pointed out that our policy was based on the two following principles: (1) To withhold from the Soviet bloc countries goods they might employ for aggressive purposes and (2) to give preference to friendly nations for goods in short supply. The United States considered this policy essential in the light of the Soviet bloc's behavior and intentions but did not object to trade in nonstrategic items.

The Economic and Social Council held its thirteenth session in Geneva from July 30 to September 21, 1951. Among other matters this session considered the review of economic conditions in Africa and in the Middle East. The discussions highlighted the difficult problems prevailing in these areas, such as labor and land utilization in Africa and irrigation and skilled labor shortages in the Middle East. On the world economic situation, the Council adopted a resolution on August 13 which reaffirmed the major points of its March 20 resolution and, in addition, urged industrialized countries, subject to the overriding needs of defense, to make every possible effort to assure needed supplies to underdeveloped nations.

Thus, the United Nations during 1951 focused attention on the major economic problems confronting the free world in its efforts to build necessary defenses without jeopardizing its economic health. Most members considered that economic development offered the best basis of realizing both military security and economic security. Moreover, these members regarded the economic development of the underdeveloped countries as the most important single long-range economic problem confronting the world. Consequently, primary attention was given in the economic field to the principal means by which the United Nations could help improve the position of the underdeveloped countries. These means included (1) technical assistance for eco-

conomic development; (2) financing economic development; and (3) increasing land productivity. In addition, the United Nations continued its work on (1) employment; (2) international trade; (3) international transport and communications; and (4) emergency relief and rehabilitation, especially with respect to Palestine and Korea.

### *Technical Assistance*

During 1951 and early 1952 the United Nations pressed forward with its expanded program of technical assistance, which was launched with great promise and is yielding significant results. This program stemmed from the Point Four idea in President Truman's inaugural address of 1949.

We must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas . . . we should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better life. . . .

We invite other countries to pool their technological resources in this undertaking. Their contributions will be warmly welcomed. This should be a cooperative enterprise in which all nations work together through the United Nations and its specialized agencies wherever practicable. It must be a world-wide effort for the achievement of peace, plenty, and freedom.

The United Nations program was authorized by the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly, and 55 nations pledged \$20,000,000 during 1950 to finance the program from July 1, 1950, to December 31, 1951. The United States contributed approximately 60 percent, or \$12,007,500.

Under the program the United Nations and its specialized agencies provide technical assistance for the economic and social development of underdeveloped countries at the request of their governments. This assistance helps peoples to help themselves by introducing them to the skills and techniques necessary for the most effective use of their own resources. The United Nations technical assistance activities cover many fields, such as agriculture and health, educational and vocational training, social welfare, and public administration. The unique and positive nature of these activities was described by Congressman Mike Mansfield of the United States delegation in a speech to the sixth session of the General Assembly in December 1951, as follows:



One of the most significant aspects of the United Nations programs is their cooperative nature. So many countries are making their contributions to help many other countries. To mention a few examples, a Canadian agricultural director is helping Ethiopia increase its food supply; a fishery expert from the Netherlands is in Pakistan directing the construction of a fish harbor; a Peruvian health expert is in Egypt working on the control of plague for that whole region; . . . an educator from New Zealand has established a teaching-training center in Thailand; and a Swedish cooperative leader is in Iran helping to develop production and consumer cooperatives. In this way the United Nations is drawing upon the skills of one nation to help in the development of another nation just as in the United States the more advanced states have contributed technical skills to the less advanced states, to the profit of all.

By December 31, 1951, the United Nations program had completed its first 18-month period of operation with an encouraging record of activity and broad support from most of the United Nations membership, with the exception of the Soviet bloc. The significant growth of the program during 1951 is indicated by the following table:

	January 1, 1951	December 31, 1951
Number of requests for assistance received from governments . . . . .	130	1,220
Agreements for providing assistance signed with governments . . . . .	145	543
Experts recruited by participating agencies . . . . .	80	817

In addition, 771 fellowships for study abroad had been awarded by December 31, 1951. Experts and technicians have been provided from 56 countries.

This initial period of operation was devoted, first, to the organizational and planning work necessary to establish a sound basis for program activities and, second, to the inception of technical assistance projects in most of the underdeveloped countries expected to benefit from the program.

## ORGANIZATION AND PLANNING

The contributions of supporting governments were placed in a special account, administered by the Secretary-General, from which allocations are made to the participating international organizations. During the first period \$17,000,000 of the account was automatically made available to the agencies on the basis of a percentage formula which had been approved by the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly as follows:

	Percent	
United Nations . . . . .	23	\$3,910,000
International Labor Organization . . . . .	11	1,870,000
Food and Agriculture Organization . . . . .	29	4,930,000

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organi- zation . . . . .	Percent	
	14	\$2,380,000
International Civil Aviation Organization . . . . .	1	170,000
World Health Organization . . . . .	22	3,740,000
	<hr/> 100	<hr/> 17,000,000

These agencies were able to negotiate agreements with requesting governments within the limits of their funds. Additional allocations from funds available were made by the Technical Assistance Board on the basis of proposed programs. Two other agencies, the International Telecommunication Union and the World Meteorological Organization, began participation in the program in January 1952.

The Technical Assistance Board is made up of representatives of the participating agencies and serves as the coordinating body for the program. Since several of the international agencies were working closely with each other in the same countries, it was necessary to develop procedures for the rapid exchange of information between agencies, for coordination of administrative and fiscal practices, and for coordination with other technical assistance programs—notably the United States Point Four program; the Economic Cooperation Administration (now Mutual Security Agency) program in the countries of Southeast Asia, Greece, Turkey, and certain countries of Europe; the Colombo Plan sponsored by the British Commonwealth countries; and the technical assistance program of the Organization of American States. In addition, the screening of the large volume of requests received by the agencies, the negotiation of agreements with requesting governments, the organization of projects, and the international recruitment of experts have called for the solution of numerous operational problems in order to put the program into operation with maximum effectiveness.

The coordination aspect of this work has been of particular importance. Considerable emphasis has been given to the development of methods for coordinating the programs of United Nations agencies with those of the Technical Cooperation Administration and the Mutual Security Agency (MSA) of the United States. This is being achieved both by a continuous interchange of information regarding programs planned or undertaken and by personal consultations. Negotiations are initiated whenever necessary to deal with specific problems. Ultimately, of course, coordination must be the responsibility of the recipient government, since the right of the recipient government to choose its own sources of technical assistance is paramount. For this reason and because headquarters frequently lacks detailed knowl-

edge of the local situation, the importance of shifting the major responsibility for coordination to the field has become increasingly evident. United States missions abroad are working closely with their United Nations agency colleagues and with recipient governments to develop coordinating and planning mechanisms. A basic step in this process is the development of adequate coordinating mechanisms within the recipient governments themselves, and during 1951 a number of them made substantial progress in this direction. This progress also represents the growth of local administrative responsibility, which is the part of the over-all objective of technical assistance programs.

The United Nations agencies furthered the work of field coordination during 1951 by the designation of an increasing number of resident representatives acting on behalf of the Technical Assistance Board. These United Nations officials, numbering 14 by the end of the year, provide a single point of reference for the local government and for United States representatives in the country. Appropriate coordination arrangements have also been worked out between the United Nations program and the Colombo Plan on the one hand and the program of the Organization of American States on the other.

#### PROGRAM ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Among the numerous projects initiated in 1951, which covered many fields of activity in some 40 different countries, only a few can be selected to illustrate significant types of activity carried on by the United Nations agencies under the technical assistance program. Many of these activities are carried on jointly by several agencies. This allows maximum integration of effort and optimum results in terms of economic development.

##### *Bolivia*

In underdeveloped countries generally, raw materials and natural potentialities often have not been utilized effectively because the government and people lack sufficient technical knowledge to take advantage of existing resources. In some cases economic development has also been hampered by governmental and administrative instability. As a result, external sources of investment capital, which might do much toward promoting economic development, are discouraged and turn elsewhere for more satisfying conditions.



Against this background the Bolivian Government and the United Nations undertook in 1951 a pioneer experiment in technical assistance. In order to promote internal governmental development and administration, Bolivia has requested the services of 10 administrative assistants, each responsible for administrative reorganization and practices within the Bolivian Government Ministries primarily concerned with various phases of economic development. These administrative assistants are being recruited from various countries by the United Nations. After their acceptance by the Bolivian Government, they will receive 3- to 5-year contracts and salaries similar to those of comparable Bolivian officials, along with supplementary sums provided by United Nations grants to Bolivia. In addition to these 10 administrative assistants, one high-level Bolivian and one high-level United Nations official will play important roles in this arrangement as coordinators, respectively, for the Bolivian Government and the United Nations.

While the plan lays chief emphasis on the arrangements for the administrative assistants and in that respect breaks new ground, it provides at the same time for technical assistance to Bolivia in wider fields. Under the agreement 13 experts are to be furnished to Bolivia, who will be primarily technicians in the specialized fields in which the initial attack is believed necessary. These include experts in taxation, banking, mining, petroleum, electric power, transport, and public administration.

Students of technical assistance have been deeply concerned with the importance of public administration in the building up of economic development programs. At the same time it has been recognized that this area of activity represents, for obvious reasons, one of the more sensitive aspects of public policy. It is perhaps easier in such cases for a government to accept expert advice from an international organization than from any single country, no matter how friendly. The Bolivian Government and the United Nations together are, therefore, demonstrating how in certain aspects of technical assistance an international agency and a member government can work together for their common goals.

### *Libya*

Libya offers another example of an integrated approach to problems of economic development. In that country, which has been a special responsibility of the United Nations since World War II, the United Nations and most of the specialized agencies have been assisting the authorities to meet two fundamental problems; first, to broaden

and diversify the economy which at the present time is purely agricultural and, second, to help create the administrative services essential to self-government.

Following a basic appraisal of Libya's economic conditions and potentialities, experts from the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) were sent out to help on some of the most immediate agricultural problems, such as methods of land and water utilization; improvement of wool production, processing, and marketing; and the relation of wine production to the economy of the country in light of export possibilities. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), assisted by the International Labor Organization ((ILO), has been training in its junior clerical and training centers several hundred young people as mechanics, craftsmen, clerks, and stenographers. They are now helping to meet the needs for junior civil-service personnel. The United Nations provided fellowships for Libyan personnel in such fields as public administration, including public finance and fiscal policies. The principal work of the World Health Organization (WHO) in Libya is to assist in improving and expanding the public-health administration.

The United States has worked closely with the United Nations officials at all stages and technical assistance projects for the future are being planned on a supplementary basis. The United Nations is expanding its activities in Libya and plans to spend approximately a million dollars on them in 1952.

### *India*

In India the malaria-control program, coordinated under WHO leadership, has proved a decisive factor in the doubling of land values—an increase of almost 300 percent in industrial plants and a 75-percent rise in food production in 1,300 villages covering an area of 1,750 square miles in the Terai region of the state of Uttar Pradesh. Encouraged by the results obtained in a concerted attack on one of the country's dread diseases, the local governments have assumed responsibility for malaria control in these villages. The Government of India, with the assistance of WHO and FAO, is attacking malaria in adjacent regions in the state of Uttar Pradesh and simultaneously carrying out a scheme of land reclamation and food production, involving the introduction of tractors and the construction of plants for food preservation and dehydration of milk.

*Rinderpest*

The fight which FAO is spear-heading against rinderpest, the deadly disease which kills off millions of head of cattle each year in Asia and Africa, is equally dramatic. Using a new vaccine perfected by the United States and Canada during the war, Thailand's Government set up an animal-control program and with FAO's help has completely eliminated this disease from the country. Ethiopia, with the help of FAO technicians, has organized teams of native farmers who are going from valley to valley vaccinating the cattle and teaching other farmers how to keep them free from disease in the future. Over 1,000,000 head of cattle have already been vaccinated, and FAO experts are confident that within a few years these teams can cover this rugged, mountainous country and successfully immunize the entire cattle population. The first result of this program will be to open up a new source of meat supply for other parts of Africa and Europe. In Burma, FAO, MSA, and the Government of Burma have a three-way agreement by which the Government is supplying facilities and personnel; MSA, vaccines and equipment; and FAO, technical personnel to carry out a rinderpest-control program. Such programs produce striking results for very little cost; for only a few cents a head the cattle are immunized for life.

*Locust Control*

The program for desert locust control in the Middle East demonstrates the benefits to be derived from joint United States-United Nations action in the field of technical assistance. For centuries locusts have repeatedly wiped out thousands of acres of crops and discouraged the planting of new areas throughout the Middle East. In 1951, when Iran desperately appealed to the United States for help, American planes, loaded with aldrin, responded at once under the Point Four program and were able to wipe out large locust hordes in Iran, Pakistan, and India. A few months later FAO organized a conference on desert locust control, resulting in establishment of an FAO Advisory Locust Control Committee, which is keeping the situation in the entire area under review and which helps to mobilize and coordinate national control programs. The United States is planning to continue its assistance to each country in the region under Point Four agreements as its part of this regionally planned and coordinated program. Technical Cooperation Administration officials have said that \$445,000 will be spent in this effort to check yearly crop losses estimated at \$80,000,000.



*Financing Economic Development*

During 1951 and 1952 considerable attention was given to the methods and extent of financing economic development both by the underdeveloped countries and by such nations as the United States which are usually looked to as the source of development capital. The General Assembly in November 1950 had asked the Economic and Social Council for recommendations on practical methods, conditions, and policies for achieving an adequate expansion and steadier flow of foreign capital, both private and public, to aid the economic development of underdeveloped countries.

This request and subsequent consideration of the matter in the United Nations grew out of the awareness that, while financing of development must be based primarily on the mobilization of domestic resources, the financial resources of underdeveloped countries might not be sufficient to insure the desired rate of development. Therefore technical assistance could not actually solve the problems of the underdeveloped areas unless accompanied or followed up by adequate financing. The underdeveloped countries especially considered that external financial assistance was urgently required in order to enable them to develop rapidly enough to lessen the enormous economic disparity between themselves and the "developed" areas of the world. These countries held the view that, since economic development is closely related to the long-run maintenance of high levels of prosperity in industrialized countries, it is in the interest of the latter as well as of international agencies to provide capital assistance to underdeveloped countries. These countries considered such assistance particularly necessary for the public financing of basic economic and social projects essential to an integrated program of development, which private foreign capital is unwilling to undertake.

Early in 1951 the Economic and Social Council considered the annual report of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. At that time the president of the Bank emphasized that it did not face any difficulty in raising sufficient funds to support its lending activities. While defense efforts would diminish the availability of certain supplies and equipment needed for development, the report pointed out that the total amount of equipment and materials that can be usefully absorbed by the basic development of underdeveloped countries at present was very limited as compared with the industrial world's capacity for production. Underdeveloped countries were nevertheless urged to establish priorities among their de-

velopment projects and to recognize that a country's whole social structure determines the possibilities of economic progress and that in many cases reforms in taxation, investment practices, and land reform are indispensable for economic development.

During the general debate in the Economic and Social Council on the question of financing economic development, many members repeated the view so frequently expressed that a strengthening of the resources of the International Bank was necessary and that additional methods of financing non-self-liquidating development projects would be needed. The United States representatives pointed out that considerable public financing of economic development was actually taking place and that, in addition, a substantial amount of private capital is available for foreign investment purposes whenever conditions are sufficiently attractive. It was further noted that as the result of improved balance-of-payments positions many underdeveloped countries should be able to finance a larger part of their development needs out of current earnings.

#### GROUP OF EXPERTS REPORT

The Council requested further study of the problem, and a group of experts appointed by the Secretary-General submitted a report containing recommendations on national or international measures which might be taken by both the underdeveloped countries and the developed countries for the purpose of accelerating economic development. The underdeveloped countries were urged to make social and economic reforms in the effort to release the energies of their peoples; to survey and carefully budget their domestic and foreign capital requirements; to improve the efficiency of their production, distribution, and financial systems; to prepare programs for creating new productive employment by fuller utilization of their industrial, agricultural, and mineral resources; and to prepare programs for stimulating savings and directing them into productive channels. The developed countries were urged to desist from commercial policies which might hinder the development of the underdeveloped countries; to set up national institutions similar to the Export-Import Bank of the United States; and to facilitate foreign private investment by negotiating treaties for the protection of foreign investment, by insuring investments against transfer difficulties, and by exempting foreign-earned income from double taxation.

In addition, the group of experts recommended that the United Nations establish an international development authority to distribute grants-in-aid to the underdeveloped countries and to assist them in implementing their development programs. It was also recommended that the United Nations explore the possibility of establishing an international finance corporation to promote the financing of productive private enterprise either through loans without government guaranty or through equity investments in private undertakings.

The report of the experts was consulted by the Economic, Employment and Development Commission. It recommended to the Economic and Social Council that no international development authority be set up before a thorough investigation had proven that none of the existing organizations could perform the necessary functions. Most members of the Commission, including the United States representative, considered that grants-in-aid, to the extent likely to be available in the future, could be made effectively without the creation of a new international institution; that such grants-in-aid should not be regarded as a normal feature of international economic cooperation; and that it would not be feasible to create an additional international agency to distribute grants since it appeared that few countries would be able to make substantial contributions to such an agency in the near future. Moreover, the United States representative pointed out that any such institution would have to be "truly international," which would not be the case if its financial support were provided by only a few countries.

The Economic and Social Council in turn reported to the sixth session of the General Assembly that various measures need to be taken in order to promote a larger and steadier flow of public and private capital. Both capital exporting and importing countries were urged to make efforts to insure conditions favorable to the investment of private foreign capital. The International Bank and other existing agencies were urged to expand their lending operations in underdeveloped areas, taking into consideration that progressive economic development would generally result in an increase in the debt service capacity of borrowing countries. The Bank was also requested to consider the recommendation of the group of experts and report on what contribution could be made to the promotion of financing productive private enterprise by an international finance corporation. In this latter connection many representatives felt the need for an international agency which could make loans in both local and foreign currencies to private enterprise without the requirement of government guaranties and could make equity investments in productive



enterprises which would otherwise never be started for want of adequate finance.

The Council also requested the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Bank, to keep under active study the problem of financing non-self-liquidating projects and to formulate a series of methods which he might deem practicable for dealing with the problem of grant assistance to those underdeveloped countries whose economic situation makes it impossible to raise capital for financing essential and basic projects.

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION

During its sixth session in late 1951 and early 1952 the General Assembly noted and approved the work of the Economic and Social Council. It invited the International Bank to continue to expand its lending operations, keeping in mind the special situation of underdeveloped countries with low levels of annual per-capita income, and to make special efforts to assist the national agricultural and industrial credit institutions of underdeveloped countries by increasing their effective resources in capital and technical advice. The Economic and Social Council was requested to continue its studies and to submit to the seventh session of the General Assembly in late 1952 plans and methods for establishing a special fund for grants-in-aid and for low interest, long-term loans to underdeveloped countries to help them accelerate their economic development and to finance non-self-liquidating projects which are basic to their economic development. This Assembly resolution states that participation by governments in the study will not commit those countries to join in the implementation of plans, financially or otherwise, and that the creation of a new international organization should be considered only if a careful examination of existing organizations proves they cannot carry out the required functions.

The United States opposed efforts to create either a special fund or a new institution for financing economic development. Congressman Mansfield, in explaining the United States negative vote on this issue to the Assembly, examined the following two aspects of the problem of financing economic development: (1) The extent to which grants are necessary to finance non-self-liquidating projects and (2) the instrumentalities through which such grants are to be made available. On the first, Mr. Mansfield pointed out that both the Export-Import Bank and the International Bank have increas-

ingly made loans on projects, such as roads and other public services, which may not in themselves be self-liquidating but which make a fundamental contribution to general productivity. In addition, the balance-of-payments position of many underdeveloped countries has been improved and they are better able to finance nonbankable projects with their own resources or to assume larger debt obligations. Even so, it was apparent that some countries may sometimes require a measure of external grant assistance to provide an initial impetus to basic development. On the second matter, Mr. Mansfield said that it would be neither practical nor feasible to establish an international agency for the purpose of distributing grants because, with the present manifold and competing claims on the world's financial resources, there is little indication that there would be wide and substantial participation in any such agency. The industrialized countries, which could be expected to be the main contributors to such an agency, are now carrying such increasingly heavy defense burdens that they are not likely to be able to export additional capital in any large volume.

At the same time United States representatives in the General Assembly reaffirmed our deep interest and support for realistic efforts to facilitate the economic development of underdeveloped countries. American representatives pointed to our considerable technical and financial assistance since World War II as tangible evidence of our willingness to do all we reasonably can to help the underdeveloped countries help themselves. In addition, Secretary Acheson and other delegates stressed our firm belief that the free world's growing defensive strength, to which the United States was contributing considerably, would bring about improved conditions which would enable the capital-exporting countries to do even more for the economic development of underdeveloped areas. This had been set forth in the American, British, and French disarmament resolution by which the General Assembly recognized the desire ". . . to lift from the peoples of the world the burden of increasing armaments and the fear of war, and to liberate new energies and resources for positive programs of reconstruction and development. . . ."

#### REGIONAL COMMISSIONS

During 1951 the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) and the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) were also concerned with the problem of financing economic development with particular reference to their regional problems.

The Economic Commission for Latin America requested its executive secretary to initiate studies on appropriate methods of increasing domestic capital formation and the direction of such savings into private and public investments. It also requested reports on fiscal and monetary policies and the organization of capital markets best adapted to the development needs of Latin America and recommended the adoption of currency, credit, and taxation policies by Latin American countries designed to increase and direct investment. The Commission arranged for the establishment of an ECLA center for training in economic development to assist governments in formulating development programs, their goals, and the means of achieving them. It also recommended that Latin American governments formulate programs of economic development so as to insure the most intensive and systematic expansion of their economies by utilizing their domestic resources and those supplementary resources obtained from abroad.

The Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East investigated during the year opportunities for the improvement of facilities in the financial and monetary field for mobilizing domestic capital and promoting productive investment. The International Monetary Fund assisted in this study and analyzed the financial institutions in a number of Asian countries. A working party of experts meeting in Bangkok during the year prepared recommendations on specific aspects of the problem of mobilizing domestic capital, such as the impact of inflation on mobilization of domestic capital, measures of increasing government bond sales, and measures for mobilizing savings in rural areas.

#### INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT

The International Bank expanded its financial and technical assistance to the underdeveloped countries during 1951. Loans were increased by \$208,000,000 during the year to a total of \$1,212,000,000, with new loans made to Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Ethiopia, Belgium and the Belgian Congo, Iceland, Italy, South Africa, and Yugoslavia.

One of the most important activities of the Bank concerned the financing of a development program for the Belgian Congo. The Bank agreed to make a loan of \$40,000,000 to the Congo to cover part of the cost of goods and equipment which would be imported from countries other than Belgium as a result of public investment



in the Congo, and a second loan of \$30,000,000 was made to Belgium to cover the impact on the Belgian foreign-exchange position of the additional goods to be provided by Belgium to the Congo under the development program. Another indication of the expanded loan activities of the Bank was its participation in the 10-year program of land reclamation, agricultural improvement, road rehabilitation, and public works, which the Italian Government had embarked upon in southern Italy. This area has long been so backward and depressed that it has been highly susceptible to Communist influences. The Bank's loan of \$10,000,000 will finance selected projects in the program by means of the lire counterpart of the loan. The purpose of Bank assistance is to help Italy prevent inflation by meeting the additional demand for dollar imports arising from investment activity in southern Italy.

Other significant loans during the year included participation by the Bank in the Yugoslav Government's investment program to the extent of \$28,000,000; loans for telecommunication development in Ethiopia (\$15,000,000); the expansion of electric power and transportation facilities in the Union of South Africa (\$50,000,000); port development in Thailand (\$4,400,000); power development in Brazil (\$50,000,000); and the financing of agricultural machinery for Nicaragua (\$1,200,000).

An important development in the Bank's operations has been the release of nondollar funds for loan operations. In earlier years the Bank's operations were confined largely to loans in United States dollars, but loans in other currencies should help those borrowers who find it easier to discharge a nondollar debt than one in dollars. The resultant acceleration of economic progress should also strengthen the future ability of these countries to assume debts in all currencies, including dollars. The loan of 875,000 pounds (\$2,450,000) for power-development projects in Iceland is the first Bank loan consisting entirely of currencies other than United States dollars. It will be disbursed in sterling, French francs, and Danish and Norwegian kroner for purchases in Sweden, the United Kingdom, Western Germany, Denmark, and Norway.

Increasingly the Bank is called upon to provide advice or assistance without reference to any immediate financial operation. In large part these requests for assistance show a growing appreciation of the need for establishing long-term development programs. In the cases of Cuba, Guatemala, and Iraq, the Bank organized missions which reported during 1951 after having made comprehensive surveys to assist those countries in working out the broad outlines of development

programs. The Bank is also ready to provide further assistance to help countries in working out concrete programs of action based on such reports.

### *Increasing the Productivity of Land*

One of the most critical aspects of the economic development problem relates to the productivity of land. Despite all the astounding advances in agriculture and industry, the world is still faced by a "rising tide of hunger." During 1951 and early 1952 the United Nations expanded its work of promoting increased food production and the conservation and maximum utilization of the resources of land and sea as an important part of a world-wide war on hunger. The United States continued to participate wholeheartedly in these efforts and to complement them by its Point Four activities. The United States and many other members of the United Nations and the Food and Agriculture Organization recognized that they have a vital stake in combating hunger and landlessness, which constitute serious obstacles to agricultural productivity and are potentially powerful sources of unrest, revolution, and war.

In the battle to increase food production, hunger has won the first engagement. The most recent studies made by FAO show that, while food production is now some 9 percent greater than the average in the prewar period from 1934 to 1938, the world's population has increased by 12 percent. As the Director General of the FAO reports—

There is an ever widening gap between the amount of food that is produced and the number of people consuming it. . . . This gap between agricultural production and population growth is accentuated by the fact that increases in food production have been largely confined to the developed areas of the world, while in those areas where hunger has been a daily experience, there is even less food than before to go around.

To meet this rising tide of hunger the Conference of the FAO in Rome, November to December 1951, agreed that the entire effort of the organization should be directed toward bringing about increased world food production. The Conference set a goal of increasing food production by at least 1 to 2 percent more than the annual rate of population increase. While this is not sufficient to supply adequate diets for good nutrition, it was considered a realizable goal under present circumstances. To achieve this objective, FAO decided to place increased emphasis on helping governments to develop national food and agricultural goals and programs, to set up agricultural extension

services, and to bring about reforms in agrarian structures as an aid to increased food production. These programs are directly in line with specific proposals advanced by the United States delegation, based on American experience. In addition, the Conference approved an international plant protection convention designed to establish a framework of minimum standards of sanitation for plant materials moving in international trade.

The International Rice Commission, set up and serviced by Fao in Bangkok, organized joint rice-breeding, fertilizer, and rice-processing experiments with the cooperation of national rice-breeding stations from Japan to India. The Indo-Pacific Fisheries Council continued the exchange of technical fisheries information and developed demonstration programs in various branches of fisheries work. The Conference agreed to establish a similar regional fisheries council for Latin America. Fao's regular activities also included regional forestry commissions in Europe, Asia, and Latin America; regional nutrition meetings and training centers in the Near East and Asia; continued assistance in analyzing the world census of agriculture; and technical meetings on livestock, tropical agriculture, and range management.

Another important activity involved the organization of three regional training centers for economic development, jointly sponsored by Fao, the United Nations, and the International Bank. The first of these centers was held for 3 months in Pakistan for countries of Asia and the Far East; another was held in Turkey for the Near East and southern Europe; and a third in Chile for Latin American countries. At these centers instruction and field demonstrations were provided on many aspects of development appraisal and analysis, especially as related to agricultural development. One purpose of these efforts was to enable countries to prepare better documentation for agencies lending funds to governments for economic development.

## LAND REFORM

One of the key elements of the war against hunger is land reform. In many areas of the world centuries of dividing and subdividing the land have left farmers with plots which are completely inadequate to support themselves and their families. In other regions landowners control vast areas, much of which either is left completely uncultivated or is cultivated by tenant farmers who lack security of tenure or income. As a result these tenant farmers have no stake



in the land they work and little chance of gaining the sense of individual responsibility which goes hand in hand with land ownership or security of tenure. Congressman Hope of Kansas, speaking on this subject at the FAO Conference in Rome, highlighted this difficulty when he said, "A man will fight for his farm or home but not for a stack of rent receipts."

Recognizing that political stability, economic development, and high agricultural production are possible only in societies where the farmer has a stake in his land, the United States has taken the lead in urging appropriate United Nations bodies to adopt programs which will aid the landless in many countries to achieve land ownership or security of tenure. Following Secretary Acheson's initiative in the 1950 General Assembly, the Secretary-General in cooperation with FAO issued a report in 1951, "Agrarian Structures as Obstacles to Economic Development," which analyzed land tenure and related problems in a number of areas and summarized different types of agrarian reform now under way. Subsequently, the Economic and Social Council adopted a comprehensive resolution which defines "land reform" as involving sometimes land redistribution, sometimes consolidation of fragmented holdings, provision of agricultural credit, formation of agricultural cooperatives, promotion of agricultural extension and education, all of which are well known and accepted in the United States. In fact, the United States was so successful in promoting the Western concept of "land reform" that the Soviet and Polish alternative proposals for Communist-type land reform were resoundingly defeated. The FAO Conference in November approved a program of work to implement the Council's recommendations by providing for further joint studies on land-tenure problems with other United Nations agencies, development of regional meetings and seminars, and provision of technical assistance. The sixth session of the General Assembly in 1951 again endorsed the whole concept of land reform and urged all member governments to take action to facilitate its achievement.

#### ACUTE FOOD SHORTAGES AND FAMINE

While longer term programs to raise food production are the only way to meet the world's food needs, short-term problems, especially those arising out of natural disasters, such as flood, drought, and earthquakes, cannot be ignored. The United States joined with Chile in sponsoring a move by which the sixth session of the General Assem-

bly called upon the Secretary-General, FAO, and WHO to draw up procedures for bringing about joint emergency action by governments and private bodies in time of disaster. In proposing such action the United States pointed out the enormous resources available in voluntary agencies and urged that they be brought into any joint planning. The 1952 sessions of the Economic and Social Council (Ecosoc) and of FAO are expected to agree on measures for bringing about the quickest and most concerted effort of all agencies in meeting emergency food and famine crises.

## WATER CONTROL AND UTILIZATION

No single natural resource is so important to man's survival as water, and yet in most parts of the world precious water supplies are often unused or are allowed to dry up. The great pressure to discover new sources of water, to harness rivers, and to build dams has led, within the United Nations system, to a series of more or less uncoordinated programs of research, technical assistance, and planning on such matters as hydrology, arid-zone problems, and irrigation. As an illustration, in Southeast Asia much interest and enthusiasm has been centered on the flood-control activities of ECAFE. Knowing the great benefit to rural and urban dwellers alike of a multiple-purpose approach to water development, the United States proposed in the Economic and Social Council during 1951 that the Secretary-General and specialized agencies concerned, especially FAO, UNESCO, WHO, and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO), survey the whole field of United Nations activity in regard to water development and prepare a report for the Council. This report would be the basis for consideration of an over-all, coordinated program in which all United Nations agencies and other intergovernmental and private bodies could cooperate with governments in promoting the best use of the world's water resources.

### *Full Employment*

One of the tasks of the Economic and Social Council is to keep under continuous review the world employment situation. In view of the generally high levels of employment prevailing in 1950 and 1951, there was some question as to whether the problem of full employment might well be dropped from the Council's agenda for the

time being. However, many governments felt that the question was so important that it should be placed on the agenda for debate even though the problem might not be acute at the time.

Early in 1951 a committee of experts appointed by the Secretary-General had submitted its report to the Council on the problems of unemployment and underemployment in underdeveloped countries. This report pointed out that economic development was essential to the solution of these problems. It outlined national and international measures for facilitating such development with emphasis on action by the underdeveloped countries themselves to provide the preconditions and institutional framework for economic development. One of these measures, the stimulation of domestic savings and domestic investment, was further elaborated on by the Economic, Employment and Development Commission. The Commission emphasized the role which domestic financial resources must play in economic development and urged that the Secretary-General continue further the detailed examination of specific problems in the field of domestic capital mobilization in the underdeveloped areas.

At its thirteenth session in mid-1951 the Economic and Social Council discussed the measures taken by governments toward achieving full employment and the effect which the current economic situation, in particular the rearmament programs, had on the problems of employment, inflation, and living standards. Representatives of underdeveloped countries generally agreed that the problem of full employment in their countries could only be solved in the context of an expanding world economy, within which the economic development of underdeveloped countries would form the most important element.

Mr. Lubin presented the United States views and related the employment situation to the excellent state of the American economy just prior to the Communist aggression against Korea and to the changing demands for manpower resulting from the defense program. He said:

To us, the phrase "full employment" carries with it the concept of a high level productivity and improving technology under free enterprise. To us, "full employment" does not mean the mere holding of jobs, because that merely means underemployment, low productivity and poor utilization of labor and other productive resources. Such a limited idea of full employment is a stimulant to restrictive practices, to opposition to the use of new and improved methods, to the establishment of production quotas and the exclusion of new firms from the market. Such a limited concept is the very antithesis of our goal of expanding markets and high productivity as the ultimate sources of a high level of employment and a rising standard of living.



As we look ahead, we realize that in any flexible, industrialized economy there may well be ups and down in production and employment. Our objective under the "Full Employment" program is to minimize these fluctuations, while holding to an upward course in a manner which will foster and promote free competitive enterprise and maximum production and purchasing power. We are conscious of the fact that this will not be simple, or easy. But we are confident that we can succeed.

The Council adopted two resolutions, supported by the United States, which noted various aspects of the employment situation brought out in its discussions, reaffirmed the desirability of a high level of economic activity in the industrially advanced countries, and decided that the problems of reducing structural unemployment and underemployment in the underdeveloped countries should be discussed annually by the Council. The General Assembly subsequently concurred in this decision.

### *International Trade and Finance*

The United Nations during 1951 continued to pursue a variety of programs in the fields of international trade and finance, designed to further the basic objective of raising standards of living in member countries and promoting conditions of economic progress. In general these programs were designed to encourage or remove existing obstacles to increased production and trade. Within this framework, an especially important objective of the International Monetary Fund and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade has been the attempt to relieve balance-of-payments problems and so work toward free convertibility of currencies and the elimination of quantitative restrictions on trade.

United States participation in these programs in 1951 was complicated by the requirements of the defense program and the need to promote our strategic objectives while also carrying forward long-term programs of increasing production and trade. This has meant, on one hand, an effort to confine the benefits of a freer exchange of goods to countries willing to cooperate with the free-world community with its corollary of keeping strategic goods away from other countries. It has also necessitated an accommodation of long-term to short-term objectives within the free-world community, always bearing in mind the need to minimize interference with the attainments of the long-term goals of better living standards.

Some of these programs of the United Nations have already been mentioned under the financing of economic development, such as the

work of the regional commissions of the Economic and Social Council in the fields of trade promotion and the study of regional capital. During 1951 work was done also with respect to four other major trade and finance programs, as follows: (1) By the contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in the field of reduction of governmental barriers to international trade; (2) by the International Monetary Fund in the field of international finance; (3) on the development of acceptable standards for intergovernmental commodity agreements; and (4) on restrictive business practices.

#### GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE (GATT)

Although the agreement is not a United Nations instrument, it was negotiated under United Nations auspices and constitutes the framework within which most United Nations members have been working toward the expansion of international trade.

Under the sponsorship of the contracting parties to the agreement, the third postwar tariff conference was held at Torquay, England, from September 28, 1950, to April 21, 1951. At Torquay the countries already parties to the agreement held a second round of tariff negotiations among themselves. In addition, they negotiated with six countries seeking accession to the agreement—Austria, the Federal Republic of Germany, Korea, Peru, the Philippines, and Turkey. Uruguay, which had successfully negotiated for accession in 1949 but had not yet become a party, also took part in the negotiations. Of the group which negotiated for accession at Torquay, the Federal Republic of Germany, Peru, Turkey, and Austria have completed the procedures for accession and become contracting parties. This made 34 countries parties to the agreement, accounting for over 80 percent of the world's trade.

At the Torquay conference 8,800 new tariff reductions or bindings of existing tariff treatment were negotiated. In addition to these new concessions, the contracting parties decided to forego for an additional 3 years, until January 1, 1954, the right to withdraw concessions negotiated in 1947 and 1949. Other provisions in the agreement permitting concessions to be modified or withdrawn in case of need were continued unaffected. The old concessions added to the new concessions negotiated at Torquay brought the total number of items on which tariff concessions have been granted under the General Agreement to almost 59,000. General stability until at least 1954 was thus

given to tariff rates covering two-thirds of the trade of the contracting parties.

In September and October 1951 at Geneva, the sixth regular meeting of the contracting parties was held, not to negotiate tariff concessions but to discuss and act upon other trade problems of common interest and concern. Progress was made on a wide variety of problems of interest to the United States. A report was prepared on quantitative restrictions still maintained for balance-of-payments reasons. A procedural improvement to strengthen and improve administration of the agreement was made by establishing an *ad hoc* committee to handle urgent business arising between the sixth and seventh sessions and to consider agenda items for the seventh session. Procedures were also adopted for conducting tariff negotiations among contracting parties and with countries desiring to accede to the agreement, without convoking full-scale tariff conferences of all the contracting parties. A draft convention was negotiated and approved to facilitate the importation of commercial samples and advertising matter, bringing up to date the former League of Nations draft convention on this subject. This is a matter the importance of which the International Chamber of Commerce has emphasized. Together with the draft, the meeting approved two draft recommendations on documentary requirements for importation and on consular formalities.

The sixth session also adopted a declaration that the United States and Czechoslovakia would be free to suspend their agreement obligations to one another. The United States had requested this action on the ground that the general deterioration of relations between the two countries made it impossible to fulfill the obligations of the General Agreement. The American request was approved by the overwhelming majority of 24 in favor, 4 abstentions, and only Czechoslovakia voting against. The contracting parties also considered complaints against the recent Belgian restrictions on the importation of dollar goods and against the quantitative restrictions on certain dairy products which the United States imposed.

#### INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

During 1951 the International Monetary Fund (IMF) continued its important role of providing machinery for consultation and collaboration on international monetary problems. Such consultation and collaboration took place during the year on a wide variety of problems, including such matters as exchange rates, exchange restric-



tions, multiple currency practices, and currency stabilization. This involved Fund review and approval of specific measures as well as general advice on the whole range of problems indicated by these topics.

In the field of technical assistance, the Fund increasingly was called upon by member countries for advice, either through missions or through consultations at the offices of the Fund, as member countries strove to achieve and maintain economic stability in the face of the pressures imposed upon them by the necessities of defense. As part of this program technical experts of the Fund visited such countries as Brazil, Canada, Cuba, Ecuador, Lebanon, Panama, Peru, the United Kingdom, and Venezuela.

In April 1951 the Fund issued its *Second Annual Report on Exchange Restrictions*. The report contains a survey of the exchange systems in force in member and certain nonmember countries, a review of Fund activities in this field, and a discussion of the use of restrictions in present world conditions. The report notes that where conditions are favorable, the removal and relaxation of restrictions could help strengthen the economies of the countries concerned and provide a sounder basis for the achievement of longer run stability in external economic relations.

In the field of gold policy, the Fund has, since its establishment, been concerned with the problem of external gold transactions at premium prices because of the resulting tendency for gold to move into private hoards rather than into official reserves. In June 1947 the Fund issued a gold policy statement in which it deprecated such transactions and recommended that members take effective action to prevent them. On September 28, 1951, the Fund issued a further statement in which it noted the impracticability of expecting all members to take uniform measures to achieve the objectives of the 1947 premium gold policy. Accordingly the statement declared that while the Fund reaffirms its belief in the underlying economic principles and urges members to support them, the Fund will leave to its members the practical operating decisions involved in carrying them out, subject to the relevant provisions of the IMF agreement.

#### INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMODITY AGREEMENTS

The Economic and Social Council in mid-1951 considered a Secretariat study of appropriate procedures for convening study groups and international commodity conferences. This study, prepared with the

help of the Interim Coordinating Committee for International Commodity Arrangements, interested specialized agencies, and intergovernmental commodity groups, included a draft resolution on international commodity arrangements which largely embodied the principles and procedures set forth in the Havana Charter for an International Trade Organization. Since the resolution was necessarily detailed and lengthy, the Council decided to postpone consideration until 1952 so that governments would have ample opportunity to examine this whole problem.

### RESTRICTIVE BUSINESS PRACTICES

The thirteenth session of the Economic and Social Council in mid-1951 adopted a resolution sponsored by the United States on restrictive business practices. This resolution recommends to members of the United Nations that they take appropriate measures to cooperate with each other to prevent restrictive business practices affecting international trade which restrain competition, limit access to markets, or foster monopolistic control whenever such practices have harmful effects on the expansion of production or trade, on the economic development of underdeveloped areas, or on standards of living. The resolution further recommended that measures be adopted by international agreement for implementing this general policy based on the principles set forth in chapter V of the Havana Charter. It established an *Ad Hoc* Committee consisting of Belgium, Canada, France, India, Mexico, Pakistan, Sweden, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Uruguay to prepare proposals along these lines to be submitted to the Council by March 1953. The resolution also directed the Committee to make a study of restrictive business practices affecting international trade and of measures taken by individual states for the purpose of eliminating them.

In introducing the resolution Mr. Lubin stated that the United States is convinced the facts will show that monopolistic practices on an international scale can and do keep prices unduly high; accentuate inflationary pressures; hold real wages down; retard the modernization and productivity of industry; and increase the cost of economic development in underdeveloped countries. He pointed out further that the numerous efforts to stimulate commerce and industry through the lowering of tariffs and related trade barriers could be defeated if private cartel arrangements were allowed to flourish.

## *Transport and Communications*

During 1951 the United Nations made steady progress in the improvement and regulation of international transport and communications. The work accomplished in these fields is highly technical in character but is important because it involves the international movement of over \$50,000,000,000 in goods annually, the international transport by rail, sea, or air of millions of passengers, and the international transmission of over 175,000,000 telegrams and 225,000,000 telephone calls. These operations are, in varying degrees, dependent upon the application of international standards or regulations. The United States has been deeply concerned with international activity in these fields because of its extensive world-wide transport and communications interests.

### MARITIME MATTERS

Safety standards and regulations affecting the carriage of passengers and goods by sea have been a matter of international concern since the Titanic disaster, which led in 1914 to the first international draft convention on safety of life at sea. During the past year a revised international convention on safety of life at sea, drawn up in London in 1948, was accepted by a sufficient number of countries to bring it into force in 1952. This convention revises the present convention on this subject, signed in 1929, and modernizes the provisions for lifesaving and fire-fighting appliances. It also establishes modern standards for the compartmentation of passenger vessels. The maintenance of a periodic review of maritime safety standards and regulations is one of the many technical matters requiring intergovernmental action provided for in the convention for the establishment of the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization signed in Geneva in February 1948. This latter convention, although ratified by the United States, has not yet received the necessary number of ratifications for its entry into force.

### AVIATION MATTERS

In the field of aviation the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) adopted new international standards and recommended practices designed to promote safer travel by air. Since its establish-



ment ICAO has adopted 14 annexes to its convention setting forth international standards and recommended practices. The last two of these 14 annexes, which were adopted in 1951, cover uniform procedures for notification, investigation, and reporting of aircraft accidents and uniform standards for the physical characteristics and equipment of airports for aircraft flying internationally. In addition to the establishment of these standards, ICAO has also been concerned with the improvement of air-navigation facilities to permit safer travel and expansion of traffic. Extensive studies were made for each region of the world of critical deficiencies in aeronautical communication services, navigational aids, air-traffic services, meteorological services, and search and rescue facilities. The organization set up a priority list of critical deficiencies, which was based upon the lack or inadequacy of air-navigation facilities or services having a direct effect on safety or seriously impairing the regularity or efficiency of air transport. As a result of ICAO's initiative, many countries have taken measures for correcting these deficiencies, such as providing safe runways for larger airliners and maintaining meteorological services on a 24-hour basis. ICAO itself also provided technical assistance, under the United Nations expanded program, to assist countries in correcting deficiencies of various kinds. In certain instances where the cost to the local governments is prohibitive and the need is great, ICAO is in a position to recommend the establishment of joint support projects under which the countries using such facilities would contribute to capital expenditures or operation and maintenance costs on the basis of their proportionate use of them. Three such programs of vital importance to North Atlantic air services were maintained during 1951 in Iceland, Greenland, and the Faroe Islands.

#### GENERAL TRANSPORT MATTERS

During 1951 further progress was made in facilitating travel and all forms of international transport. In this field the United Nations Transport and Communications Commission and ICAO, WHO, and the Regional Economic Commissions have cooperated in various ways to advance the adoption of simplified customs, immigration, and quarantine procedures at frontiers in order to expedite the clearance of passengers and goods in transit, while at the same time safeguarding necessary health and other types of inspection. Improvement in the flow of international air traffic, particularly in Latin America, is

expected to result from the meeting of the ICAO Facilitation Division, which was held in South America in 1951.

In Europe agreements negotiated through the Economic Commission for Europe on frontier formality simplification for passengers and goods transported by rail and road were put into effect by seven or more Western European countries. The Economic Commission for Europe, which is the central body for working out intra-European agreements on the large number of problems requiring international action on road, rail, and water transport, continued its useful but highly technical work in all these fields. Among its achievements in 1951 were the establishment of certain principles in regard to rates and charges; the standardization of packaging for perishable fruit and vegetables; and the drawing-up of a plan for new bus lines and for the international transport of dangerous goods by road and by inland waterways. The Economic Commission for Latin America undertook a study of practical measures for simplifying these formalities in Central America. The Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East devoted considerable attention to the development of river transport.

#### TELECOMMUNICATION MATTERS

Since the end of the war the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) has been attempting to establish a more orderly system for adjusting the frequency requirements of the nations of the world to the limited number of available frequencies which can be used for the many different types of radio services. At an Extraordinary Administrative Radio Conference held in Geneva August 16 to December 3, 1951, agreement was reached between 64 countries on methods for putting into effect the table of frequency allocations adopted by the Administrative Radio Conference in 1947. The importance of this step is illustrated by the fact that in many parts of the radio spectrum the total number of radio channels represents only one-tenth of the total stated requirements of the countries of the world. Although leaving some problems unresolved, the plan adopted by the Conference represents the maximum area of agreement possible at this time and is generally satisfactory to the radio interests of the United States.

The International Radio Consultative Committee of the ITU, which met in Geneva in June 1951, reviewed a number of technical and scientific questions which had been studied by specialized study groups and developed important data in planning the use of frequencies on a

noninterference basis. It likewise reached agreement on improved methods for guaranteeing maritime communications in time of distress.

#### METEOROLOGICAL MATTERS

Effective weather-reporting systems are of the greatest importance in air and maritime navigation. The establishment of the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) as a specialized agency in the United Nations system during 1951 highlights the importance of this field of international cooperation. The World Meteorological Organization, as the successor to the older International Meteorological Organization, a quasi-official body, has enlarged responsibilities for carrying on work in this field. At its first congress, held in Paris in March-April 1951, steps were taken for improving the world-wide weather-reporting network and for the advancement of common standards for such reports.

#### *Emergency Relief and Rehabilitation*

During 1951 and early 1952 the United Nations continued to carry on certain emergency relief programs designed to cope with unusually serious situations which were beyond the capacities of the local authorities or permanent international agencies. The two most important United Nations emergency programs concerned Palestine and Korea. In both areas savage fighting had left a wake of economic and social problems, which necessitated special international action to contribute toward the restoration of peace and security in the area.

#### PALESTINE REFUGEES

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) continued to work toward the alleviation of the serious refugee problem left in the aftermath of Arab-Jewish hostilities in 1948. The nearly 900,000 Arab refugees from Palestine have constituted an important threat to the well-being and stability of the entire area, as well as a significant element in the political differences between Israel and neighboring Arab states. While the United Nations has been concerned with a settlement of these differences (see part I, p. 109), it also has alleviated the distress of the Palestinian



Arabs and has sought to promote employment opportunities and housing for them.

During the past 3 years, the chief source of livelihood for most of these refugees has been a meager ration, about 1,600 calories a day, furnished by UNRWA and its predecessor agency, United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees. Some of the refugees have found work on their own initiative, but economic opportunities in the Arab countries which have given them refuge have been too limited to permit any substantial number to be employed. This has been strikingly demonstrated in a country such as Jordan, where the 450,000 refugees constitute more than a third of the total population and where economic development is hampered by the lack of natural resources.

In 1950 UNRWA, in cooperation with the Arab Governments, initiated public-works programs to provide refugee employment and help to develop the Arab countries through such useful projects as road building and afforestation. However, such projects proved too costly for UNRWA's limited resources and did not by themselves lead to opportunities for continued employment or reintegration of the refugees into the economic life of the area. Consequently, UNRWA recommended a reintegration program to provide homes and continuing employment opportunities for the refugees. This recommendation was approved in December 1950 by the General Assembly, which called on governments to contribute \$30,000,000 to a reintegration fund and \$20,000,000 for continuing relief for the period from July 1, 1951, to June 30, 1952.

During 1951 UNRWA approached the various governments concerned with regard to projects which might be initiated on a cooperative basis. Although all the Arab Governments considered that any program for settling the refugees in their respective countries should not prejudice the refugees' rights of repatriation or of compensation for the loss of their properties, certain of these governments have agreed to definite projects. Egypt agreed to an UNRWA survey of the water and soil resources of certain areas in the Sinai Peninsula, with a view to settling refugees on such lands as might be reclaimed. It was estimated that a maximum of 50,000 refugees might be settled in the area if adequate water resources were found, but the preliminary results of this survey have not been encouraging. In Jordan similar surveys were undertaken in certain areas to ascertain whether new agricultural settlements could be established for refugees. In addition, UNRWA has held conversations with the Syrian Government concerning agricultural developments in that country, but no agreements had been reached by the end of 1951.

While agricultural settlement on reclaimed lands is necessarily a slow process, refugees possessing crafts or trade skills can become self-supporting more quickly if opportunities are open to them. UNRWA has helped a number of these refugees to reestablish themselves in their former crafts by making small loans to enable them to acquire the necessary tools for their trades. In addition, it has provided technical training for approximately 5,000 young people to give them a better chance to stand on their own feet when the opportunity comes.

Since July 1, 1951, when funds were first available for the reintegration program, there has been a slight but steady decline in the total number of refugees receiving relief, from 880,000 in July to 869,000 in December 1951. This net decrease does not reflect the actual numbers who no longer require relief because there has been a continuing natural increase in the refugee population.

Concerned with the need to reduce relief expenditures by speeding measures for reintegration, the director and Advisory Commission of UNRWA submitted proposals to the sixth session of the General Assembly for a 3-year relief and reintegration program from July 1, 1951, to June 30, 1954. UNRWA estimated the cost of the reintegration program at \$200,000,000 and relief expenditures at \$50,000,000. A draft resolution, sponsored by the United States, France, Turkey, and the United Kingdom, incorporating the essential parts of this program, was approved by the Assembly's *Ad Hoc* Committee on January 22 by a vote of 43 to 0 with 7 abstentions. Four days later it was adopted at the plenary meeting by a vote of 49 to 0 with 5 abstentions (Soviet bloc). The Assembly also requested UNRWA to explore with the governments concerned the practicability of transferring the administration of relief to those governments and the assumption by them of the administration of reintegration projects. The Assembly increased UNRWA's 1951-52 budget from \$50,000,000 to \$77,000,000, of which \$50,000,000 would be for reintegration and \$27,000,000 for relief. For the 1952-53 period it approved UNRWA's budget recommendations of \$100,000,000 for reintegration and \$18,000,000 for relief.

The relief and reintegration programs have been financed by voluntary contributions from United Nations members and nonmembers. From the beginning of the program in 1948 to June 30, 1951, 45 governments had contributed over \$85,000,000 in money, supplies, or services. In addition, a large number of private philanthropic and religious groups have furnished such essential supplies as clothing and educational materials. American voluntary agencies have provided clothing to the value of \$2,000,000, on which the freight has

been paid by UNRWA. Additionally these agencies have administered the supplementary distribution of milk and eggs to the value of \$1,000,000 provided from the surplus stock of the United States Department of Agriculture.

Pledges for the current program have been made totaling approximately \$67,000,000. A committee appointed by the Assembly has been negotiating with governments for increased contributions to meet the \$77,000,000 budget for 1951-52 and also to take up the question of contributions for the second year of the 3-year program.

The United States has continued to consider a successful program to resolve the critical Palestine refugee problem as of great importance. Until this large body of uprooted and homeless people find new homes and economic opportunities, they will constitute a potentially destructive force in this vitally important area of the world. Consequently, the United States has generously supported this United Nations program, which is designed to enable the refugees to become economic assets to the countries of the area instead of political liabilities. For the 1951-52 program the Congress has appropriated \$50,000,000. An appropriation of \$65,000,000 will be sought to support the program in 1952-53.

#### KOREAN RELIEF

Among the most tragic results of modern warfare are widespread misery and dislocation among the civilian populace and enormous destruction of economic and physical facilities. As the United Nations was fully aware of this when it made its decision to resist the aggression in Korea, one of the first Security Council resolutions relating to Korea, July 31, 1950, directed the United States to assume responsibility for emergency relief and rehabilitation as an important aspect of its military responsibilities. The resolution also requested United Nations members, specialized agencies, and nongovernmental organizations to contribute to this important task.

By the end of 1951 food, medicine, and clothing contributions for this emergency relief program amounted to more than \$205,000,000 (see appendix I, p. 278). The United States, through the Department of the Army and the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), contributed approximately \$185,000,000 of this amount; \$20,000,000 more was received from 28 states, from specialized agencies, and from nongovernmental organizations. These organizations included



American voluntary agencies, which have provided food, clothing, medicines, educational supplies, and agricultural equipment approximating \$10,000,000 in value. To help with the distribution of these supplies and with the medical and sanitary aspects of the Korean relief operation, specialized agencies and nongovernmental organizations also sent 70 experts to Korea.

One result of this quick response has been the inoculation of over 18,000,000 Koreans for typhoid, 15,000,000 for smallpox, and 15,000,000 for typhus, out of a total population of 21,000,000. The size of the relief program is indicated by the estimate of the United Nations Civil Assistance Command in Korea (UNCACK) that toward the end of 1951, 3,000,000 people, or 15 percent of the population of South Korea, were still being directly assisted in various ways. Of this total, 1,890,000 were completely dependent upon United Nations assistance.

The most significant long-range development was the activation of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA) in February 1951. J. Donald Kingsley, Director General of the International Refugee Organization, was appointed Agent General of UNKRA, which was directed by the United Nations General Assembly "to assist the Korean people to relieve the sufferings and to repair the devastation caused by aggression. . . ." Rehabilitation activities of UNKRA following the hostilities will carry forward the work already begun under the Unified Command to help the Koreans put their own economy back into operation. As conditions become stable, the emphasis will shift from the direct supply of medical aid, clothing, and food to projects of short- and long-term economic value designed to eliminate the necessity for further direct relief.

In order to prepare for this responsibility, UNKRA has arranged with the Unified Command for gradual integration into the emergency relief activities and for close cooperation in planning posthostilities functions. Under an agreement between UNKRA and the Unified Command, UNKRA will assume full responsibility for the relief and rehabilitation of Korea approximately 180 days after the cessation of hostilities. In the meantime it is providing international personnel to assist UNCACK in its relief operations, furnishing the Republic of Korea with high-level technical advice, supplementing the relief activities of the Command with economic projects which do not interfere with military requirements, and completing its plans for the post-hostilities period.

In the fall of 1951 UNKRA assumed financial responsibility from the specialized agencies and nongovernmental organizations for their international personnel working with UNCACK. UNKRA now has

approximately 100 people assisting in the emergency program and preparing for subsequent UNKRA operations. At the request of the United Nations Command it is recruiting a number of additional experts. UNKRA has likewise made available from its resources a number of commodity contributions for emergency use. Among these have been \$500,000 worth of canned meat from Argentina, \$50,000 worth of rice from Burma, \$250,000 worth of nitrates from Chile, \$33,600 worth of citrus products from Israel, and \$15,000 worth of rubber from Liberia. A number of additional UNKRA projects are in the planning stage.

Based on estimates of the destruction and on the absorptive capacity of Korea, the United Nations approved a first year's budget for UNKRA of \$250,000,000. The United States pledged \$162,500,000 of this amount and has paid \$10,000,000 to the agency to assist it in making adequate preparations for its period of full operations. Other states have paid approximately the same amount from initial pledges totaling \$42,500,000.

## LABOR AND POPULATION MATTERS

Labor and population matters are important elements in the world economic and social situation. The importance of these matters has been underscored by the growing demands of peoples for higher living standards and improved general well-being. In particular, the surge for economic development has made it essential to utilize labor forces with greater effectiveness and to cope with the problems of surplus or inadequate population.

During 1951 and 1952 the United Nations dealt with such labor questions as (1) improvement of labor conditions; (2) increasing the productivity of labor; (3) forced labor; and (4) violation of trade-union rights. The population questions treated included (1) population pressures and migration and (2) refugees and displaced persons.

### *Improvement of Labor Conditions*

Nearly all the United Nations economic and social activities tend to improve labor conditions. Greater economic development of underdeveloped countries contributes directly to the improvement of labor

conditions. The regular activities of most specialized agencies do likewise, such as WHO's work to strengthen community health; UNESCO's endeavors to spread both fundamental education and adult education; and FAO's demonstrations and technical training in improving agricultural labor conditions.

However, one organization of the United Nations, the International Labor Organization (ILO), has special responsibilities in this field. For example, ILO in 1951 decided to place on the agenda of its 1952 conference the possibility of drafting international standards on the "Protection of the health of workers in places of employment" and the "Protection of young workers employed in coal mines." A special committee report on occupational safety and health, an important area of ILO operations, also recommended that the ILO collect and disseminate information concerning ways in which accidents, risks, or injury to health arise in employment and methods of reducing such risks. In addition, the report recommended that the ILO stimulate employers and workers to pay attention to safe practices and the avoidance of unnecessary risks. On the basis of such reports, prepared by world experts in their respective fields, ILO has begun preparation of a series of safety handbooks for the production, refining, and storage branches of the petroleum industry. A handbook on the prevention of accidents in factories and a study on sandblasting and other dust-producing processes are also in preparation, as is a study on safety in coal mines.

During 1951 ILO, together with WHO, established a joint committee on industrial hygiene, which has made proposals for the training of doctors and auxiliary medical personnel in occupational medicine, and for general instruction and suitable specific training for industrial hygienists, chemists, engineers, physicists, and others employed in controlling the occupational environment or engaged in industrial production.

ILO has also found that the improvement of working conditions cannot be divorced from the improvement of the general welfare of workers. Among other things, it has attempted to improve the status of certain special groups. In 1951 it convened meetings of an Expert Committee on Indigenous (native) Labor and a Committee of Experts on Social Policy in Nonmetropolitan Territories. The Committee on Indigenous Labor gave particular attention to the problems of Indian workers in Latin America and recommended the extension of social security, the development of handicrafts, and further vocational training. The Committee emphasized the basic needs of native labor for fundamental education and for improved nutrition, health,



and housing. The Committee on Social Policy in Nonmetropolitan Territories called attention to the evils arising from penal sanctions for the nonfulfillment of labor contracts and urged governments to abandon such practices and to eliminate certain wasteful types of labor migration in Africa.

### *Increasing the Productivity of Labor*

Possibly no problem better illustrates the interrelationship of economic and social factors than the problem of labor productivity, which embraces an extremely wide range of special economic and social conditions. It is only as the average man produces more wealth that he can enjoy a substantially higher standard of living, and labor productivity means more wealth. Many relevant factors contributing to labor productivity are inherent in the worker himself, but many are beyond his control and depend upon institutional and community arrangements. The health of the worker, his basic ability to perform the physical tasks involved, depends not only on the working conditions within the factory or on the farm but on the health and sanitary measures practiced in the community. The elimination of malaria under certain WHO programs, for example, has resulted in increased productivity. Both WHO and FAO are promoting better nutritional standards and practices to improve the worker's strength and hence his productivity.

Beyond these physical factors, man has psychic and emotional needs and responses which affect productivity, especially in the field of industrial relations. There is an obvious relationship between the ability and willingness of men to produce and such matters as collective bargaining practices, wages, hours of work, holidays, and recreation. The issue of equal pay for equal work is especially important to women. In addition to industrial relations, there are other important factors, involving such activities as basic education, vocational training, and apprenticeship. Safety conditions, welfare provisions, and social security also make their contribution to increased labor productivity.

Once the worker has become both physically and psychologically equipped to be a highly productive member of society, there is the problem of fitting him into the right job, which requires vocational guidance and employment services. Moreover, providing for greater productivity makes it necessary to look beyond the worker himself to such matters as factory lay-outs, specialized tools and machinery,

and the field of industrial engineering. And still beyond this are the basic economic factors of availability of natural resources, capital investment, and trade.

It is evident that many varied activities are required for the solution of a problem with so many ramifications. The United Nations and most of its specialized agencies are all making their contributions to the solution of one or another aspect of the problem. It is the International Labor Organization, however, which is most directly concerned with the worker as such and the conditions under which he works.

One principal function of ILO is to provide world labor standards by means of conventions and recommendations. During 1951 ILO brought the total of its conventions to 100 and its recommendations to 92. In June it adopted both a convention and a recommendation on minimum wage-fixing machinery in agriculture. In addition, it adopted recommendations on collective bargaining machinery and voluntary conciliation and a convention on equal pay for equal work. ILO also makes an important contribution through its research and publications program in gathering technical information for use in preparatory documents for meetings and in expert studies. Publications relating to productivity in 1951 included *Methods of Labor Productivity*, *Labor Management Cooperation in France*, *Payment by Results*, and *Vocational Training in Latin America*. Productivity in the coal-mining industry was one of the topics on the agenda of the fourth session of the Coal Mines Committee. The Manpower Field Office in Asia and Latin America conducted a number of national and regional pilot projects stressing techniques for promoting on-the-job training.

### *Forced Labor*

While the United Nations has promoted the improvement of labor conditions, it has also devoted increasing attention to repressive practices which conflict sharply with the economic and social aims of the United Nations Charter and the standards of human dignity set by civilized peoples. Nowhere is such repression as evident as in the practice of forced labor behind the Iron Curtain. In pointing out the urgency of United Nations concern with forced labor, Walter M. Kotschnig of the United States told the Economic and Social Council in 1951:

It is out of deep compassion for all the peoples of the world who have gone through so much suffering during the last 40 years that I am lifting my voice, that my Government is lifting its voice to challenge the present rulers of the U.S.S.R. for having instituted on their territories, and those of the countries under their control, an inhuman system of forced or corrective labor which is employed as a means of political coercion or of punishment for holding or expressing dissident political views and which is on such a scale as to constitute an important, nay, an essential element in their economy. These are grave charges to be leveled against any member of the United Nations and we are fully conscious of our responsibility in making them.

In this speech the United States deputy representative formally asked for the creation of an *Ad Hoc* Committee on Forced Labor to be established jointly by the United Nations and the International Labor Organization and to be composed of not more than five independent members qualified by their competence and impartiality. The Committee was to study the nature and extent of the problems raised by the systems of forced or "corrective" labor and to report thereon to the Economic and Social Council and to the Governing Body of the International Labor Organization. This American proposal, cosponsored by the United Kingdom, climaxed nearly 3 years of continuous effort by these governments and by such organizations as the American Federation of Labor and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to arouse the conscience of all free peoples against a new form of slavery more widespread and inhumane than anything known in modern history. Conclusive evidence was offered to the Economic and Social Council that this new form of slavery, under which millions of people are herded into forced labor camps, had been initiated by the U.S.S.R. and that the system had spread to all the Soviet satellite countries. It was pointed out that forced labor had followed wherever the Red flag was hoisted, be it in Czechoslovakia or Communist China.

The Economic and Social Council by a vote of 14 to 3 (U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, and Poland) with 1 abstention approved the American-British resolution and went on record as being "deeply moved by the documents and evidence brought to its knowledge and revealing in law and in fact the existence in the world of systems of forced labor under which a large proportion of the populations of certain states are subjected to a penitentiary regime." The Governing Body of ILO, also upon United States initiative, had already decided to cooperate in the establishment of an *Ad Hoc* Committee on Forced Labor.

This Committee, composed of Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar of India as chairman, Justice Paal Berg of Norway, and Felix Fulgencio Palavicini of Mexico, held its first session in October 1951. Its distinguished membership guaranteed a careful and thorough probe into



what has been called "the greatest social evil of our age." The Committee will not only examine the text of laws and regulations and their application in the various countries accused of practicing forced labor, but it is also expected to hold hearings to obtain the testimony of experts and eye witnesses. Despite the strongest censorship imposed by the Soviet Union and its satellites, new information regarding forced labor camps in their territories continues to reach the free world and will be sifted by the Committee.

### *Violation of Trade-Union Rights*

Within the general field of human rights the United Nations and the International Labor Organization have jointly been concerned with the problem of violations of trade-union rights. In 1950 ILO, with the strong support of the United States, established a Fact-Finding and Conciliation Commission on Freedom of Association. This Commission had the responsibility to investigate any allegations of violations of the rights of unions in member states of the ILO and the United Nations or in other states which may submit to its jurisdiction. Where desirable the Commission is also authorized to discuss allegations with the government concerned with a view to securing a conciliatory adjustment of the difficulties. Consent of the government concerned is necessary before any cases can be submitted to the Commission.

Under the regulations permitting governments, unions, and employer organizations to submit charges that union rights have been violated, ILO and the Economic and Social Council received approximately 50 cases during the latter part of 1950 and during 1951. The greater number of charges were on general labor policies in the U.S.S.R. and satellite states, the 1950 Argentine railroad strike, New Zealand's water-front regulations and water-front strikes of 1950, French and British colonial policies, Bolivian mine-industry problems, labor conditions in Venezuela and the Dominican Republic, and water-front regulations and other issues in the United States.

Thirty-nine of the charges have been under consideration in ILO for transmission to the Commission. No definitive action had been taken by the end of 1951 as the preliminary observations of the governments concerned had not yet been received. It is not expected that any large number of complaints will prove to be important enough to merit international investigation, and the ILO procedures have been carefully designed to assure that only those cases are sent to the

Commission which are sufficiently well documented to demonstrate the desirability of examination.

On charges against states members of the United Nations but not members of ILO, the Economic and Social Council has primary responsibility for screening before reference to the Commission. The Council has twice requested the U.S.S.R. to reply to a long series of charges against its general labor practices presented by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, but no response had been received by March 1952. The Economic and Social Council in early 1951 also requested the Secretary-General to communicate with Spain, Rumania, and the competent authorities in Japan on other allegations.

The United States in its preliminary observations to ILO on charges by the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions presented a detailed refutation and commented that—

The United States is seriously concerned with the preservation of trade-union rights and freedom of association, and . . . took a leading role in urging the establishment of the Fact Finding and Conciliation Commission. The United States is fully prepared to cooperate with this important Commission in the investigation of any charges against the United States which are not purely political in character and which on the basis of the evidence presented are found under the established procedures to justify fact finding and/or conciliation. The charges upon which the United States has been asked to comment at this time, however, are obviously political in nature, are not drawn in a proper form, consist largely of vague conclusions unsupported by facts, and do not, in effect, charge infringement of trade-union rights. For these reasons, the United States believes that the allegations should be dismissed by the Governing Body.

Early in 1952 the ILO dismissed these charges.

Past experience shows that the Fact Finding and Conciliation Commission will perform an important function. Even in the absence of such an organ, ILO has investigated labor questions in Venezuela, Panama, and Iran in the last few years as a result of facts presented in the Governing Body by various delegates. In December 1951 the ILO was also asked by the Governments of Egypt and the United Kingdom to investigate Egyptian charges that British troops in the Suez Canal were forcing Egyptian laborers to work in violation of the ILO forced labor convention of 1930. The United Kingdom delegate in the Governing Body strongly denounced the charges and recommended an investigation which the Egyptian Government consequently invited. The ILO representative was making on-the-spot inquiries at the end of 1951.

*Population Pressures and Migration*

Population growth has economic, political, and social significance. Some countries appear to be overpopulated and attention is currently focused on reducing the surplus population of certain European nations. At the same time manpower is an economic asset and some countries need additional population for the full exploitation of their natural resources. The relationship between such factors and the economic development of underdeveloped countries has been recognized clearly by the Population Commission of the Economic and Social Council. Voluntary and assisted migration movements have helped meet, in some measure, population maladjustments.

One of the significant aspects of population trends is the aging of the population throughout the world. The increasing number of old and retired people creates both economic and social problems. This situation attracted the attention of the Population Commission and the Social Commission, which requested the Secretary-General to make a complete study of all aspects of this matter. The United States welcomes this work because it may provide useful suggestions which could be applied to our domestic problem. In addition, the United Nations continued its general population studies and took steps to encourage the development of accepted techniques and the training of expert personnel in this field.

**MIGRATION**

During 1951 problems of migration continued to be a major concern of the United Nations. Certain aspects of the problem were set forth in a United Nations study on Methods of International Financing of European Emigration. The Economic and Social Council referred this report to ILO for consideration at its Naples Conference in October 1951 and requested ILO to report action taken or contemplated as a result of the Conference, which was the logical and necessary follow-up of the Preliminary Migration Conference held in 1950.

The Naples Conference concentrated its attention on the question of the best form of international cooperation to further European migration and on a program of practical action for the future. ILO had submitted, for purposes of discussion, a detailed plan for establishing a Migration Administration. After the United States delegation had indicated that it was not prepared to support such far-reaching proposals, the Conference did not discuss the specific organizational ar-



rangements suggested by ILO. Instead, it developed a recommendation for establishing a Consultative Council on European Migration. This Council would promote, stimulate, and support international action for the purpose of assisting and facilitating migration from Europe, study the needs and opportunities for such migration and the kind of international action which is desirable and practicable, and make suggestions to governments and intergovernmental organizations. The Governing Body of ILO was to indicate the necessary and appropriate steps for securing the establishment of the proposed Council. The Naples Conference also adopted a Report on the Medical Selection of Migrants, submitted by ILO and WHO, which contained a list of criteria to be applied in the selection of migrants as a guide for medical personnel engaged in such work.

The United Nations continued its attention on other aspects of the migration problem. The Social Commission, for example, considered a study on Assistance to Indigent Aliens, and the Economic and Social Council invited governments to give effect to the principles enunciated in the study when enacting legislation or taking administrative action.

#### PROVISIONAL INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE

Initial progress has been made in meeting the problem of surplus population existing in certain countries of Western Europe and Greece. On the initiative of the United States and in keeping with legislative authority and intent of the Congress, a Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe (PICMME) was established in December 1951 at a conference held in Brussels. The Committee was organized to make arrangements for the transport of migrants, for whom existing facilities are inadequate and who could not otherwise be moved, from certain European countries having surplus population to countries overseas which offer opportunities for resettlement. Eighteen governments have joined the Committee and are participating actively in its operations. These governments are Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Paraguay, Switzerland, the United States, and Venezuela. It is expected that several other interested governments will soon become members.

The Committee has established a program, which is now in operation, to move some 137,000 migrants from Germany, Austria, Italy,

Greece, and the Netherlands to new homes overseas during the calendar year 1952. For this purpose it has adopted a budget of \$41,350,000. As authorized by existing legislation, the United States contribution will amount to \$10,000,000 exclusive of any payments in reimbursements for services rendered, provided all governments participating agree to contribute funds, services, or reimbursements to the undertaking on a basis adequate to meet approximately the budget as adopted.

### *Refugees and Displaced Persons*

During 1951 the United Nations was concerned with the initiation and organization of legal and protection services for refugees in order to insure the continuity of such services after the termination of the International Refugee Organization (Iro). This work took the form of drafting the final text of the United Nations convention relating to the status of refugees and the organization of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. On January 31, 1952, the International Refugee Organization terminated its operations after 4½ years of responsibility for displaced persons, during which time the Iro provided for the resettlement of 1,057,955 persons, the repatriation of 72,834, and the placement of 31,749 requiring institutional care. The United States has participated in the full range of these activities.

#### TERMINATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE ORGANIZATION

During the lifetime of Iro from July 1, 1947, to January 31, 1952, 1,045,750 persons left areas of operation for resettlement in new countries of residence. In addition, Iro made arrangements with the Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe for the movement of 12,205 persons visaed and awaiting transport on January 31, 1952, thus bringing the total of persons resettled to 1,057,955. Of this total, 343,419 persons were resettled in the United States, 185,033 in Australia, 132,166 in Israel, 127,472 in Canada, 86,429 in the United Kingdom, 38,463 in France, 33,036 in Argentina, 29,105 in Brazil, 22,477 in Belgium, and 17,487 in Venezuela. Of those resettled in the United States the American

voluntary agencies assumed full responsibility for the necessary processing for the entry of such persons and their resettlement.

In October 1950 the General Council of IRO voted to continue operations until October 1, 1951, and to extend resettlement services to refugees who arrived in IRO areas of operation between October 15, 1949, and October 1, 1950. At its April 1951 meeting the General Council decided to waive the October 1, 1950, date for cessation of resettlement assistance to permit the extension of such assistance, within the remaining resources of the organization, to eligible refugees who would otherwise be forced to remain in Europe and the Middle East. The General Council also decided to continue its operational program for so long as existing realizable resources would permit and there remained refugees within IRO's mandate who required resettlement assistance and for whom resettlement opportunities could be found. IRO's funds made possible the continuance of operations until January 31, 1952, when the period of liquidation began.

Amendments to the United States Displaced Persons Act of 1948 helped IRO to complete its resettlement program. In June 1951 the Congress extended the final date for visa issuance, under the sections of the act relating to United Nations displaced persons, from June 30 to December 31, 1951. Preliminary figures show that, as of December 31, 1951, 337,862 visas for admission to the United States had been issued to displaced persons under the act.

The International Refugee Organization came into existence pursuant to action in 1946 by the United Nations General Assembly, as a temporary organization responsible for the care and resettlement or repatriation of persons displaced from their homelands as a result of Axis actions during World War II. By January 31, 1952, IRO had substantially completed this task and, in addition, had been able to resettle many thousands of the new refugees who continued to arrive in IRO areas of operation after January 1, 1948. At the final meeting of the General Council in February 1952, provision was made for certain remaining refugee groups in continuing need of assistance. The General Council, for instance, approved the continuation, for 6 months after January 31, 1952, of care and maintenance for 2,000 refugees still in mainland China. This assistance will be administered by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. The General Council also established a \$500,000 trust fund for the future movement of eligible refugees in China who secure visas for resettlement in other countries. The fund will be administered by the Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe. Further provision was made for 100 refugees



remaining in the Philippines and for 100 tuberculous refugees requiring hospitalization in Trieste.

## LEGAL PROTECTION

International assistance in securing for refugees a minimum of legal rights and nondiscriminatory treatment has proved necessary and desirable. Such legal protection for refugees was originally provided under the auspices of the League of Nations, was continued by the International Refugee Organization, and is now the responsibility of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

Dr. G. J. van Heuven Goedhart of the Netherlands, elected High Commissioner for a 3-year term by the fifth session of the General Assembly, took office on January 1, 1951. The High Commissioner was concerned, during 1951, with organizing his office and with taking over from Iro the responsibility for legal and protection services for refugees. The High Commissioner appointed James Read of the United States as deputy commissioner. In addition, by February 1952 he had established representatives in the United States, Austria, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, and Belgium. The High Commissioner's office in Belgium maintains suboffices in the Netherlands and Luxembourg.

In response to a request by the High Commissioner, made in accordance with the statute of his office, the Economic and Social Council established the United Nations High Commissioner's Advisory Committee on Refugees on September 10, 1951. This Committee is composed of the representatives of 15 governments, both members and nonmembers of the United Nations, which have demonstrated an interest in and devotion to the refugee problem. The Advisory Committee held its first session in Geneva in December 1951 and considered problems raised by the High Commissioner relating to assistance to refugees and to the eligibility of refugees under his mandate.

In accordance with a General Assembly decision in December 1950, a conference of plenipotentiaries was convened at Geneva on July 2, 1951, to complete the drafting of and to sign the convention relating to the status of refugees and the protocol relating to stateless persons. The texts of both the convention and the protocol were originally drafted in 1950 by an *Ad Hoc* Committee on Statelessness and Related Problems of the Economic and Social Council and considered by the Council and the General Assembly. Representatives of 26 govern-

ments, including the United States, attended the Geneva Conference. The Conference adopted on July 25, 1951, the final text of the convention, which was opened for signature on July 28, 1951. After considering the draft protocol relating to the status of stateless persons, the Conference decided that the question of stateless persons required further study and referred the draft protocol to appropriate organs of the United Nations for further consideration.

Changes in the original draft convention adopted by the Conference provide a wider latitude and discretion to signatory states to withhold the benefits of the convention from particular refugees whose presence and conduct in their territories raise serious questions of national security and public order. The convention includes provisions for essential rights and privileges for refugees and a guaranty of freedom from discrimination on the grounds of race, religion, or country of origin. Incorporated in the convention are provisions dealing with the legal status of refugees and their rights with respect to work, housing, education, public relief, social security, freedom of movement, and access to the courts. The final text of the convention meets, in general, the requirements of the European governments concerned.

At the Conference the problem of defining refugees to be covered by the convention presented a major difficulty. Some governments preferred a broad definition without restriction as to the refugees' place of origin or the time when persons became refugees. Others desired a definition restricted to those refugees whose status arose out of events in Europe occurring prior to January 1, 1951. The United States supported the latter proposal on the ground that governments needed to know precisely for what refugees they were to undertake commitments, and that the very broad definition might tend to reduce the number of governments which would adhere to the convention. The Conference was almost equally divided on this issue. A solution was found only by offering the governments considering adherence to the convention a choice of accepting either the broader or more limited definition.

The United States took an active part in the conference of plenipotentiaries which drafted the convention relating to the status of refugees. The United States has not only a humanitarian interest in this problem but considers that the regularization of the refugees' position in their present countries of residence will contribute to stability in these areas. The United States has not signed the convention because it is not well adapted to American law and practice, having been drafted primarily to establish a status for refugees in

European countries where rights and privileges accorded to refugees are based on the system of reciprocity. In the United States, refugees have the same status as other legally admitted aliens and, except in certain instances, are in effect assimilated in position to that of citizens. Fifteen governments had signed the convention by February 1, 1952.

The problem of material assistance for refugees under the mandate of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees was considered by the General Assembly in January 1952. The High Commissioner sought General Assembly authorization to make an appeal for funds for emergency aid to the most needy refugee groups within his mandate. The General Assembly, in its resolution on assistance to refugees, authorized the High Commissioner to make such an appeal. The United States, while wholeheartedly supporting the work of the High Commissioner, did not support this appeal because it considered that the adequacy of unilateral relief measures available in the countries of residence should be more fully examined before taking steps toward international assistance.

## SOCIAL AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS

Another grouping of United Nations activities in the general economic and social field relates to social and cultural advancement. Six of these primarily social and cultural matters were of special importance during 1951 and early 1952. These were (1) better health; (2) needs of children; (3) social welfare and community services; (4) development of social security services; (5) protection against social evils; and (6) cultural activities.

### *Better Health*

During 1951 the World Health Organization undertook its third full year of operation as the specialized agency concerned with the field of health. The WHO concept of its role and responsibility extends far beyond a mere quarantining of disease to the promotion of positive national public-health activities designed to reduce sickness, attack disease at its source, and bring about better environmental conditions. Viewed in this perspective, WHO's achievements during 1951



have been noteworthy, in terms both of specific accomplishments and, even more important, of the progress which has been made in many countries to stimulate active interest in health programs.

Through its headquarters activities, WHO has continued to carry on certain traditional international health services, expanded in some instances to meet modern public-health needs more directly. These services include—

(1) The collection and world-wide dissemination by radio, several times daily, of information on the existence or outbreak of pestilential diseases, thus warning quarantine authorities of the need for special vigilance; (2) a program aimed at biological standardization to assure that medicine and vaccines are of uniform purity and potency throughout the world; (3) assistance and coordination of research projects on such parasitic diseases as filariasis and schistosomiasis, which incapacitate millions in vast areas of the world, and on such virus diseases as influenza, trachoma, and poliomyelitis; and (4) development of special research centers, dealing with tuberculosis, bacillary dysentery, and influenza.

One of WHO's important contributions in these broad fields was its recent publication of the first volume of the first *International Pharmacopoeia*. This pharmacopoeia sets forth uniform standards for 200 important drugs, which, as countries incorporate these into their own national pharmacopoeias, will assist in making available drugs of uniform purity and strength throughout the world. A second volume of the *International Pharmacopoeia*, now being prepared, will contain similar information with respect to penicillin, streptomycin, and most of the accepted antibiotics and new drugs.

#### SANITARY REGULATIONS

During 1951 another step forward was taken by the adoption of WHO International Sanitary Regulations. A series of international conventions concluded during the last half century prescribed the maximum quarantine measures which countries may require. The need for revising these requirements has been widely recognized because many provisions have become outdated in the light of modern scientific knowledge about the modes of disease transmission. After 3 years of work WHO's revised Sanitary Regulations were adopted by the World Health Assembly in May 1951. They will go into effect on October 1, 1952, except for such members as may reject them before March 11, 1952. States which are not WHO members are also invited

to adhere to these new regulations. These Sanitary Regulations, which modernize and bring together the world's quarantine requirements with respect to the pestilential diseases, will facilitate the international movement of passengers and cargo by providing simple and standardized safeguards against the importation of disease from abroad.

In addition to these headquarters activities, WHO through its six regional offices continued to provide a variety of services directly to its member countries. This assistance is designed to strengthen existing national health services and to stimulate the creation of such services in areas where they are needed as an important way of contributing to the development of effective health services in all countries. Thus WHO works with national health authorities to develop programs designed to control or eradicate diseases at their source. Successful eradication programs of this type not only materially improve the lives and well-being of the people in the area directly concerned but also provide the best guaranty against the spread of disease from one country to another.

#### FIELD ACTIVITIES

WHO uses varied methods to help governments cope with their critical disease problems. In some instances it sends a demonstration team into an affected area to show the people how to combat a particular disease and also to train local personnel who can apply these techniques in other areas of the country. A malaria-control demonstration team in Pakistan, for example, brought about a 15-percent increase in the crop yield of the DDT-sprayed areas and a 10-percent decrease in the man-hours of labor required per acre in these areas. Such results can be multiplied manifold as local personnel assume responsibility for similar programs in other parts of the country. In 1950 a WHO anti-malaria team, consisting of a doctor, a sanitary engineer, and an entomologist, undertook DDT-spraying operations and the simultaneous training of local personnel in an area of Thailand. During its first year the team was able to treat the homes of some 50,000 people, although the local population was exceedingly doubtful about the program's aims, its feasibility, and its effectiveness. However, the results of the first year's work were so dramatic that they spread by word of mouth from village to village, and representatives came from distant areas to plead for the program's extension. As a result, a WHO three-man team, aided considerably by newly trained local personnel and by

widespread cooperation, was able to quadruple its coverage and spray the homes of some 200,000 people during 1951. Such antimalaria activities brought about a reduction from 70.5 to 31.4 percent in the rate of malaria infection in the area of operations, whereas the malaria rates remained constant in unsprayed areas of Thailand.

Aside from malaria, WHO also provided assistance for the control or eradication of other important diseases, using local teams to the fullest possible extent. In Colombia, where diphtheria and whooping cough are two of the chief causes of death among young children, WHO planned and organized a vaccination campaign against these diseases. By the end of 1951 it was estimated that 51 percent of the infants and preschool children had been satisfactorily immunized. In Haiti where large numbers of people were afflicted with yaws, an extremely debilitating and disfiguring disease, a control program using penicillin is currently under way. Proceeding with a house-to-house campaign, it is expected that the greater part of the country will have been covered and approximately 90 percent of the 3,500,000 population treated by the end of 1953. In Egypt, an anti-venereal-disease demonstration is under way in one city. The local government has appointed a "matching member" for each of the WHO experts. This demonstration is expected to serve as a starting point for a nation-wide anti-venereal-disease campaign, the local teams using the methods which they have learned at the demonstration center. In Turkey, an anti-tuberculosis center is now operating with the assistance of a number of WHO experts. The latest detection and control methods are being demonstrated and training courses are being provided at this center, which will serve as a model for other centers to be established in different parts of the country.

Another important aspect of WHO's work aims at the problem presented by the shortage or complete absence of trained technical personnel, which has seriously hampered the operation of necessary national and international health programs. WHO has launched expanded fellowship and training programs as a means of increasing the quantity and quality of trained technical personnel to staff and work with national health services. In addition, WHO held a series of technical conferences on such subjects as tuberculosis and venereal disease to facilitate the exchange of the latest scientific control and detection information among technical experts from many countries.

During 1951 WHO provided emergency assistance in a number of instances. It appropriated money for the purchase of medical supplies needed to prevent outbreaks of cholera and malaria in famine-stricken India, and to purify the water and treat the victims of an



earthquake in El Salvador. WHO also continued to provide experts to the United Nations Command in Korea to assist with health programs for the Korean civilian population.

### *Needs of Children*

The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) celebrated its fifth birthday on December 11, 1951. During these five years UNICEF has provided many millions of children in 64 countries with critically needed food, clothing, medical aid, and child-welfare services. As a result, it has made important contributions to the social stability of countries through assisting their children, the citizens of tomorrow.

By 1950 UNICEF had largely completed its emergency relief tasks which grew out of World War II. Therefore the fifth session of the General Assembly decided that UNICEF should reorient its attention toward emergency and long-range programs of lasting benefit to mothers and children in underdeveloped countries. As a result, hundreds of maternity and child-welfare centers have been established in the economically underdeveloped areas of the world; mass campaigns have been started in cooperation with WHO against diseases largely affecting children—tuberculosis, malaria, yaws, prenatal syphilis, whooping cough, and diphtheria; and a significant start has been made in training local personnel to carry through national child-care programs.

The shift of emphasis to underdeveloped countries is illustrated by the recent action of the Executive Board of UNICEF in approving long-range programs on behalf of children in seven countries in Asia, six countries in the Near East, and six countries in Latin America. The highest allocation was made for countries in Asia, which will receive \$1,871,000 in supplies and services. Next was Latin America, with \$994,000, and the Near East, with \$772,000. In Afghanistan, Burma, India, and Pakistan, for example, projects were approved for maternal and child-welfare training services. A milk-conservation plant in Iran, to be in full operation by the end of 1953, will improve the milk supply for the children of that country. A similar project was authorized for Brazil. Antituberculosis campaigns, through mass vaccination of children, were approved for Ecuador and Turkey.

The target program and budget approved for the year ending June 30, 1952, further illustrate UNICEF's emphasis on underdeveloped

countries. Of a \$30,000,000-total target program and budget, \$2,000,000 was earmarked for Africa, \$7,000,000 for Asia, \$3,000,000 for the Eastern Mediterranean area, and \$4,000,000 for Latin America, as contrasted with \$2,000,000 for continuing long-range programs in Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece, Germany, and the Children's Center in Paris. As a means of assessing the global needs of children on a continuing basis, the Secretary-General, with the approval of the Economic and Social Council, established a working group of representatives of the specialized agencies and UNICEF on long-range activities for children.

In addition, UNICEF continues to be a tangible resource for countries faced with emergencies. In 1951 UNICEF continued emergency aid on behalf of needy mothers and children in Korea and for Palestine refugee mothers and children. Within a matter of days after the outbreak of floods in Italy, UNICEF took emergency action to speed relief to the 70,000 children in the flood-stricken Po River Valley. Some 16,000 mothers and children in the Philippines, who were victims of volcanic eruptions and typhoons, received emergency assistance in December.

With the steady growth of child-health programs, the relationship of UNICEF with the World Health Organization has become increasingly close. Projects in the health field, brought to the Executive Board of UNICEF for approval, require the technical recommendations of WHO in the first instance. Most projects in the child-health field for which supplies are required from UNICEF also receive technical assistance from WHO in the form of international personnel. A similar relationship exists with the Food and Agriculture Organization regarding aid in establishing milk-drying and pasteurization plants as a means of assisting governments to provide safe milk for their children.

Resources made available or pledged to UNICEF, up to November 15, 1951, were approximately \$162,000,000. This includes the contributions or pledges of 55 governments, totaling \$115,000,000; the equivalent of some \$30,000,000 from UNRRA; and \$15,000,000 in voluntary donations from private individuals or organizations in over 70 countries and territories. The United States to date has contributed \$80,750,000 exclusive of its share of UNRRA assets and of contributions from private American individuals and organizations. An authorization for \$12,000,000 for contributions to UNICEF for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, was recommended to the Congress but failed of passage because of the press of other legislation.

The sixth session of the General Assembly took cognizance of UNICEF's need for additional contributions from governments, private individuals, and organizations by unanimously adopting a resolution urging additional contributions to support the continuation of this worthwhile humanitarian work.

### *Social Welfare and Community Services*

The United Nations has included within its program of work various activities to assist governments with social-welfare problems. Some of these problems are dealt with by the specialized agencies while others are the responsibility of the Secretariat, acting under policies and directives of the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, and its Social Commission. The principal United Nations activities in this field during 1951 are summarized below.

Under the Advisory Social Welfare Services program, services to governments included the following:

1. Twenty-five social-welfare experts served as advisers to single governments or to a group of governments. For example, an expert in public assistance advised the Government of Egypt on improving its social-security program. A criminologist was sent to India at the request of the Indian Government to set up a training course and to carry out a training program for prison officials in India.

2. To enable persons engaged in social work to study and observe practices in other countries, 177 fellowships and 14 scholarships were awarded to 44 countries. Forty-five fellows and four scholarship holders chose the United States as their place of training.

3. Technical literature and demonstration equipment for training purposes were made available to 10 countries. A special selection of equipment was secured and furnished to Yugoslavia in connection with its demonstration center for rehabilitation of the handicapped. Technical publications in the housing and materials fields were furnished to 31 governments at their request.

4. A seminar was held in India on Youth Welfare and Youth Movements and Organizations, bringing together representatives from Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, and the United Kingdom territories in Southeast Asia. A seminar was held in Brussels on Medical, Psychiatric, and Social Examination of Offenders.

5. Under the exchange program in Europe, 200 social workers and administrators carried out 2- to 4-week observation visits in neighboring countries, largely through the use of local currency facilities.



Three social-work group-training conferences were held, bringing together approximately 100 persons.

The United Nations also undertook a study of the world social situation. Data and information have been collected on a global scale with respect to education and communications, population trends, health conditions, food and nutrition, conditions of work and employment, income and consumption, housing and town and country planning, destitution among special groups, and crime and other forms of social pathology. In addition, a compilation of field inquiries into household standards of living, comprising income and expenditure data of selected households in various regions of the world, was completed and published.

Projects undertaken during 1951 relating to community, family, and child welfare included a study of Community Welfare Centers. This study was proposed by the United States and is aimed at encouraging governments to assist local communities to organize their human and natural resources in such a way that they can improve conditions of living through their own efforts with a minimum of outside assistance. On the basis of this study a number of governments have undertaken self-help programs and it is hoped that this type of activity will be extended.

Rehabilitation of the handicapped, including the blind, is also an important United Nations function. During 1951 a small staff of rehabilitation experts was employed by the Secretariat to plan and make recommendations regarding an effective international program of action in the field of rehabilitation. The Social Commission in the spring of 1951 reviewed the developments and approved the initial steps taken, which included establishment of a working party composed of representatives from the specialized agencies and the United Nations to draw up plans and to assure coordination of activities; consideration of a joint United Nations and specialized agency program for preparation of technical literature, films and film strips, and training and demonstration material; and consultation with Iro regarding the taking over of Iro rehabilitation centers upon the termination of that organization.

The United Nations has given increasing emphasis to housing and town and country planning. The Social Commission approved the suggestions in an expert report on tropical housing regarding regional coordination of research and the establishment of training centers in South and Southeast Asia. Studies on community services and facilities in large-scale housing projects and tropical housing were also completed. A directory of building-research organizations in Europe

was compiled and published in collaboration with the Economic Commission for Europe. Other studies on which substantial work was accomplished include the financing of housing and the techniques to increase production of housing. In addition, technical information services were provided through the Housing Reference Center and the *Housing and Town and Country Planning Bulletin*.

### *Development of Social Security Services*

There has been an extensive development of social security in recent years in all parts of the world. In recognition of this development the International Labor Office placed the item, "Objectives and minimum standards of social security," on the agenda of its 1951 Conference. The Conference concentrated its attention primarily upon the problem of minimum standards of social security, looking toward the preparation of a convention which would take account of the general tendency to unify the branches of social security into one comprehensive system but would be sufficiently flexible to allow ratification by countries which introduced social security branch by branch. The proposed convention, which will be discussed again at the 1952 ILO Conference, would cover the following nine branches of social security:

Medical benefits; sickness allowances, unemployment allowances; old age pensions; medical benefits, sickness allowances, invalidity pensions, and survivors' pensions in case of employment injury; family benefits; medical benefits in case of maternity and maternity allowances; invalidity pensions; and survivors' pensions.

### *Protection Against Social Evils*

Activities of the United Nations relating to this subject fall under three principal headings, as follows: prevention and treatment of crime; control of narcotic drugs; and suppression of prostitution.

#### PREVENTION AND TREATMENT OF CRIME

During 1951 the Economic and Social Council and the Social Commission considered reports on probation and criminal statistics. On the basis of an expert study these two bodies urged governments to

give favorable consideration to probation as a humane and effective method for the treatment of offenders. They also requested the Secretary-General to undertake a survey and analysis of national statistics on crime with a view to the preparation of a manual which would suggest to governments standards for the collection, analysis, and presentation of criminal statistics. In addition, the United Nations convened a seminar in Brussels on the subject of medical, psychiatric, and social examination of offenders and issued the first volume of a publication entitled *International Review of Criminal Policy*.

The United Nations took over the functions of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission, an intergovernmental agency whose 75 years of activities in the field of prevention of crime were terminated on October 1, 1951. This arrangement was made possible through an agreement between the Commission and the United Nations, under which the United Nations has requested governments to appoint outstanding persons in the field of prevention and treatment of crime as correspondents with the United Nations. The correspondents, for example, are to keep the United Nations informed regarding current American developments in this field, to provide the Secretariat with relevant documentation and legislative texts, and to assist in the collection of information required for United Nations studies.

#### CONTROL OF NARCOTIC DRUGS

During 1951 the United Nations continued its efforts to find a basis on which the production of opium could be limited to world medical and scientific requirements. The Commission on Narcotic Drugs had hoped to draft an interim agreement embodying production quotas and the establishment of an international monopoly for buying and selling all opium in the legal export trade. However, no agreement was reached on the essential principles of such an instrument—prices and inspection. The Commission therefore reluctantly concluded that present circumstances militated against the establishment of an international opium monopoly. Consequently, it turned toward other ways of limiting opium production and drafted a protocol for the establishment of an open-market system, applying to opium the provisions of the 1931 international convention for limiting the manufacture and regulating the distribution of narcotic drugs.

Under the proposed protocol the contracting parties would determine each year their needs of opium for medical and scientific purposes. The producing countries would coordinate production to



these requirements and submit full statistical reports. Limitation and control would be effected by limiting stocks in producing countries to total exports in any 2 years since 1946. Individual governments, acting through their opium monopolies, would license producers, watch over the areas cultivated, and buy and receive all the opium harvested. International control would be exercised through the Permanent Central Board established under the international opium convention of 1925. The Board would be authorized to ask for explanations if a country failed to submit estimates, exceeded maximum stock limits, or became a center of illicit traffic. It could impose an export and/or import embargo if no satisfactory explanation were received.

The Economic and Social Council in August 1951 considered the draft protocol and the draft interim agreement for limiting the production of opium and requested the Secretary-General to submit these instruments to governments for their observations so that the Council could consider the matter further in 1952. The United States considers that every effort should be made to bring the proposed protocol to a successful conclusion as soon as possible because it represents a realistic approach to an urgent problem and an important step toward the control of opium.

In addition, the Council noted the report of the United Nations Commission of Inquiry on the Coca Leaf and decided to forward it to the Governments of Bolivia and Peru with the request for their observations. The Council also requested the Commission on Narcotic Drugs to examine the problem of the coca leaf during 1952 and to submit its recommendations as soon as possible thereafter.

The Commission on Narcotic Drugs adopted a resolution placing the new synthetic drugs known as NU-1932 and NU-2206 under the convention of July 13, 1931, pending final decision of the World Health Organization regarding the liability of these drugs to produce addiction.

During 1951 reports to the United Nations disclosed that illicit traffic in narcotic drugs was running high in many parts of the world. Mexico reported the destruction of 319 poppy plantations in 1950. The Secretary-General was asked to draw the attention of the Government of Thailand to the fact that, although it had reported a large number of narcotics seizures during 1950, the number of arrests of traffickers had been very small and the sentences imposed on offenders had not usually exceeded 3 months.

As it was disclosed that large quantities of heroin had left Italy during the past 5 years, the Commission on Narcotic Drugs asked the

Secretary-General to transmit to the Italian Government the summary records of its meetings at which the illicit traffic in heroin was discussed and to invite the Government of Italy to study the possibility of taking measures to safeguard existing stocks against diversions. The Government of Italy took action on July 1, 1951, suspending the manufacture of heroin.

Because of the widespread illicit opium traffic in Southeast Asia, the Government of Burma proposed that the United Nations set up a committee to coordinate the efforts of certain Far Eastern Governments to suppress poppy cultivation and the smuggling of opium. The Commission decided to communicate the Burmese proposal to the Southeast Asian Governments for their views so that the matter could be considered at a subsequent session.

#### SUPPRESSION OF PROSTITUTION

The Secretary-General prepared a revision of the League of Nations questionnaire which has served as a guide to governments in submitting yearly reports on the traffic in persons since 1938. This revision brought the old questionnaire into conformity with the new convention on this subject adopted in 1949. As a result, it is believed that the information which will be obtained through the revised questionnaire will provide the United Nations with a more adequate basis on which to plan future measures against the traffic in persons.

#### *Cultural Activities*

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) carries on widespread and varied activities designed to promote international understanding and to contribute to improved conditions of stability and well-being in many countries. Within its broad mandate UNESCO focused its work during 1951 increasingly on three major lines of effort, as follows:

1. Assisting underdeveloped countries to accelerate their educational, scientific, and cultural development through programs of technical assistance and fundamental education.

2. Facilitating interchange of knowledge and information among scholars, educators, and other specialists through international seminars, publishing of materials, and creation of international voluntary associations.

### 3. Contributing to citizen understanding of the world community.

In fundamental education UNESCO's activities were highlighted by the opening of the first Regional Fundamental Education Center at Patzcuaro, Mexico, on May 9, 1951. The Organization of American States, the Mexican Government, and ILO, WHO and FAO are cooperating with UNESCO in this project. The center is training teachers in the techniques of fundamental education, a type of instruction which helps people not only to learn to read and write but also to understand their immediate problems and to develop the skills to solve such problems through their own efforts. Suitable teaching materials for fundamental education are also being developed at the center. The first class was composed of 52 students from nine Latin American countries, who are expected to return to their own countries and train other teachers.

The Mexican center is the first of a projected series of regional training and production centers and is partially an outgrowth of UNESCO's experience with a number of pilot projects in fundamental education. One of these is the current pilot project in Haiti started in 1949. The purpose of this project, now financed under the United Nations expanded technical assistance program, is to demonstrate how educational methods can help the peoples of "rural distressed areas to solve the most important problems by their own efforts." Still another part of UNESCO's work in fundamental and adult education is the system of "associated projects" in member states and non-self-governing territories, which has been expanded to 40 projects in 16 member states. UNESCO does not assume financial responsibility for these projects but aids them by supplying basic documentation and information about methods and materials and by providing professional advice and guidance.

## TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Much of UNESCO's work takes the form of technical assistance. UNESCO has continued to send educational missions to member states at their request and with their financial cooperation for the purpose of making surveys and assisting in educational improvements. During 1951 four missions were at work in Afghanistan, Burma, the Philippines, and Thailand, and preparations were made for complying with requests from five additional member states. UNESCO has also aided member states in the promotion of free and compulsory education for all. It cooperated with the International Bureau of Educa-



tion in holding an international conference on this problem in July 1951 at Geneva. The plans and recommendations for making compulsory education universal, developed at this conference, will guide UNESCO and its member states in their future action. Moreover, UNESCO's studies, which describe national education systems in various stages of development toward compulsory education, will aid member states in undertaking their own educational advancement.

In addition to its regular program, UNESCO carries on a number of activities under the expanded program for technical assistance for economic development. With its allotted 14 percent of the United Nations technical assistance fund, UNESCO had 70 projects operating in 32 countries by February 1952. These technical assistance operations were designed to contribute to the economic development plans of the requesting countries. Consequently, UNESCO's assistance is concentrated on fundamental and general education, teacher training, technical education, scientific research, scientific teaching, and scientific advisory services.

#### EXCHANGE OF KNOWLEDGE

In its work to facilitate the exchange of knowledge UNESCO took steps to strengthen its field science cooperation offices in Montevideo for Latin America, Cairo for the Middle East, Manila for East Asia, New Delhi for South Asia, and Djakarta for Southeast Asia. These offices assist in the collection and exchange of scientific information on a wide variety of subjects within their regions and between the region and the rest of the world. Probably the outstanding accomplishment in the scientific field during 1951 was the completion of plans for the establishment of an international computation center at Rome. The center, to be based upon a convention which comes into effect upon ratification by 10 countries, will have facilities beyond the means of most individual nations. It will have the following three functions: (1) To work out calculations required for the solution of scientific and technical problems; (2) to serve as a place for research and experimentation on the construction and use of new methods of mechanical computation; and (3) to train experts in mechanical computation. Another project with immediate practical implications was the establishment of an Advisory Committee on Arid Zones to study the problems of arid and semiarid areas, which cover more than a quarter of the earth's surface. Problems in this field are being attacked in conjunction with the United Nations and the FAO.

UNESCO continued to cooperate with international associations of educators, scholars, scientists, writers, and artists and to aid many of them with subventions. A number of these associations were, in fact, set up by UNESCO. Assisting specialists to organize international cooperation in their own field not only aids the development of a particular branch of knowledge, but also fosters the growth of mutual understanding by increasing the number of opportunities for meetings of minds through conferences, committees, and exchange of data. In the field of social science, for example, UNESCO cooperated with the International Economic Association in sponsoring two symposia, one dealing with the teaching of economics and the second with problems of monopoly and competition. UNESCO also assisted in founding an institute for international activities in the social sciences at Cologne, Germany. The principal objects of the institute are to carry out activities promoting cooperation between social scientists, to serve as a center for social scientists of many countries to compare and pool their ideas, and to undertake research in the field of social science. Plans were also completed for an international social science council to be established in 1952.

During 1951 UNESCO began preparing for a congress in the field of the arts, one result of which may be the organization of a new international visual arts organization. In this way UNESCO seeks to bring to the service of increased international understanding the insights of the creative artists and men of letters as well as the resources of cultural institutions such as libraries and museums. A Seminar on the Teaching of Visual Arts in General Education, attended by experts from 20 nations, was held in July 1951, and the information gathered is being made available to other countries.

Two library projects were undertaken in 1951. One, a pilot project undertaken with the cooperation of the Indian Government, involves a public library with mobile equipment to serve areas where books are scarce or nonexistent. Basic library problems were considered also in a regional conference in São Paulo, Brazil, which drafted plans and recommendations for the development and extension of public-library services in Latin America.

After 4 years of intensive work the universal copyright convention neared completion with the preparation of a preliminary draft which will serve as the basis for final action at an intergovernmental conference to be convened in 1952.

UNESCO was especially concerned in 1951 with the serious shortage of newsprint because of the handicap it presents to the exchange of knowledge. It initiated a number of activities to keep public opinion

and the governments of member states aware of the importance of finding a solution to this problem and to encourage other United Nations organs to do what they could in this connection.

#### CITIZEN UNDERSTANDING

In the third category of activity, citizen understanding of the world community, UNESCO began in 1951 an undertaking that will result in a Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind. Its purpose is to assemble the pertinent knowledge of the development of peoples, their ways of life, their ideas, and their relationships, in order that the common factors affecting this development may be understood. The history is being prepared by the International Commission for a Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind which has devised a method of work that will afford scholars and interested persons full opportunity to contribute to the development of the text and to criticize the materials, points of view, and interpretations for inclusion in it.

Understanding of the world community is fostered most effectively through education. In addition to attacks on illiteracy, the contribution which such teaching can and should make to the development of international understanding is valuable. One means has been through a series of seminars on such subjects as geography, history, and modern languages in which international understanding is especially important. The 1951 seminar on the teaching of history was attended by 70 specialists in history teaching from 36 countries.

During 1951 UNESCO undertook one special aspect of education for international understanding—to develop world-wide understanding and support for the principle of collective security which the United Nations has been fighting to uphold in Korea. Publications on the United Nations system of collective security are being distributed to member states for use in the gradual process of educating people to their responsibilities for support of the United Nations efforts to maintain international peace and security.

At the request of UNKRA in September 1951, UNESCO appointed an expert to advise the Republic of Korea on educational problems. UNESCO also transferred \$100,000 to the United Nations to be used in Korea for supplying badly needed textbooks. UNESCO also extended its cooperation with the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) for Palestine refugee children. At the present time there are 114 schools open to more than 50,000 Palestine refugee children.



UNESCO's contribution is chiefly in the field of technical advice and direction.

The United States is well represented in the majority of UNESCO's meetings of experts and international seminars, and UNESCO's materials are in demand in the United States because of the interest in UNESCO's activities. The United States National Commission for UNESCO is among the most active of all the national commissions in developing and carrying out UNESCO's program. One of its significant achievements was the Third National Conference on The Citizen and the United Nations, which it planned in consultation with hundreds of individuals and voluntary and official groups. The Conference was held in New York City in January 1952 and was attended by more than 2,400 representatives of educational institutions and of scholarly, professional, and civic organizations.

## HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS

During 1951 the United Nations continued its work to promote human rights by a variety of positive measures and to focus moral suasion against those who deny such rights. The main activities were carried on in the following fields: (1) The draft covenants on human rights; (2) freedom of information; (3) prevention of discrimination and protection of minorities; (4) status of women; (5) genocide; and (6) human-rights violations.

### *Draft Covenants on Human Rights*

The Commission on Human Rights at its 1951 spring session expanded the draft International Covenant on Human Rights to include for the first time provisions on economic, social, and cultural rights in addition to civil and political rights. This was done in accordance with the decision of the 1950 General Assembly. At the same session the Commission drafted reporting procedures with respect to economic, social, and cultural rights and revised the implementation machinery provided in the Covenant with respect to civil and political rights. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt was the representative of the United States on the Commission for the fifth consecutive year.

The basic civil and political rights which were written into the draft Covenant in 1950 are well known in American tradition and law and relate to the right to life; protection against torture, slavery, forced labor, arbitrary arrest, or detention; freedom to leave a country; freedom to return to one's country; right to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal; right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty; protection against *ex post facto* laws; right to recognition as a person before the law; freedom of religion, expression, assembly, and association; and equal protection of the law. No changes in these rights were made during 1951.

The new economic, social, and cultural provisions related to the opportunity to work, conditions of work, social security, housing, standard of living, health, maternity, children, young persons, trade-unions, education, culture, and science. In drafting these provisions the Commission recognized that they would differ in a number of respects from the civil and political rights provisions of the Covenant. Those differences were acknowledged in a number of ways.

1. The economic, social, and cultural rights were recognized as objectives to be achieved "progressively." In the case of the civil and political rights, states ratifying the Covenant would be under an obligation to take necessary steps within a reasonable length of time to give effect to these rights. A much longer period of time would clearly be contemplated under the draft Covenant for the achievement of the economic, social, and cultural rights. The term "rights" was used with respect to both the civil and political provisions as well as the economic, social, and cultural provisions. However, this term was used in two different senses—as legally enforceable in character in one case, and as promotional in character in the other. The civil and political rights were looked upon as "rights" which could be given effect almost immediately through legislative action. The economic, social, and cultural rights, although recognized as "rights," were looked upon as objectives toward which states adhering to the Covenant would undertake to strive.

2. It was recognized that the economic, social, and cultural rights were to be achieved by many means and methods, private as well as public, and not solely through legislation. The obligation of a state ratifying the Covenant would be to take steps for the promotion of conditions for economic, social, and cultural progress and development. The U.S.S.R. repeatedly urged in the Commission that the economic, social, and cultural rights be stated in terms of state legislation only. The United States and the other members of the Commission rejected this approach.

3. Implementation procedures proposed for these two differing types of rights differed greatly. In the case of the civil and political rights, the implementation machinery proposed would authorize one state to complain against another state if the latter should violate the Covenant. However, in the case of economic, social, and cultural rights, a procedure was devised whereby states would merely furnish reports concerning the progress made in the observance of the economic, social, and cultural provisions and in accordance with a program to be established by the Economic and Social Council after consultation with these states and the specialized agencies concerned. This resulted from a belief in the Commission that the "complaint" procedure would not be appropriate for the economic, social, and cultural rights since these rights were to be achieved progressively according to the resources available. The Commission wished to stress the importance of assisting states to achieve economic, social, and cultural progress rather than stress the bringing of complaints against states.

The Commission rejected the inclusion of a provision in the Covenant to extend the right of complaint to individuals, groups, and organizations. The view was expressed, however, that such provisions should be set forth in a separate protocol or protocols for separate ratification. The U.S.S.R. and the Ukraine opposed the drafting of any such provisions in any form.

The Commission also reviewed the provisions of the draft Covenant proposing the establishment of a Human Rights Committee to receive complaints from states with respect to alleged violations of the civil and political rights in the Covenant and decided to increase the membership of the Committee from 7 to 9 members. The Committee would be elected by the International Court of Justice from a list of persons nominated by states parties to the Covenant. It would be authorized to ascertain the facts in each case referred to it and to make its good offices available to the states concerned with a view to a friendly solution. The Committee would in each case prepare a report to be sent to the states concerned and to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for publication.

The draft Covenant was forwarded by the Human Rights Commission to the Economic and Social Council, which reviewed the draft at its 1951 summer session. In view of the many differences in the draft Covenant between the economic, social, and cultural rights as contrasted with the civil and political rights, the Economic and Social Council, after sharp debate, invited the General Assembly to reconsider its 1950 decision to include the provisions on economic,



social, and cultural rights in the same covenant with civil and political rights. This action by the Council resulted from a proposal put forward by the United States and four other members, India, France, the United Kingdom, and Uruguay.

After a thorough reexamination of this question, the 1951 session of the General Assembly decided to request the Commission on Human Rights to separate the single Covenant on Human Rights into two covenants, one to contain civil and political rights and the other to contain economic, social, and cultural rights. The two covenants are to be submitted simultaneously to the General Assembly at its 1952 session in order that the Assembly may have the opportunity to approve and open the two covenants at the same time for signature.

As of April 1952 the draft covenants were still in the process of formulation. In participating in this work, the United States has continued to make it clear that it has no intention of becoming party to any treaty or convention which would prejudice the rights of the American people now protected by the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the United States. However, the United States cannot oppose extending rights of the character protected by our own Bill of Rights to peoples everywhere. United States participation in and support of the United Nations program to extend human rights to peoples the world over is an important aspect of its stand for the democratic as opposed to the Communist way of life.

### *Freedom of Information*

Differing national points of view toward freedom of the press and increasing political tensions continued in 1951 to prevent the United Nations from making appreciable headway in promoting freedom of information. The principal development was the preparation of a revised text of the draft convention on freedom of information by a special 15-nation committee which met from January 15 to February 7, 1951, pursuant to a decision of the fifth session of the General Assembly.

After a difficult debate, which again highlighted the sharp division between the governments which seek to increase the responsibility of the press through governmental legislation and those which oppose governmental interference, the Committee decided to transmit its revised text of the draft convention to the Economic and Social Council. It recommended that the Council convene a plenipotentiary conference "with a view to the framing and opening for signature of a

Convention on Freedom of Information." The United States member, Carroll Binder, opposed the Committee decision.

The new draft was intended to replace the text prepared by the United Nations Conference on Freedom of Information in 1948. Its basic provisions remained unchanged; namely, a guaranty to the nationals of contracting states of freedom to seek, receive, and impart information without governmental interference, subject, however, to certain limitations which governments may impose with regard to national security, public order, etc. While the new draft represents a slight improvement over the original text, it is not acceptable to a number of governments, including the United States. In commenting on the new text, the United States has indicated that the draft is unacceptable because certain provisions are dangerously vague and some of the permissive restrictions are incompatible with traditional concepts of freedom of the press.

At its mid-1951 session the Economic and Social Council decided, in view of the wide divergence of views on this subject, not to convene the special conference to complete the convention and so notified the General Assembly. The Council in so doing accepted the view set forth by Walter M. Kotschnig, the United States deputy representative, when he stated:

... we have to reject the present draft of the Convention and what is more, we cannot support the holding of a conference to complete that draft. We have reached the conclusion that the present unsettled times which reflect a deep seated confusion of ideas and principles is not propitious for such work.

The sixth session of the General Assembly, unable to consider the text for lack of time, decided in a resolution adopted February 4, 1952, "to place consideration of all these problems on the provisional agenda of its seventh regular session for early discussion."

The Economic and Social Council also adopted by a vote of 14 to 3 with 1 abstention a United States-sponsored resolution expressing the Council's concern over "governmental action aimed at the systematic exclusion of *bona fide* correspondents, the imposition of arbitrary personal restraints and the infliction of punishments upon such correspondents solely because of their attempts faithfully to perform their duties in gathering and transmitting news"; and urging "that personal restraints be removed and sentences imposing arbitrary punishments be revoked." This resolution was directed at the imprisonment of William N. Oatis, Associated Press correspondent, by the Government of Czechoslovakia. In his remarks the United States deputy representative strongly condemned the unjustified conviction of Oatis after

a mock trial, which revealed that he had committed no crime other than to attempt conscientiously to report the news.

The Council's resolution on the treatment of foreign correspondents was strongly supported in the sixth session of the General Assembly by the United States representative, Channing H. Tobias. Dr. Tobias and others condemned the Czechoslovakian Government for its suppression of freedom of the press and its disregard of the elementary principles of justice in the Oatis case.

### *Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities*

The Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities held its fourth session in New York in October 1951. This group of experts, appointed directly by the United Nations to make recommendations to the Commission on Human Rights, includes Jonathan Daniels of the United States.

The problems dealt with by this group are exceedingly complex. To clarify its work, the subcommittee has tried to define carefully what is meant by a minority and the extent to which a distinctive population group can expect and may need special protection. It has emphasized in its discussions that minorities must be loyal to the state of which they are nationals. Many of the rights traditionally desired by minorities, such as freedom of religion, speech, assembly, and association, are already proclaimed for all persons in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. The subcommittee accordingly made recommendations for additional action only on matters not included in the Declaration.

One such matter involves the right of minority groups to use their traditional language as a means of maintaining their cultural heritage. The subcommittee recommended that governments should provide as a minimum in areas where a minority represents a considerable portion of the population (1) for the use of the minority language in judicial procedure where the member of the minority does not speak or understand the language ordinarily used in the courts and (2) for the teaching of the minority languages in state-supported schools provided the minority groups request it.

The subcommittee also reviewed the activities of UNESCO in the field of prevention of discrimination and protection of minorities and commended especially an on-the-spot study being conducted in Brazil. It urged that attention be given to eliminating discrimination against persons born out of wedlock and to providing protection for political groups and media.



*Status of Women*

The 1951 report of the Secretary-General on women's political rights showed that one more country, Haiti, had granted local suffrage to women with an assurance of equal political rights at a later date. The Haitian action brought to 22 the number of countries which have granted suffrage rights to women since the signing of the United Nations Charter in 1945. The report showed that women now have equal political rights in 56 countries, limited or local suffrage rights in 9 more, and lack suffrage in 15 countries.

The Commission on the Status of Women, the United Nations organ responsible for international activities in this and related fields, held its fifth session at Lake Success from April 30 to May 14, 1951. The United States was represented by Mrs. Olive Remington Goldman. The careful preparation and research planned in earlier sessions enabled the Commission to deal promptly with questions of increasing scope and importance.

One of these questions under consideration for several years was a draft convention on political rights for women. The Commission recommended a text which was later examined by the Economic and Social Council and forwarded to governments for comment. The United States supported this draft convention, reserving its position on article 3, which deals with appointive office and public functions. The Commission also approved the draft text of a pamphlet entitled *Political Education for Women*, designed for use in countries where women had recently achieved suffrage.

The Commission also continued to press for a new convention on the nationality of married women to embody principles approved at its 1950 meeting. It reviewed its recommendations for wider recognition of women in the work of the United Nations and suggested especially that consideration be given to including women in visiting missions to trust territories. In addition, the Commission reviewed replies of member governments to questions concerning public services and functions, civil liberties, and fiscal laws. It was noted that obstacles still exist in some countries with regard to the access to and appointment of women to public services and functions and that these discriminations were directed especially against the employment of married women. The Commission expressed the hope that these inequalities would be promptly removed and invited governments to supply information bringing their earlier replies up to date.

At its annual conference in June 1951 the International Labor Organization completed a convention on equal remuneration for work of

equal value and recommendations to governments on giving practical effect to this principle. The United States voted for both the convention, which called for promotion of the principle, and for the recommendations. This action brought to fruition the project undertaken by the ILO in 1948, in response to a request of the Economic and Social Council and a recommendation by the Commission on the Status of Women, that the ILO take immediate steps to implement the principle of "equal pay for equal work." Since the ILO constitution originally included the principle of equal remuneration for work of equal value, it was able to concentrate on this project considerable experience and research. The convention and recommendations were forwarded to governments for ratification.

### *Genocide*

The genocide convention which had been opened for signature in December 1948 entered into force on January 12, 1951, upon the ratification by the required 20 states. This convention, which grew out of the Nazi atrocities of World War II, was designed to establish genocide as a crime under international law which would be punishable in accordance with national legislation enacted by the contracting state. Genocide is defined in the convention as—

. . . any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such :

- (a) Killing members of the group ;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group ;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part ;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group ;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

On June 16, 1949, this convention was submitted to the Senate for its advice and consent to ratification, with a recommendation for favorable action. Although a subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee recommended favorable action, the Committee itself had not acted by March 1952. The failure of the United States to ratify this convention is regrettable, and it is hoped that the United States before too long will join the growing number of countries which are determined to prevent and punish the hideous crime of genocide. States which had ratified the genocide convention by the end of 1951 were as follows: Australia, Belgium, Cambodia, Ceylon, China, Costa Rica, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Guatemala,

Haiti, Iceland, Israel, Jordan (Hashemite Kingdom), Korea, Laos, Liberia, Monaco, Norway, Panama, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Vietnam, and Yugoslavia.

### *Human Rights Violations*

The General Assembly in November 1950 had condemned the refusal of Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania to fulfill their obligations under the treaties of peace in connection with the charges that they had violated these provisions of the treaties dealing with human rights. In addition, the Assembly had invited member states to submit evidence on this matter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. In November 1951 the United States submitted the first installment of the evidence which it had prepared on this question. This dealt with the Rumanian Government's violation of its treaty obligations relating to freedom of expression and of press and publication as provided in the treaty. The United States plans to submit additional evidence dealing with Bulgaria and Hungary.

While there was no specific item dealing with these human-rights violations before the sixth session of the General Assembly, United States representatives continued to stress the widespread and serious violations of human rights within the Soviet orbit. For example, Secretary Acheson in his opening speech on November 8, 1951, called attention to the recent mass deportations in Eastern Europe and other Soviet attempts to crush human freedom, pointing out that "These calculated denials of basic human rights are a matter of concern to the world community." The United States intends to continue expressing its concern over the systematic violations of human rights and the barbarous practices of mass extermination and deportation in Eastern Europe and to expose these fully to world indignation.

## ORGANIZATIONAL DÉVELOPMENTS

Significant steps forward were taken during 1951 to improve the organization of the manifold economic and social activities carried on within the United Nations system. The Economic and Social Council and its commissions and subsidiary bodies were reorganized. In addition, there was considerable emphasis on the coordination of



programs and concentration of activities within the economic and social field (see part V, p. 268). Taken together, these steps contributed to the more effective harnessing of energy and application of efforts to key, critical problems on which tangible results could be obtained within a reasonable period and provide some of the basic foundations for stability and well-being.

### *Reorganization of Economic and Social Council*

The Economic and Social Council in mid-1951 adopted a plan of reorganization of its subsidiary bodies and of the Council itself. This plan grew out of reorganization proposals which had been studied by an *ad hoc* committee of the Council during the first half of 1951. The reorganization was designed to streamline the operations of the Council as well as the structure and operations of its subsidiary bodies.

There was general agreement on continuing the three regional commissions, ECE, ECLA, and ECAFE, which have become increasingly effective instruments of economic cooperation. At the same time the Council made some changes in their terms of reference. Increased emphasis was given to ECAFE's role in economic development and technical assistance. ECLA was also asked to give special attention to economic development problems and to assist in formulating and developing coordinated policies as a basis for promoting economic development in the region. It was also called upon to assist the Council in appraising technical assistance programs in Latin America.

With regard to the functional commissions and their subcommissions, the Council decided to discontinue until the end of 1954 the Economic, Employment and Development Commission, the Subcommittee on Statistical Sampling, and the Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities. The Subcommittee on Freedom of Information was to hold one more session to complete its work on the draft international code of ethics for journalists and then be discontinued. The discontinuance of these bodies, which was supported by the United States, did not reflect any lessening of interest in the important work to be accomplished in these fields. Rather it was aimed at removing duplication or, in the case of the discrimination and freedom of information bodies, at finding more effective ways to advance their objectives.

Under the reorganization plan, the Commission on Human Rights and the Commission on Narcotic Drugs are to be continued in their

present form and are to meet annually. The Council further decided to convene the Social Commission, the Population Commission, the Statistical Commission, the Fiscal Commission, the Status of Women Commission, and the Transport and Communications Commission every other year rather than annually as in the past. It was anticipated that this plan would increase the effectiveness of both the commissions and the Council and would save money. It would allow the Secretariat more time to prepare necessary documentation and submit it to members in time for adequate consideration. It would also give the Secretariat time to follow up on the proposals of the commissions. Moreover, the Council's agenda would be lightened since it would consider only the reports of the commissions that met during the year, and this would enable it to give more careful consideration to these reports. It was also decided to increase the Population Commission to 15 and the Status of Women Commission to 18. The next meetings of the Population, Fiscal, and Transport and Communications Commissions were scheduled for 1953.

The sixth session of the General Assembly was not in complete agreement with these plans and requested the Council to reconsider its decision on the Commission on the Status of Women with a view to its meeting annually. The Assembly also requested the Council to authorize the Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities "to continue its work so that it may fulfill its mission and especially to convene a session in 1952; and to take any practical steps that may be necessary for the continuance within the framework of the United Nations, of the work on the prevention of discrimination and the protection of minorities." This latter request had been anticipated by the Council, which had requested members to transmit their proposals for continuing the United Nations activities in the field of minorities and discrimination and also in freedom of information.

The General Assembly approved the plan for the general reorganization of the Economic and Social Council's work. The Council had decided to hold two regular sessions as in the past. The first would start about April 1 and cover the major items ripe for discussion, particularly in the economic field. The second session would start as late as possible before the General Assembly and cover the major social and human-rights issues, the remaining economic issues, problems of coordination and priorities, and appropriate reports of the specialized agencies. The second session would be resumed for a few meetings after the General Assembly to arrange for action on questions arising

out of the Assembly and to work out the Council's basic program for the following year.

In addition, it was decided that major items should normally be dealt with in the plenary meetings and the discussion of related items should be scheduled in advance whenever possible.

These arrangements were upset for 1952 because the Assembly did not adjourn until February and there was not time to prepare for an April meeting of the Council. In view of these exceptional circumstances the Council decided in December 1951 to convene only once in 1952, beginning May 13 for 11 weeks. This session will deal with all items, including resolutions arising out of Assembly action.

The reorganization, particularly after the Assembly modifications, is not as complete as the United States and some other members desired, but it is more extensive than others had wanted. It represents a compromise plan and will remain in force only until 1954, when the situation will be reviewed again.



## *Dependent Territories*

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ONE of the most significant fields of United Nations activity relates to the non-self-governing territories, which include some 200,000,000 peoples, a twelfth of the world's population. Although the international community has long had an interest in this field, the development of dependent territories has become of increasingly significant concern since World War II. The achievement of independence by many former dependent territories and the sharply accelerated demands of many remaining dependent peoples for an increasing measure of control over their own destinies are among the factors which have accentuated the importance of this question.

Under the Charter, the United Nations and its members have assumed special responsibilities in relation to the dependent peoples of the world. In particular, the members administering dependent territories assumed responsibilities to promote the well-being of the inhabitants. Further, a United Nations Trusteeship System was established to provide for international supervision over the administration of certain dependent territories, now 11 in number, known as trust territories. The administering authorities undertook to promote the progressive development of their trust territories toward self-government or independence.

The international responsibilities of the United States with regard to dependent territories arise both from its membership in relevant international organizations and from the fact that the United States itself administers a number of non-self-governing territories. The United States participates in the work of the Trusteeship Council, the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly, and the Assembly's Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, as well as in such other international bodies as the Caribbean and the South Pacific Commissions. In addition to the Territories of Alaska, American Samoa, Guam, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands of the United States, the United States administers the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

## FUNCTIONING OF THE TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM

In carrying out its responsibilities toward the more than 18,000,000 people in the 11 trust territories, the Trusteeship Council during 1951 met in two regular sessions and one brief special session. The Council examined annual reports on all 11 trust territories and adopted detailed conclusions and recommendations with regard to each of them. It also examined more than 200 petitions relating to conditions in these territories. The Council received the reports of its visiting mission to the trust territories in the Pacific area, which had been sent out the previous year, and sent a visiting mission, which included a United States member, to the East African trust territories of Ruanda-Urundi, Tanganyika, and Somaliland under Italian administration. The reports of the latter mission will be examined by the Council during its session in 1952.

In addition to these regular tasks, the Council's work during 1951 included a number of special items. For example, the wish of certain African peoples in French and British Togoland to be united under a single administration was carefully considered by the Council, which approved the establishment of a Joint Council for Togoland Affairs to be composed of indigenous representatives from both Togolands. The Council also established a Committee on Rural Economic Development of the Trust Territories which is undertaking a detailed study of land tenure and land use in all the territories. Similarly a standing committee has continued to examine the operations of administrative unions by which certain trust territories are administratively linked to neighboring colonies administered by the same state.

The Fourth Committee (Trusteeship, including Non-Self-Governing Territories) of the General Assembly devoted some 5 weeks during its sixth session to the report of the Trusteeship Council to the Assembly. Thirteen resolutions were adopted by the Assembly on trusteeship questions.

*Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands*

During 1951, a major development in the United States administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands was the transfer of administrative responsibility from the Secretary of the Navy to the Secretary of the Interior. As customary, the United States annual report on its administration of the Trust Territory was examined by the Trusteeship Council.

The Trust Territory consists of some 2,000 tropical islands in the Marshall, Caroline, and Marianas groups, except Guam, which are scattered over 3,000,000 square miles of ocean. These islands, with a total population of some 55,000, constitute the major portion of Micronesia and were administered at various times and in varying extent by Spain, Germany, and Japan before the United States occupied them during World War II. The United States exercised military government over the area until July 18, 1947, when the trusteeship agreement, having been approved by the Security Council and by the United States, entered into force, providing for administration of the islands by the United States as a strategic area. Thereafter, responsibility for the civil administration of the Trust Territory was delegated to the Secretary of the Navy on an interim basis.

#### CIVILIAN ADMINISTRATION

The Secretaries of State, War, the Navy, and the Interior recommended in July 1947 that administrative responsibility for the Trust Territory be transferred at the earliest practicable date to a civilian agency of the Government. Accordingly, arrangements were worked out for the orderly transfer of administrative responsibility from the Secretary of the Navy to the Secretary of the Interior, which became effective on July 1, 1951.

In anticipation of this transfer, the President on January 8, 1951, appointed former Senator Elbert D. Thomas as the first civilian High Commissioner of the Trust Territory. The new High Commissioner took office at once and supervised the transfer. Representatives of the Navy and Interior Departments worked out the details of the transfer in the spring of 1951. In order to continue transport and communications over this vast ocean area, the appropriate naval facilities were transferred to civilian agencies. Thus, naval ships, small craft, and communications facilities were transferred to the Department of the Interior. Offices of the United States Post Office Department replaced the Navy post offices formerly servicing the area, and the United States Weather Bureau took over the operation of weather stations in the Territory. In order that the continuity of administration might be maintained as far as possible, the Navy agreed to release both regular and reserve personnel on active duty with the Trust Territory Naval Administration for employment by the new administration. Seven officers and 39 enlisted personnel were so transferred and by June 30, 1951, the majority of naval personnel both



at headquarters and in the field were replaced by civilians. Provision was made for the training of new employees, and naval personnel remained after the arrival of their successors for as long as necessary to instruct new employees in their duties. Public-works projects in the Trust Territory undertaken by naval construction battalions were to be completed prior to the withdrawal of the personnel involved.

The transfer of administration was accomplished with no disruption of administrative services to the people of the Trust Territory. The transfer was explained and discussed with the inhabitants, who cooperated fully in the operation.

### ANNUAL REPORT

The third annual report by the United States on its administration of the Trust Territory, covering the period from July 1, 1949, to June 30, 1950, was submitted to the United Nations and examined by the Trusteeship Council at its eighth session in early 1951. In addition, the Council also considered the report of its mission which had visited the principal islands of the Trust Territory in the late spring of 1950. The mission's report dealt with political, economic, social, and educational conditions and problems in the Trust Territory. At the conclusion of its examination of the United States report, which was explained by Rear Adm. Leon S. Fiske, then Deputy High Commissioner of the Territory, the Trusteeship Council reported to the Security Council that it noted with approval the progress made during the year and hoped that it would continue.

In the field of political development, the United States has concentrated its efforts on the local and regional levels, because of the considerable cultural variation among the peoples of the Territory and in order to provide a solid basis for the growth of sound political institutions. The Trusteeship Council congratulated the United States on the political progress made and approved its efforts to modify hereditary indigenous political institutions along more democratic lines as rapidly as such reforms were acceptable to the inhabitants. The Council expressed the hope that the powers of the local municipal governments would be progressively increased and that younger inhabitants of the Territory would be encouraged to participate in local government activities.

The United States was commended on the establishment of regional congresses and on the manner in which these bodies are operating. The Council noted that a draft organic act for the Trust Territory

was at that time under active review in the executive branch of the Government with a view to its early presentation to Congress and expressed the hope for further information on this matter in subsequent reports. The appointment of a civilian High Commissioner for the Territory and the retention of the services of some of the experienced naval personnel in the civil administration were noted with satisfaction by the Council, which expressed the hope that special attention would be paid to the training of new civilian personnel.

In the field of economic advancement, the United States is seeking to help the inhabitants make maximum use of their limited natural resources. The Trusteeship Council noted with approval the general economic progress made and recalled its previous recommendation for continued efforts to diversify the economy of the Trust Territory. The United States efforts to foster economic development through increasing copra production, developing agricultural products for export, sponsoring research projects, encouraging and guiding the inhabitants in the establishment of business enterprises, and appointing an economic specialist to make an economic survey of the Territory were particularly noted by the Council. The Council welcomed these measures as an indication that the long-range economic independence of the Territory was being taken into account. The United States was requested to continue its efforts to establish and develop export products and industries. The Council also suggested that experts might be engaged to assist in the establishment of an indigenous commercial fishing industry and to further develop the copra industry. The United States efforts to settle land and other claims of the inhabitants arising from the war were noted by the Council, which urged that all claims be settled as soon as possible.

No recommendations, except with reference to petitions, were made by the Council on social advancement in the Trust Territory. However, the United States was commended for the general progress in the field of education and, in particular, for the expansion of the Pacific Islands Teacher Training School at Truk. This school, now known as the Pacific Islands Central School, provides increased opportunities for secondary education in the Territory and offers training in the School of Teacher Training, the School of Communications, the School of General Education, and the recently opened School of Agriculture. Approximately 100 students selected from the intermediate schools in various parts of the Territory are currently enrolled. The majority of these, including nine girls, are scholarship students.

## PETITIONS

In addition to its examination of the United States report, the Trusteeship Council considered seven petitions from inhabitants of the Territory, which had been presented to the visiting mission in 1950. The petitions contained requests relating to such matters as technical assistance, economic development, the site of the capital of the Territory, the choice of a flag for the Territory, the settlement of claims, and the expansion of educational facilities. In its consideration of these petitions, the Council had before it the visiting mission's comments and the United States observations on the petitions, as well as the statements of the special representative from the Territory who appeared before the Council's *Ad Hoc* Committee on Petitions to answer questions and provide further information on the matters raised by the petitioners.

The Council, after careful consideration, adopted recommendations on each of the petitions, which were transmitted to the petitioner together with the records of the Council's examination of the petitions. On various general questions raised in the petitions, such as the need for more economic development, the Council drew the petitioner's attention to its recommendations in this field. For example, it had requested the United States to continue its efforts to establish and develop industries and products for export, and it had suggested engaging experts to teach and help the people establish a commercial fishing enterprise as well as develop the copra industry. With regard to the various specific issues raised in the petitions, the Council took actions such as recommending that the exact meaning and implications of the selection of a flag for the Territory be fully explained to the petitioners; calling attention to its recommendations urging that land claims be settled as quickly as possible; and recommending increased emphasis on vocational training.

*Developments Affecting Other Trust Territories*

As in past years the Trusteeship Council during 1951 examined annual reports on each of the 11 trust territories, including for the first time a report on the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration. As a result of its examination, the Council made recommendations concerning the political, economic, social, and educational conditions in each territory. In addition, the Council adopted resolutions dealing with a number of petitions concerning the trust



territories. Since the similarity of problems in the various trust territories resulted in a similarity in many of the Council's recommendations, the following sections do not review these recommendations in detail. Instead, emphasis is placed upon the more important and distinctive problems considered by the Council in relation to each trust territory.

### *Trust Territories in the Pacific*

#### NEW GUINEA

The Trust Territory of New Guinea, comprising the northeast portion of the island of New Guinea and some 600 islands of the Bismarck Archipelago lying to the northeast of the main island, is perhaps the least developed of the territories under trusteeship. Because of the remote nature of much of the area, the Australian administration is not yet in contact with large sections of the Territory's population. The Trusteeship Council, in examining Australia's annual report for 1949-1950 on the Territory, expressed satisfaction that administrative control had been further extended and that Australia contemplated full control of the Territory by the end of 1954. The Council's mission which visited New Guinea in 1950 reported that although the extensive damage caused in the Territory by the war had not yet been fully repaired, the living conditions of the indigenous inhabitants were generally the same as before the war and that education and health services were improved. Moreover, the Council's Standing Committee on Administrative Unions, in studying the joint administration of the Trust Territory of New Guinea with the neighboring territory of Papua, pointed out that expenditures in the Trust Territory were more than three times greater than revenues derived from the territory.

The Trusteeship Council, noting that the number of administrative officials and their salaries and allowances had been increased, expressed hope for continued improvement along these lines. In addition, the Council recommended that the indigenous inhabitants of the Trust Territory be given training so that they could fill more responsible posts in the administration. The United States representative made particular reference to this point and urged that such training be offered on a broad basis.

The Papua and New Guinea Act of 1949 provides for a legislative council for the combined territories, and the Trusteeship Council urged

Australia to proceed with its establishment without further delay. As provided in the act, this council will consist of 29 members, 3 of whom are to be nonofficial indigenous members. The Trusteeship Council reaffirmed its earlier recommendations for an increase in the number of indigenous representatives.

In the economic field, the Trusteeship Council gave particular attention to the question of economic development plans. While noting the Australian view that such development was a task to be undertaken jointly by outside enterprise and the indigenous inhabitants, the Council hoped that the latter would share increasingly in the productive economy. The visiting mission's report on New Guinea noted that a land commission was to be established to investigate the land situation in the Territory, and the Council requested that it be kept informed of the work of this commission. At the present time land in the Territory may be alienated under leasehold only.

Gold mining in the interior regions of New Guinea is one of the Territory's major industrial enterprises and one in which the Council has shown continued interest, particularly with respect to the royalties obtained for the Territory from gold exported. At present these royalties are fixed at 5 percent of the value of the gold exported, and Australia, in accordance with a previous Council recommendation, has under consideration the possibility of increasing these royalties or of imposing new taxes on the gold industry.

The Council also considered the basic problems resulting from the undeveloped state of transportation and communications facilities in the Territory and noted that while air transport has made great strides, the road network is still inadequate. Australia was urged to accelerate the development of communications generally and particularly to improve and develop the road system.

Questions of wages and standards of living received attention from the Council during its discussion of social conditions in the Territory. Australia was requested to supply full information on the relationship between real wages and the cost of living and to give serious consideration to the possibility of further increasing minimum cash wages. The Council expressed its satisfaction at the abolition of indentured labor and of penal sanctions for breach of labor contracts, which came into effect on January 1, 1951. In the field of public health, Australia was commended for its 5-year hospital construction program and for the increased use of trained medical personnel in the villages of the Territory.

The expansion of both elementary and secondary educational facilities was recommended by the Council, and particular stress was laid on the necessity for special attention to the training of indigenous teachers.

In its general conclusion on conditions in the Trust Territory of New Guinea, the Trusteeship Council noted the great difficulties that confront the administration and commended Australia for the progress which had been made during the year reviewed. It expressed the hope that the efforts to develop the Territory would be continued and intensified.

## NAURU

The Trust Territory of Nauru, a tiny and isolated island just south of the Equator, is administered by Australia on behalf of itself, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom. About 80 percent of Nauru is phosphate-bearing, and the mining of these deposits by a corporation owned by the three governments constitutes the principal economic activity of the island. The extraction of the phosphate, however, leaves the mined areas unfit for further use. This situation constitutes a difficult, long-term problem for the administering authority since, other than phosphate, the island possesses very meager resources.

The Trusteeship Council continued to give attention to Nauru's economic future during its examination of Australia's report for 1949-1950. This report outlined various research projects which were under way to determine the possibility of expanding agricultural production, and the Council urged Australia to continue such efforts to make the economic future of the inhabitants more secure. The Council, while expressing its approval of a recent increase in the royalty paid to the Nauruans for the phosphate extracted, requested Australia to insure that the dominant position of the phosphate industry should not adversely affect the interests of the indigenous population in general.

The indigenous inhabitants of Nauru have participated in the political life of the Territory largely through an advisory Council of Chiefs whose members, until recently, were elected for life by secret ballot and adult suffrage. In the past the Trusteeship Council has urged Australia to widen the powers of the Council of Chiefs. In 1951 the Trusteeship Council was informed of draft legislation which, while retaining the advisory character of the Council of Chiefs, would place its membership on the basis of a 4-year elective term. The



Trusteeship Council welcomed this draft legislation as a first step toward the development of actual legislative power and recommended that Australia consider progressively increasing the Council's powers and responsibilities.

#### WESTERN SAMOA

The western islands of the Samoan group (the eastern islands are a United States territory) compose the Trust Territory of Western Samoa, administered by New Zealand. Shortly after Western Samoa became a Trust Territory, the Samoan leaders petitioned the Trusteeship Council for a greater measure of self-government. At the invitation of New Zealand, the Council in 1947 dispatched a visiting mission to the islands under the chairmanship of Ambassador Francis B. Sayre of the United States. Its report included a number of recommendations providing for greater participation by Samoans in the government of the Territory. Shortly after the mission's visit the New Zealand Parliament enacted the Samoa Amendment Act of 1947, embodying many of the mission's recommendations, which came into effect during 1948-1949.

At its winter session in 1951 the Trusteeship Council examined the report on Western Samoa for the year ending March 31, 1950, and concluded that the political reforms introduced in 1948 were developing satisfactorily. At the same time the Council called New Zealand's attention to the observations of the 1950 visiting mission, which had recommended an increased participation by the Samoans in the executive branch of government at both the policy-making and administrative levels. More specifically, the Council asked New Zealand to consider the establishment of an executive council, in which Samoans might participate, as well as programs to train Samoans for responsible positions in the public service.

The visiting mission appraised the general economic situation of the Territory as very satisfactory but drew attention to the rapid rate of population growth which required a corresponding increase in production in order to maintain the standard of living. The Council commended New Zealand on the steps taken to improve various aspects of the economic situation of the Territory, particularly the increased activity of the newly reconstituted Department of Agriculture, the increased planting of food crops, the completion of the hydroelectric power station, the surveys of forests and agriculture

and of the Apia harbor facilities, and the construction of new roads, schools, and hospitals.

In the social field the visiting mission noted that the Samoans were very anxious for an expansion of health services, particularly in outlying villages. The administering authority stated that the acute shortage of European medical officers was being overcome and that it had made arrangements for a considerable increase in the number of Samoan students admitted to the Central Medical School in Fiji, where "medical practitioners" are trained in a 4-year course. The Council commended New Zealand for the progress made in medical and health services and urged extended efforts to improve these services by continuing maximum use of the training facilities in Fiji as well as collaboration with the South Pacific Medical Service in its efforts to meet the need for fully qualified practitioners.

In the field of education the visiting mission learned that the school population was increasing so rapidly that it would be very difficult to institute compulsory primary education in the immediate future. The mission found a widespread demand for education among the Samoans and ascertained that the main need was for the training of more Samoan teachers. The Council, while commending progress made in the field of education, drew attention to the need for further extended efforts in light of the population growth.

### *Trust Territories in West Africa*

#### CAMEROONS UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

The Trust Territory of Cameroons under British administration is a small portion of the former German colony of Kamerun in the equatorial belt of West Africa, which was placed under British mandate after World War I and under trusteeship after World War II. The larger portion of former Kamerun was placed under the mandate and later the trusteeship of France. The territory under British administration consists of two separate mountainous strips of land extending along the eastern frontier of Nigeria from the Atlantic Ocean inland to Lake Chad. It has an indigenous African population of about 1,000,000 and only a small number of permanent European residents. It is administered by the United Kingdom as an integral part of the adjoining colony of Nigeria.

During 1951 the Trusteeship Council continued to give detailed attention to the administrative integration of the Cameroons with

Nigeria in order to assure itself that this arrangement is being operated in a manner consistent with the obligations assumed by the United Kingdom under the trusteeship agreement. The promulgation in 1951 of a new constitution for Nigeria and the Cameroons was considered a development of fundamental significance, as it provides for a considerable degree of representative self-government. At the same time the Council expressed the hope that the United Kingdom would take special precautions to insure that under this new constitution the interests of the Cameroons will not be prejudiced or submerged by those of Nigeria. In this connection it is interesting to note that a native of the Cameroons was recently elected a member of the Nigerian Council of Ministers.

Although the Territory is poor in natural resources, the Council noted a great improvement in its economic situation during 1950 as well as the particularly encouraging fact that it had a surplus of revenue over expenditure for the first time since 1946. This improvement was due largely to the Cameroons Development Corporation, a statutory public enterprise which operates plantations providing the Territory's principal export product, bananas, as well as some rubber and palm produce. It is intended that the corporation will eventually be entirely managed by Cameroonians; three are now on its board of directors. Although encouraged by the corporation's progress, the Council drew attention to the precarious nature of the Territory's economy in its overdependence on a single crop, bananas, and expressed the hope that the United Kingdom would intensify its efforts to establish a more diversified economy.

#### CAMEROONS UNDER FRENCH ADMINISTRATION

The major part of the former German colony of Kamerun, with a population of over 3,000,000, is now a trust territory under French administration. Unlike British Cameroons, it is not administered as an integral part of the neighboring colony of the administering power, in this case French Equatorial Africa, but forms a part of the French Union as an "Associated Territory."

The Trusteeship Council, after examining the annual reports on the French Cameroons for 1949 and 1950, considered that the general record of development showed sustained progress. The United States representative pointed out, however, that the advancement in the political field was somewhat less marked than in the economic field. In the political field the Council recommended that adult suffrage



should be further extended among the African population, that the Representative Assembly should have its powers revised and extended, and that democratic organs of regional government should be developed.

The Trusteeship Council commended France for the vigorous economic activity in the Territory and recommended that continued governmental assistance and encouragement be given to the indigenous inhabitants to enable them to play a more significant part in the economic development. The Council also recommended that France take advantage when possible of the technical assistance available through the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

In the social field the Council made recommendations with respect to adequate wage rates, the amelioration of the position of women, and the intensification of efforts to train African medical personnel.

While recognizing progress in the educational field, the Council expressed concern over the large number of children and adults still without the first rudiments of learning and expressed the hope that steps would be taken to provide educational facilities at all levels. The Council stressed the need for an accelerated teacher-training program in order to overcome the teacher shortage, which it considered the greatest handicap to educational advancement in the Territory.

#### TOGOLAND UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

The smallest of the trust territories in West Africa is the narrow, land-locked strip of territory known as Togoland under British administration, which is administered as an integral part of the neighboring British colony of the Gold Coast. Its population of less than 400,000 is almost entirely African.

The most important political development relates to the new constitution for the Gold Coast, including British Togoland, which went into effect at the beginning of 1951. The Trusteeship Council commended the United Kingdom for this constitution which transfers a large degree of policy-making and legislative power to organs with a majority of elected African representatives. At the same time it expressed the hope that the United Kingdom would take all possible steps to insure full recognition of Togoland's interests in policies and programs developed by the Gold Coast Government and full participation of Togoland in all phases of Gold Coast progress.

The Council also made recommendations regarding the increase and diversification of agricultural production by indigenous producers,

the participation of the indigenous inhabitants in the economic development of the territory, and the related promotion of cooperative societies, the extension of water supplies, particularly in the arid northern section, and the intensification of the road-construction program.

In the educational and social fields the Council recommended intensified efforts to overcome the shortage of trained personnel, particularly from among the indigenous population. It also dealt with such matters as improving the status of women, abolishing corporal punishment, improving wages and standards of living, and extending the mass-education program.

#### TOGOLAND UNDER FRENCH ADMINISTRATION

The portion of Togoland under French administration, while also a small territory of limited resources, has a population of almost 1,000,000, over two and a half times that of British Togoland. It also has access to the sea through its own port of Lomé. As in the case of French Cameroons, it is not administered with the neighboring French colony, Dahomey, but has a separate administration as an "Associated Territory" of the French Union.

A potentially significant political development during 1951 related to a proposal before the French Parliament to extend the powers of the Representative Assembly of French Togoland. The Trusteeship Council expressed the hope that the next French annual report would show that increased legislative authority had been granted to the Assembly. Hitherto this body has had limited powers and, although it has a majority of elected Africans, election has been on a restricted basis. The Council noted considerable progress in increasing the number of Africans eligible to vote and urged France to continue its efforts toward the goal of universal suffrage.

The Council expressed satisfaction with the results attained under the 10-year plan for economic development and recommended encouragement of active native participation in economic affairs and particularly in policy making and managerial activities. The Council also expressed its satisfaction that campaigns for increased food production had minimized the risk of famine and recommended that France give continued attention to the provision of agricultural services to the indigenous farmers.

In the social and educational fields the Council made recommendations regarding the desirability of promulgating a labor code which

would furnish an adequate basis for the protection of the rights and interests of indigenous labor; the further improvement of medical and health services; and the expansion of facilities for training the indigenous inhabitants, particularly in the fields of medicine and teaching.

### *Trust Territories in East Africa*

#### TANGANYIKA

By far the largest of the trust territories is Tanganyika, formerly a part of German East Africa, which has been under British administration since World War I. Its 362,000 square miles contain a population of well over 7,000,000. Although generally a land of plains and plateaus, Tanganyika also includes within its boundaries the massive, snow-capped Mount Kilimanjaro, rising to 19,565 feet above sea level, and the deep, troughlike depression filled by the waters of Lake Tanganyika, the world's second deepest lake. It has great natural agricultural and mineral resources, but these are largely undeveloped. The development of the Territory is complicated by the multiracial character of its population, which includes significant European and Asian groups in addition to the large majority of Africans.

As the recommendations of the Constitutional Development Committee had not yet been considered by the United Kingdom, or published, the Trusteeship Council was unable to consider this important aspect of the Territory's political development during 1951. The Council did, however, welcome the first appointment of an African to the Executive Council and expressed the hope that a further increase of African participation in executive and legislative organs would result from the work of the Constitutional Development Committee. The Council also favored the progressive development of regional councils and the establishment of additional municipal councils.

Another problem to which the Trusteeship Council devoted attention was the alienation of land to non-Africans. The 1948 visiting mission to East Africa, in considering the British policy of allowing the alienation of land to nonindigenous inhabitants, expressed the view that colonization should be curtailed and the strictest control exercised to keep it at the barest minimum consistent with the development of the Territory and the present and long-range needs and interests of the African inhabitants. In the reports examined by the Trusteeship



Council in 1951, the United Kingdom stated that in certain areas where population pressure exists, over 22,000 acres which had been alienated to non-Africans would be made available to the indigenous inhabitants of the area. This policy would also be carried out in other areas where excessive alienation had aggravated local pressure on the land. However, the British considered that the real answer to indigenous population pressure lay in the opening-up of areas at present unoccupied and undeveloped. The Council commended the United Kingdom on its efforts to eradicate the tsetse fly and to increase water supplies, thereby opening up areas hitherto closed to cultivation.

The Trusteeship Council, through its Standing Committee on Administrative Unions, continued to examine the operation of the East Africa Interterritorial Organization, in which Tanganyika is administratively associated with the neighboring British territories of Kenya and Uganda. The Committee's detailed observations indicated that there were certain advantages to Tanganyika in the common services provided by the Interterritorial Organization but also directed the attention of the United Kingdom to certain problems that did not appear to have been wholly resolved.

The Council also made recommendations regarding a further increase in water supplies, the possibility of promoting schemes for cheap hydroelectricity, the expansion of agricultural extension services and cooperative enterprises, improving the status of women, particularly through the provision of more educational facilities, the provision of more African urban housing, the abolition of corporal punishment, and increasing the facilities for the administrative and technical training of Africans.

#### RUANDA-URUNDI

The mountainous central African territory of Ruanda-Urundi, on the eastern border of the Congo, is administered by Belgium. This land of the fabled Mountains of the Moon is the home of the tall Batutsi people, who are the aristocrats of a native society made up largely of Bahutu farmers. With almost 4,000,000 people in its 20,919 square miles, it is the most densely populated territory in Africa. It is a land of low rainfall, often threatened by drought, where the African forest has largely disappeared, thus increasing the danger of erosion and impoverishment.

The basic problem of the Belgian administration is to devise adequate means to support the population and to raise the standard of living. Complicating this problem is the peculiar status of the cow, which is a symbol of prestige and wealth regardless of the quality of the animal. There are approximately 1,000,000 cattle in Ruanda-Urundi, frequently thin and diseased, but they are not kept for their meat, milk, or butter, or even to be sold except in special circumstances. Kept only for their social or prestige value, they place a heavy strain on the economy by requiring a greater area of pasture land than the country can afford.

After examining conditions in the Territory during the years 1949 and 1950, the Trusteeship Council, while recognizing that general progress had been made in spite of the difficulties, expressed the hope that progress would be more rapid in the future.

In the political field the Council noted that the Vice Governor General's Council was still a consultative body and recommended that Belgium further explore the possibility of developing this organ of government with a view to delegating to it some legislative powers. Although expressing satisfaction that one indigenous member and one indigenous alternate had been appointed to this body, the Council recommended that the number of African members be further increased.

In the economic field the Council commended Belgium for its measures against the danger of famine and the steps taken to increase and diversify export production and to apply scientific methods to problems of conservation and expansion of production. The Council noted that Belgium was giving serious attention to the difficult problem of overstocking and urged it to continue considering this as a major economic and social issue.

The Council also considered the problem of the density of population and its maldistribution and favored continuing study by Belgium of possible migration from overcrowded into less heavily populated areas within Ruanda-Urundi or in neighboring territories. Despite improvements in the medical services, the Council considered that these were still not commensurate with the needs of the population and reiterated its previous recommendation that public-health services in the Territory be further improved and expanded. The Council also emphasized the importance of an expanded teacher-training program and recommended increased direct government activities in the field of education.

## SOMALILAND UNDER ITALIAN ADMINISTRATION

With the approval by the General Assembly of a trusteeship agreement on December 2, 1950, Somaliland under Italian administration became the eleventh trust territory to be placed under the international trusteeship system. The Italian Parliament ratified the trusteeship agreement on November 4, 1951. Italy had, however, assumed provisional administration over Somaliland in April 1950, and it submitted a report on this period of provisional administration which was examined by the Trusteeship Council in 1951. The Council commended Italy for its achievements during the provisional period and urged a continuation of its efforts to prepare Somaliland for independence by 1960 as prescribed by the trusteeship agreement.

The special representative for Somaliland informed the Council that the Somali Youth League's attitude toward the administration had changed from total rejection of Italy to a position of constructive opposition. The Council expressed satisfaction with this improvement in the relations between the administering authority and the political parties in the Territory and expressed the hope that Italy would continue to promote the participation in the various councils of all parties which responsibly represent public opinion within the Territory. Another development which the Council noted with approval was the establishment of a School of Political Administration. It recommended that Italy make every effort to build as rapidly as possible a strong and efficient indigenous administration, utilizing technical and educational facilities both within and outside the Territory.

In the economic field the Council noted that the deficiencies in natural resources, the primitive economic organization, and the very slow rate of economic development of Somaliland might hamper its achievement of independence within 10 years. Consequently, it recommended that Italy, with the help of the pertinent international agencies, draw up a plan for the economic development of the Territory and report on this matter to the Trusteeship Council at the earliest possible opportunity.

A basic obstacle to the Territory's development is the serious shortage of water and the periodic droughts. The Council noted with satisfaction the steps taken to explore the possibility of increased water supplies and the storing of foodstuffs to minimize the effects of droughts, and it recommended a continuation of these efforts. The Council also recommended that Italy study the problem of the nomadism of the indigenous inhabitants, which also hampers the development of the Territory.



In the educational field the Council recognized that the preparation of the inhabitants for independence in 10 years required a vast educational effort. It recommended that all possible steps be taken to expand educational facilities and raise the standard of education by increasing the budgetary appropriations for education, expanding facilities for the training of teachers, increasing in number the schools, and taking other appropriate measures.

A special educational problem was the question of the language of instruction to be employed in the schools in addition to Italian. Although Somali is the sole language spoken by virtually the entire population, it is not employed in written form. The use of Arabic on the other hand is restricted to the more educated groups and coastal trade centers; however, all official and private records, including the judgments of Moslem courts and business contracts, have been kept in Arabic. Both the Advisory Council for Somaliland and the representatives of the inhabitants have favored the use of Arabic as the second language in the schools. However, the United States and other members of the Trusteeship Council expressed concern about the omission of the native tongue as a language of instruction, and the special representative pointed out that Italy hoped to secure the assistance of UNESCO for the purpose of developing a written form of Somali.

### *Special Trusteeship Problems*

In addition to the foregoing regular work of the trusteeship system, the United Nations considered five special problems in this field during 1951; namely, (1) Italy's full participation in the work of the Trusteeship Council; (2) the rural economic development of the trust territories; (3) the Ewe problem; (4) administrative unions affecting trust territories; and (5) the abolition of corporal punishment in trust territories.

### PARTICIPATION OF ITALY IN THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

When the General Assembly on December 2, 1950, approved the trusteeship agreement for Somaliland under Italian administration, Italy became an administering authority under the international trusteeship system. Since Italy is not a member of the United Nations and thus cannot vote in the deliberations of the Trusteeship Council,

the Council decided on February 22, 1951, to revise its rules of procedure in order to provide for some form of Italian participation.

The supplementary rules of procedure adopted by the Council grant Italy the right to designate a representative, who may be present at all sessions of the Trusteeship Council and participate without vote in discussions relating specifically to Somaliland or generally to the operation of the international trusteeship system. The Council also adopted an Argentine resolution which requested the sixth session of the General Assembly to consider the question of Italy's full participation in the work of the Council.

The Assembly's Fourth Committee discussed a French draft resolution, strongly supported by the United States, which cited the necessity of admitting Italy to the United Nations and thereby enabling it to participate fully in the Trusteeship Council. It requested the Security Council to give urgent consideration to the matter with a view to recommending the immediate admission of Italy to membership in the United Nations. The only opposition to the French draft resolution came from the Soviet bloc, which contended that the admission of new members was outside the competence of the Fourth Committee. A Polish draft resolution to this effect was rejected by a vote of 48 to 5 with 1 abstention. The French draft resolution, slightly amended, was adopted by the Committee on November 28, 1951, by 50 votes to 5 with no abstentions. In the plenary session on December 7 the vote was 54 to 5 with Ethiopia abstaining. However, the Soviet Union subsequently vetoed Italy's admission in the Security Council for the fourth time. (See part I, p. 122.)

## RURAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

As a result of a 1950 General Assembly resolution, the Trusteeship Council decided in early 1951 to establish a Committee on Rural Economic Development of Trust Territories, composed of China, the Dominican Republic, France, Thailand, the United Kingdom, and the United States. This Committee was authorized to study the prevailing policies, laws, and practices relating to land, land utilization, and the alienation of land in the trust territories. The Committee began its work with a request to the administering authorities to furnish factual information concerning these matters. The Committee submitted a progress report in mid-1951 which stated that the first phase of its work had been the establishment of the facts and that it would proceed to analyze these facts so that recommendations might be made for the

most beneficial use of the land from the standpoint of the basic objectives of the international trusteeship system.

On January 18, 1952, the General Assembly adopted a further resolution which noted the complex and exacting technical nature of the study being undertaken by the Trusteeship Council and recommended that the Council consider inviting the appropriate specialized agencies, particularly the Food and Agriculture Organization and the International Labor Organization, as well as other experts as necessary, to assist it in its study on the rural economic development of the trust territories.

### THE EWE PROBLEM

Further action was taken in 1951 by the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly on the important and complex Ewe problem, which arose from petitions of the Ewe peoples in French Togoland, British Togoland, and the Gold Coast Colony for their unification under one administration.

At its eighth session in early 1951, the Trusteeship Council had on its agenda 20 petitions on the Ewe and related questions. The British and French Governments in 1950 had extended the composition and functions of the standing Consultative Commission for Togoland Affairs, which had been created earlier to alleviate certain grievances of the Ewe petitioners. Many of the new petitions complained, however, that the electoral methods devised by the two administering authorities had insured that the enlarged Consultative Commission would be dominated by anti-unification points of view. Certain petitioners indicated an unwillingness to participate in the work of the enlarged Commission. Other petitioners sought to refute this contention. They claimed that the Commission had been constituted in an equitable manner and that the pro-unification groups were unwilling to cooperate because they actually represented only a minority point of view.

In response to the complaints against French electoral procedures, the French Government submitted a report which sought to demonstrate that the electoral system used in French Togoland had been democratic and had insured equitable representation of all sections of the population. Moreover, the French and British Governments announced that, in order to induce the pro-unification groups to participate in the enlarged Consultative Commission, they were willing to increase the number of seats to give representation to these groups.



On March 15, 1951, the Trusteeship Council granted an oral hearing to a representative of the Togoland Congress, the Togoland Union, and the Togoland Youth Organization. The Council also decided to take note of the new developments in the situation and to try to accelerate a solution by recommending that the administering authorities formulate substantive proposals for a practicable solution and inform the Council not later than July 1, 1951.

When the ninth session opened in mid-1951, the Council had before it 96 petitions on the Ewe problem. The two administering authorities expressed regret to the Council that the pro-unification parties had boycotted both sessions held by the enlarged Consultative Commission. Nonetheless, the British and French Governments expressed the view that the Consultative Commission had served its purpose of elucidating the views of the majority of the people of the two trust territories. They therefore proposed that a new joint council of representatives of the two trust territories should be created in order to enable the people to exchange and coordinate views on the development of the respective territories and to harmonize and stimulate measures of development in every field.

After granting two further oral hearings to petitioners from the Territory, the Council adopted a resolution on July 24, 1951, which recommended that the two administering authorities proceed immediately to establish such a joint council so that it might function for a sufficient period of time to enable the visiting mission to the trust territories in West Africa in 1952 to evaluate its accomplishments. The two administering authorities were also requested to insure that the joint council's responsibilities would be sufficiently broad to encompass all questions of common concern to the people, including political, economic, social, educational, and cultural development.

The sixth session of the General Assembly marked a significant innovation in the Assembly's treatment of the Ewe question. The Assembly decided by a vote of 44 to 0 with 8 abstentions to grant oral hearings to representatives of the trust territories concerned. The Assembly then heard six Africans (five from French Togoland and one from British Togoland) make statements and answer questions on the Ewe and Togoland unification problems. Meanwhile the two administering authorities had presented to the Assembly detailed plans for the establishment of the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs, which they had outlined in principle at the previous session of the Trusteeship Council.

On January 18, 1952, the Assembly adopted a resolution which recommended that the administering authorities consult fully with the

various parties and groups concerned before constituting the proposed joint council, with a view to devising satisfactory procedures for the election of its representatives. Moreover, the Assembly requested that either a special mission or the next periodic visiting mission devote sufficient time to the Ewe problem to study it thoroughly, including the functioning of the proposed joint council, and to submit a detailed report including specific recommendations.

#### ADMINISTRATIVE UNIONS

The Trusteeship Council's Standing Committee on Administrative Unions continued its examination of the operation of administrative unions during 1951. China and Thailand were appointed to replace the Philippines and Argentina on the Committee and to serve along with New Zealand and the United States. In early 1951 the Standing Committee submitted to the Council separate reports on the administrative unions affecting Tanganyika, New Guinea, British Togoland, British Cameroons, and Ruanda-Urundi. On the basis of these reports the Council adopted certain conclusions and recommendations which were included in its report to the sixth session of the General Assembly.

When the Assembly took up the question of administrative unions, two draft resolutions were introduced. The Soviet Union proposed that the administering authorities set up in the trust territories legislative and administrative organs not subordinate to any organs established on the basis of union between the trust territories and the colonies. The Soviet draft resolution was rejected by a vote of 12 to 11 (U.S.) with 24 abstentions. India and the Philippines introduced a joint draft resolution which requested the Trusteeship Council to complete its investigation and submit to the seventh session of the General Assembly in late 1952 a special report containing an analysis of each administrative union affecting a trust territory as well as of the status of the Cameroons and Togoland under French administration arising out of their membership in the French Union.

In this form, with slight amendments, the Indian-Philippine draft resolution received widespread support. Brazil, however, introduced a controversial amendment which proposed that the Assembly establish its own Committee on Administrative Unions to meet 3 weeks before the next Assembly session to make a preliminary examination of the Trusteeship Council's special reports. This amendment was opposed by the United States and other delegations on the grounds

that it would result in a costly and unnecessary duplication of work, but it was adopted by 29 votes to 10 with 8 abstentions. The amended Indian-Philippine draft resolution was approved by a vote of 33 to 7 with 7 abstentions in committee and by a similar vote in plenary session.

#### ABOLITION OF CORPORAL PUNISHMENT

The abolition of corporal punishment in various trust territories has been the subject of numerous resolutions adopted by the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly. At the sixth session of the General Assembly two draft resolutions advocating the complete abolition of corporal punishment where it still exists were submitted, one by Brazil and France and the other by the Dominican Republic. A subcommittee, composed of Brazil, the Dominican Republic, France, Iraq, the Philippines, and Venezuela, coordinated the texts of these resolutions and presented a joint draft resolution which was adopted by a vote of 46 (U.S.) to 2 with 2 abstentions. This resolution urges that corporal punishment by whip, cane, or any other means should be completely abolished as a disciplinary punishment in all prisons of the territories where it still exists and recommends that administering authorities should replace corporal punishment in all cases by methods of modern penology.

#### ACTIVITIES RELATING TO NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES OTHER THAN TRUST TERRITORIES

The United Nations Charter sets forth certain guiding principles for the administration of the 200,000,000 people who reside in dependent territories. Chapter XI is a declaration by virtue of which members administering such territories undertake to insure the advancement of the peoples concerned, to protect them against abuses, to develop self-government, to further international peace and security, and to promote constructive measures of development. Such members further assume, under article 73 (e), the specific obligation to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General of the United Nations "for information purposes, subject to such limitation as security and con-



stitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social, and educational conditions" in the non-self-governing territories. In addition, political information is submitted by the United States and certain other administering authorities on a voluntary basis.

While the Charter contains no provision for a body analogous to the Trusteeship Council to examine information and make recommendations regarding non-self-governing territories, the General Assembly in 1946 established on an *ad hoc* basis a 16-member Special Committee on Information Transmitted Under Article 73 (e). Such a Special Committee has met each year a few weeks before the opening of the General Assembly. Its powers are more limited than those of the Trusteeship Council. The Committee may not single out individual administering members of non-self-governing territories for specific recommendations but may make general recommendations in the economic, social, and educational fields for all territories. The Special Committee also does not have the authority to examine petitions or to send visiting missions to the territories concerned. Nonetheless the Committee, like the Trusteeship Council, serves as a forum for the exchange of experience on the development of dependent areas.

Since the inception of the Special Committee, the United States has taken the lead in attempting to resolve the differences that arise between those nonadministering members, which seek a more rapid rate of development of non-self-governing territories, and those administering members, which have primary responsibility for solving the problems involved in directing their non-self-governing territories toward the goal of self-government or independence. Many nonadministering members, with the obvious exception of the Soviet Union, have made significant contributions to the Special Committee's consideration of economic, educational, and social development of non-self-governing territories. Consultations with administering and non-administering members, in which the United States participated prior to and during each of the last two sessions of the General Assembly, have contributed to a clearer understanding of the respective points of view of both of these groups.

In 1951 this Committee, consisting of a balanced membership of states which administer non-self-governing territories and those which do not, was composed of the eight members transmitting information (Australia, Belgium, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States) and eight non-administering members elected by the General Assembly (Brazil, Cuba, Egypt, India, Mexico, Pakistan, the Philippines, and the Soviet

Union). The Committee met in Geneva from October 2 to 27, 1951, and examined information from 62 non-self-governing territories, including information transmitted by the United States on Alaska, Hawaii, Guam, American Samoa, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

Following the successful precedent established at the 1950 session, the Committee again in 1951 gave particular attention to one aspect of conditions in non-self-governing territories—"economic conditions and development." The results of the Committee's discussions were incorporated in a report on economic conditions and problems of development. The Committee had emphasized education in 1950 and has selected "social development" as its major topic for 1952.

### *Economic Conditions and Development*

In general the Committee's report on economic conditions and development noted that the information supplied by the administering authorities on the objectives of economic development of the non-self-governing territories was in harmony with the obligations assumed by those members under the Charter. The Committee recommended that these obligations continue to be the stimulus to measures of development and the gage for the measurement of their efficacy. Accordingly it stressed that the interests of the inhabitants must be of primary importance in all development programs. The Committee affirmed that better health and living conditions were an important objective of economic development but cautioned that improvement of these conditions can not be allowed to wait upon economic development since to a great extent they are a precondition of its success. In order to achieve the maximum benefits from development programs, the Committee considered it vitally important for the peoples of the territories to be associated with program planning, supervision, execution, and management. It also noted the importance for the development of these territories of participation in United Nations technical assistance programs.

The Committee's report emphasized the need for diversification in the economies of non-self-governing territories. It pointed out that a lack of economic balance, resulting from undue reliance on a few major exports, must be remedied by the introduction of a more balanced agriculture as well as certain types of industry.

The Committee found that in most territories economic development depends on the proper utilization of their animal and vegetable resources. Much of the work of introducing new agricultural tech-

niques is a process of education. The Committee, therefore, stressed the close connection between programs of economic development and programs of social and educational development. In areas where cash agriculture is replacing subsistence agriculture the Committee noted the need for the provision of credit at reasonable rates. Encouragement of the development of cooperative societies by the administering authorities will aid in the solution of this problem as well as other problems which are peculiar to rural agricultural societies. The Committee noted that effective land utilization is another problem which must be dealt with in most territories and called the attention of the administering authorities to the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Economic and Social Council on this matter for their guidance in applying land-reform measures.

In respect to industrial development the Committee pointed out that although the majority of territories are likely to remain primarily agricultural for some time, most of them would benefit from an increased degree of industrialization. It recommended the creation of governmental or mixed agencies for the purpose of introducing industrialization and directed attention to the measures taken in some territories to foster local industries by fiscal and similar concessions to private companies.

In those territories where the mining of mineral products is an important economic activity, the Committee considered that the administering authorities have an immediate responsibility to direct their mining policies in accordance with the interest of the peoples of the territory. The Committee recognized that the increased participation of the indigenous inhabitants in the ownership of the mines depends on the accumulation of local capital. The local inhabitants should, however, be enabled to acquire the skills and qualifications which will bring them into the operation and management at all levels of the mines and insure that a high proportion of wages and salaries is retained in the territories.

The Committee urged the administering authorities to expand their research services as an important aspect of economic development and recommended continued international interchange of information on research. In conclusion, the Committee hoped that its work would prove of interest to the Trusteeship Council, just as the work of the Trusteeship Council and especially its Committee on Rural Economic Development was of interest in the general consideration of economic conditions in the non-self-governing territories.



*Other Special Committee Activities*

In addition to its concentration on these aspects of economic development, the Special Committee discussed social factors in economic development, education in non-self-governing territories, technical assistance to non-self-governing territories, and international collaboration in regard to economic, social, and educational conditions.

The Committee also adopted a subcommittee's revision of the standard form for submission to the sixth session of the General Assembly. The standard form is a detailed topical outline, arranged primarily under economic, social, and educational headings, which serves as a guide to members in transmitting information on their non-self-governing territories under article 73 (e) of the Charter. The revised text is more detailed and better organized than the original. General information on geography, history, people, and human rights, formerly in the optional category, is transferred to the regular sections, and a new section is added to enable administering authorities to report "a survey of the principles and practical measures showing general trends in the territories concerned". The item "government" remains in the optional category.

In addition, the Special Committee considered certain questions growing out of the 1950 General Assembly resolution which invited the administering authorities to submit information on "the extent to which the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is implemented in the Non-Self-Governing Territories under their administration. . . ." The United States had submitted a detailed report on this subject, and certain delegates on the Committee warmly praised this action. The Committee adopted a resolution that expressed appreciation to those members which had submitted such information and requested all administering authorities to do so in the future under the appropriate section of the revised standard form. This resolution further stated that the Special Committee will consider the formulation of recommendations relating to the application of the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in non-self-governing territories as part of its special study of social advancement in 1952.

The Special Committee also considered the complicated problem of what factors should be taken into account in determining whether any territory has evolved to the stage of self-government within the meaning of article 73 (e). In "a spirit of seeking understanding rather than marking controversies," the Special Committee did not delve into the practical problem of who should determine when a terri-

tory is no longer non-self-governing. It appointed a subcommittee which prepared a report on the basis of documentation made available by the Secretary-General and the statements made in the Committee and the subcommittee. The Committee adopted this report in amended form for submission to the General Assembly. Among other things the report noted that the Special Committee—

. . . does not consider that any single factor or any particular combination of factors can be regarded as prominent or decisive in every case, except that the will of the people of the territory concerned, properly and freely expressed, would in all cases be the paramount factor in deciding whether a relationship between the administering authority and a non-self-governing territory has evolved to a stage where that territory could be said to have attained a full measure of self-government.

The report listed a number of factors of a geographical, political, economic, and cultural nature, which in the Committee's opinion should be taken into account in determining whether a territory has achieved a status of full self-government; it emphasized that this list was not considered exhaustive.

On a related matter the General Assembly had passed a resolution in 1948 declaring that the United Nations should be informed of any constitutional changes which make it unnecessary to continue reporting on any territory under article 73 (e). Accordingly the Netherlands Government in 1951 informed the Secretary-General of its decision to cease transmitting information on Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles in light of new constitutional developments involving these territories and the Netherlands. After discussing this matter with Netherlands representatives, the Special Committee adopted a resolution noting the Netherlands communication and transmitting it, together with the Committee's report on the factors which should be considered in determining whether a territory is no longer self-governing and the summary records relating to these questions, to the General Assembly "for any necessary action."

### *General Assembly Action*

Along with the report of its session, the Special Committee submitted two draft resolutions for the consideration of the sixth session of the General Assembly. The first, relating to the revision of the standard form, was adopted in the Assembly's Fourth Committee by a vote of 38 to 0 with 7 abstentions. It provided for the replacement of the standard form by the new text that had been approved by the Special

Committee and invited members transmitting information under article 73(e) "to undertake all necessary steps to render information as complete and up to date as possible and for this purpose to take into account the sections of the revised Standard Form."

The second Special Committee resolution adopted by the Assembly approved the Committee's economic report as "a brief but considered indication of economic conditions in the non-self-governing territories and the problems of economic development." This resolution requested the Secretary-General to communicate the report to administering authorities, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, and the interested specialized agencies. The Assembly also passed a resolution noting the Special Committee's report and approving the arrangements for its work in 1952.

The General Assembly also adopted four other resolutions relating to non-self-governing territories, as follows:

1. A resolution requesting the Special Committee to examine the possibilities of associating the non-self-governing territories more closely in its work and to report on the results of this examination to the seventh session of the Assembly in late 1952. This resolution was approved in the Assembly's Fourth Committee by a vote of 43 to 2 with 7 abstentions and in the plenary session by a vote of 47 to 2 with 2 abstentions.

2. A resolution on the question of what factors should be taken into account in determining whether any territory has evolved to the stage of self-government within the meaning of article 73(e). This question was given additional study by a subcommittee of the Assembly's Fourth Committee, which considered the Special Committee's report on the matter. The subcommittee concluded that a more definitive list of factors required further studies based on more complete information than was available in 1951, and it listed factors which should be used as a basis for these studies. In its report the subcommittee stressed that the list was not to be considered exhaustive and that no single factor or combination of factors could be regarded as decisive in every case. The factors listed were divided into two categories, as follows: (a) Factors indicative of the attainment of independence or other separate system of self-government and (b) factors indicative of the free association, whether in a federal or unitary relationship, of a territory on equal status with other component parts of the metropolitan country or other country. The Assembly's resolution invited members to transmit their views on this question by May 1, 1952, and it provided for an *Ad Hoc* Committee to study the problem further



and report to the seventh session of the General Assembly. The United States was named as a member of this *Ad Hoc* Committee.

3. A resolution regarding the cessation by the Netherlands of transmission of information on the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam was adopted by a vote of 47 to 0 with 9 abstentions. This resolution, co-sponsored by the United States, reaffirmed the 1948 statement of the Assembly welcoming any development of self-government in the non-self-governing territories, expressed appreciation to the Netherlands for communicating full information on the question, and transmitted that information to the *Ad Hoc* Committee on factors. The resolution also provided that this question be placed on the agenda of the seventh session of the Assembly for examination in the light of the *Ad Hoc* Committee's proposed report on factors and of developments emanating from a conference of representatives of the Netherlands and of the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam to be held in 1952.

4. A resolution changing the name of the Special Committee on Information Transmitted Under Article 73 (e) of the Charter to the "Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories." This change was made because the old title was "too long and not conducive to the broadest dissemination of knowledge of the important work being done by the Committee. . . ."

### *South-West Africa*

During 1951 the United Nations continued its efforts to find a solution to the perplexing problem of South-West Africa. This former German colony, assigned to the Union of South Africa after World War I for administration as a mandate under League of Nations supervision, is the only one of the territories so mandated which is not yet either an independent state or under the United Nations trusteeship system. In accordance with a General Assembly request, the International Court of Justice in 1950 delivered an advisory opinion which held that the Union of South Africa continued "to have the international obligations stated in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations and in the Mandate for South-West Africa as well as the obligation to transmit petitions from the inhabitants of that Territory, the supervisory functions to be exercised by the United Nations, to which the annual reports and the petitions are to be submitted. . . ." While the Court held that South Africa was not obligated to place the territory under the trusteeship system, it held that "the competence to determine and modify the international status of

the Territory [of South-West Africa] rests with the Union of South Africa acting with the consent of the United Nations”.

The General Assembly in 1950 adopted a resolution providing for the establishment of an *Ad Hoc* Committee on South-West Africa with the major duty of conferring with the Union of South Africa concerning the procedural measures necessary to implement the Court's opinion. During 1951 the *Ad Hoc* Committee, composed of representatives from Denmark, Syria, Thailand, the United States, and Uruguay, held a number of discussions with the representatives of the Union of South Africa. South Africa indicated that, while it would not accept the Court's opinion, it would accept international responsibility in regard to South-West Africa in conformity with the spirit of the League of Nations mandate, but not to the greater extent set forth under the United Nations trusteeship system. Consequently, it proposed negotiating a new agreement with the three remaining members of the Allied and Associated Powers of World War I (United States, United Kingdom, and France). South Africa was unwilling to accept the exercise of general supervisory functions by the United Nations. It was willing, however, to consider a limited form of judicial supervision through the International Court of Justice. Finally, South Africa would agree to have such an agreement referred to the United Nations for confirmation.

The *Ad Hoc* Committee, however, considered it necessary to implement the Court's opinion as to the obligation to submit annual reports and to transmit petitions from the inhabitants of South-West Africa to the United Nations. These explicit obligations had been contained in the mandate as exercised under the League of Nations, and the Committee could not accept South Africa's suggestion of eliminating reports. The Committee proposed the establishment of special machinery for South-West Africa under the General Assembly to assume the functions of supervision previously exercised by the Council and the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations with respect to mandated territories, and to conform as far as possible to the procedure followed by these former bodies.

This proposal, however, was unsatisfactory to South Africa, which considered that it “. . . would have the effect of imposing on the Union obligations even more extensive than those implicit in the mandates system.” Further, South Africa would not accept the provision for annual reports, as the one report it had submitted “had been utilized as a basis for unfounded and unjustified criticism and censure of the Union Government's administration.” Therefore, the issue

remained deadlocked when it came before the sixth session of the General Assembly in November 1951.

The question of granting hearings to certain South-West African chiefs in connection with this problem arose early in the General Assembly's Fourth Committee, which decided by a vote of 37 to 7 with 7 abstentions to grant the request, over the strong opposition of South Africa, supported by certain Commonwealth and European countries. It also agreed to hear the Rev. Michael Scott when the South-West Africa item was considered. The United States representative abstained on both proposals on the ground that such invitations might reduce the chances for successful negotiation of an agreement on South-West Africa, which he considered the primary objective at this stage. As the result of the Fourth Committee's decision to grant a hearing to the tribal representatives from South-West Africa, the South African delegation withdrew from the Committee, claiming that its action was illegal.

The General Assembly, in considering the substance of the question, again faced the task of finding means to implement the Court's opinion in a way that would obtain the cooperation of the South African Government. The Assembly's action was embodied in a resolution, sponsored by the United States and seven other countries, which was approved by a vote of 45 for, 5 against, and 8 abstentions. The resolution appealed solemnly to the Government of the Union of South Africa to reconsider its position; urged it to resume negotiations with the *Ad Hoc* Committee for the purpose of concluding an agreement providing for the full implementation of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice; to submit reports on the administration of the Territory of South-West Africa; and to transmit to the United Nations petitions from communities or sections of the population of the Territory. The resolution reconstituted the *Ad Hoc* Committee on South-West Africa, with Norway replacing Denmark, and requested it to continue to confer with the Union of South Africa concerning means of implementing the Court's advisory opinion. The resolution also authorized the *Ad Hoc* Committee to examine reports on the administration of the Territory of South-West Africa, as well as petitions relating to the Territory which might be transmitted to the Secretary-General, and requested it to report on its activities to the next Assembly session. In a separate resolution the Assembly reasserted the opinion that the normal way of modifying the international status of South-West Africa would be to place it under the international trusteeship system by means of a trusteeship



agreement in accordance with the provisions of chapter XII of the Charter.

## WORK OF THE REGIONAL COMMISSIONS

The United States policy of promoting the advancement of dependent peoples is reflected by its participation in the work of the Caribbean Commission and the South Pacific Commission. These organizations are consultative and advisory bodies to the governments which administer territories in those areas, as well as to the 32 territorial governments of the two regions, on social and economic matters of common interest. In these regions lie the United States territories of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, American Samoa, Guam, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Each Commission's work program is formulated with the assistance of its Research Council, composed of scientists and technicians, and by conferences of experts devoting detailed attention to problems of particular urgency. A significant aspect of the consultative and advisory system established under each Commission is the periodic convening of conferences of the representatives of the peoples of the Caribbean and South Pacific territories. In the two forums, the West Indian Conference and South Pacific Conference, opportunity is provided for the peoples of the two areas to express fully their desires and needs for social and economic betterment. Their views, in turn, provide one of the fundamental bases for the programs of the two Commissions.

Central secretariats for the Commissions are located at Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, for the Caribbean Commission and at Nouméa, New Caledonia, for the South Pacific Commission. These two centers operate the Commissions' important area-wide information and advisory services among neighboring territories. Outstanding among the achievements of both Commissions is the development of a pattern of neighborliness and exchange of experience and knowledge on common problems throughout the areas.

Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, and the United States are the members of the Caribbean Commission. These states, together with Australia and New Zealand, are the six members of the South Pacific Commission. Although the agreements establishing the two Commissions do not provide for any organic relationships with the United Nations, their terms are in full accord with the spirit and letter of the United Nations Charter regarding the peoples of dependent areas. There is full exchange of information between the two Com-

missions and the United Nations, and cooperation with the United Nations and the specialized agencies on matters of common interest is being developed.

### *Caribbean Commission*

Two meetings of the Caribbean Commission were held in 1951, the twelfth in Barbados, May 7-12, and the thirteenth in St. Croix, Virgin Islands of the United States, October 29-November 3.

The United States introduced a series of resolutions designed to strengthen the Commission in its substantive work and administrative procedures. The Commission agreed that the major orientation of its work in the foreseeable future would be in the economic field, with emphasis on (1) the development of primary resources, such as agriculture, fisheries, and forestry; (2) industrial development; and (3) housing. The agendas of technical conferences and the biennial West Indian Conferences are being geared to these subjects. The Caribbean Research Council, an auxiliary body composed of technicians and scientists, will be so constituted that a majority of its members at any one time have competence in the major fields of emphasis. The Secretariat will also be adapted to the new program by including technical staffs in the fields of specialization. The Commission will continue projects under way but will initiate no new projects unless they are in the economic field.

In addition to its two regular meetings, the Commission, in conjunction with the World Meteorological Organization, established and convened the first meeting of the Eastern Caribbean Hurricane Sub-commission. As an outgrowth of this meeting, a coordinated hurricane-warning system has now been put into operation for the eastern Caribbean area. A similar joint conference with the Food and Agriculture Organization on rural cooperatives has been held.

Requests for technical assistance to the Caribbean area from the United Nations expanded program and the United States Point Four Program were formulated in 1951. These projects cover (1) aided self-help housing; (2) agricultural economy; (3) home economy; (4) animal husbandry; (5) agricultural engineering; and (6) rural cooperatives. The Commission itself rendered technical assistance by loaning its technicians to local governments for advice on such problems as local food production, export markets for new products, transportation equipment in warehouses, and market surveys for uses of local products.

During 1951 the Commission acted as a selecting agency in the awarding of 30 scholarships from the French, British, and Netherlands territories to the Metropolitan Vocational Training School in Puerto Rico. Over 250 applications were received, and the students are now enrolled in such courses as electricity, automobile mechanics, printing, cabinetmaking, radio, refrigeration, drafting, and machine shop. The Commission also made arrangements through the Puerto Rican Government for these students to spend a part of their time in an industrial organization to get practical training.

Research activities of the Commission carried on in 1951 included the compilation and publication of eight technical studies, a cost-of-living survey, the publication of the *Monthly Information Bulletin* (in two languages), weekly broadcasts in the four languages of the area, reporting services of animal diseases, and short information leaflets on current statistical and financial subjects.

The Caribbean Commission has rendered valuable service to the peoples of this underdeveloped area and has made them aware of the importance of their own role in analyzing and attacking their common problems.

### *South Pacific Commission*

In 1951 the South Pacific Commission held two meetings, the seventh session from April 28 to May 7 and the eighth session from October 29 to November 9, both at the headquarters at Nouméa, New Caledonia. The third annual meeting of the South Pacific Research Council was also held at Nouméa June 17 to June 25.

When the Commission was established in 1948, its region of operations covered 15 island territories in the Pacific south of the Equator, including American Samoa, with a population of 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 people spread across 10,000,000 square miles of ocean. On November 7, 1951, the territorial scope of the Commission was enlarged by agreement to include Guam and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, both under United States administration. Steps were immediately initiated to extend the Commission's program to these two additional territories.

The South Pacific Commission's activities in 1951 consisted primarily in continuing and elaborating the immediate and long-range program of projects planned in 1948. The Commission's work program was refined and promoted during 1951 through a series of technical meetings on specialized problems relating to health, economic



development, and social development; establishment of pilot projects of area-wide significance; and the establishment of information projects and technical consultation services.

The 1951 work program included 33 specific projects. Among these the following were completed: Pilot project in community development at Moturiki, Fiji Islands; a study of existing data on diet and nutrition of communities and individuals; research in the preparation of suitable infant foods; tuberculosis survey of the territories; a survey of facilities for professional and technical training with a view to their future development; the establishment of a film library and film appraisal service; and the establishment of the South Pacific Literature Bureau to promote educational advancement of the peoples in the territories. In addition, the Plant Introduction Garden at Nadurulou, Fiji, has been continued and an investigation of the economic development of coral atolls has been carried on which will assist administrations in improving the economic stability of about 100,000 people living on several hundred coral atolls in the area.

The two technical meetings on plant and animal quarantine and filariasis were of special importance. As a result of the meeting at Suva, Fiji, on plant and animal quarantine, disease-reporting services have been established in order to prevent the introduction of dangerous diseases into the territories, and an expert on these problems has been appointed to assist territorial governments. Intergovernmental committees on plant and animal quarantine have also been constituted to advise territorial administrations on methods of control of these problems.

A major health problem of the Pacific islands was examined at the conference on filariasis and elephantiasis in Papeete, Tahiti. The medical experts attending this international meeting, the first of its kind, reviewed existing research and control programs and proposed further measures for combating this disease. These recommendations are now being examined by a special committee of the Commission with a view to implementing the recommendations of this conference.

Work was undertaken and will be completed in 1952 on a housing survey to determine the types of native dwellings and public buildings in various territories that are most suitable for the widely varying climates and conditions of the area.

Thus a comprehensive though modest research and consultation program of region-wide application is being carried on in behalf of the peoples of the South Pacific area in order to find solutions to their economic and social problems on a cooperative basis.

## PART IV

# *International Law*

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ONE important part of the United Nations effort to build a stable and peaceful international community is its unending endeavor to advance the system of public international law under which the society of nations must live. As is only too obvious, from a juridical point of view the international society is less developed than national societies. The United Nations is constantly at work on the problems of codifying and developing the rules of international law, of building up forums to which international problems can be taken for a judicial or quasijudicial decision, and of encouraging the resolution of international disputes through the application of the rule of law. During 1951 these efforts went forward in the following two main ways: (1) Through the utilization of the International Court of Justice and (2) through general steps to develop international law.

## UTILIZATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

During 1951 the jurisdiction and the judicial functions of the International Court of Justice remained constant. There were 62 parties to the Statute of the Court, 35 of which accepted its compulsory jurisdiction. The Court handed down two judgments and one advisory opinion and ended the year with five cases pending.

### *Jurisdiction*

While there were no new parties to the Statute of the Court during 1951, several developments took place with respect to its compulsory jurisdiction.

Iran on July 9 denounced its 1932 declaration accepting compulsory jurisdiction as an incident of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company case. Although the denunciation was not retroactive and did not stay proceedings in the case, it reduced the states accepting compulsory jurisdiction from 36 to 35.

Israel clarified its 1950 declaration accepting compulsory jurisdiction for 5 years from October 25, 1951. The Israeli declaration excepted from compulsory jurisdiction any dispute with another state not having normal relations with it. The instrument of ratification stipulated that this exception is intended to apply when the absence of relations precedes and is independent of the dispute. Where relations have been broken off after, or as a result of, the dispute, the reservation "will not ordinarily be invoked." Although article 36 of the Statute provides that the Court shall decide a dispute regarding its jurisdiction, Israel reserved "full freedom of action . . . as to the manner in which the jurisdiction of the Court may be invoked" on such matters.

Article 22 of the treaty of peace with Japan of September 8, 1951, provided that any dispute concerning its interpretation or execution shall be referred to the International Court of Justice for decision, if not otherwise settled. On December 10, 1951, Japan deposited a declaration accepting the jurisdiction of the Court for such purposes, together with an undertaking to comply with its decisions. Other parties to the Japanese peace treaty which are not parties to the Court's Statute will make such a declaration upon ratifying the treaty.

The Court announced its intention to publish a "Collection of Texts Governing the Jurisdiction of the Court." Altogether 594 treaties and other instruments conferred jurisdiction on the Court's predecessor, the Permanent Court of International Justice, prior to 1945. The present International Court of Justice, as between parties to its Statute, assumed the jurisdiction of the previous Court in the case of all instruments continuing in force. Access to the Court for advisory opinions is granted to the organs and specialized agencies of the United Nations system in 20 instruments. Provisions amounting to compulsory jurisdiction are included in three treaties, and provisions in the nature of compromissary clauses appear in 68. Further, the Court or its president is authorized in 16 instruments to appoint arbitrators, umpires, or commissioners. All told, 111 instruments, multilateral and bilateral, confer jurisdiction on the International Court of Justice, in addition to the 35 declarations of states unilaterally accepting its compulsory jurisdiction.



*Contentious Cases*

During 1951 the Court decided two contentious cases carried over from previous years, continued proceedings in another, and began proceedings in four new cases.

In the *Haya de la Torre Case* the Court's decision of June 13, 1951, ended another stage in the litigation between Peru and Colombia concerning the asylum granted the Peruvian political leader, Haya de la Torre, in the Colombian Embassy in Lima. In the *Asylum Case* the Court had held, in a 10 to 6 decision of November 20, 1950, that the grant of asylum had not been in conformity with applicable international law, particularly the Habana convention on asylum of 1928. A request to the Court by Colombia for interpretation of the judgment was refused on November 27 because it sought answers to new questions which went beyond the issues originally submitted to and decided by the Court. Peru thereupon requested Colombia to give effect to the Court's judgment by ending the asylum and turning over Haya de la Torre to the Peruvian authorities.

Colombia, considering such action inappropriate under the judgment and the Habana convention, filed an application initiating new proceedings, in which it asked the Court on December 13 to state how the earlier judgment should be carried out and particularly whether or not Haya de la Torre was to be surrendered. Peru, in turn, asked the Court to dismiss Colombia's claim that it was not bound to surrender the refugee and to declare that the asylum ought to have ceased upon the rendition of the Court's previous judgment. In addition, Cuba, as a party to the Habana convention, filed a declaration of its intervention in the proceedings, the admissibility of which was opposed by Peru but supported by Colombia. Colombia and Peru chose judges *ad hoc* to sit with the Court, and oral arguments were heard on May 15, 1951, on the issue of Cuba's intervention and on May 16 to 18 on the merits.

The Court's judgment of June 13 first held that Cuba was entitled to intervene within the limits of new issues under the convention not decided in the previous judgment. Turning to the merits the Court declined to rule how its earlier judgment should be carried out, stating that the choice between the different ways of terminating the asylum could not be determined by legal but only by practical and political considerations. The Court held, however, that Colombia was obliged to end the asylum, though at the same time it upheld Colombia's position that there was no obligation to surrender Haya de la Torre

to Peru. The fate of the fugitive in the Colombian Embassy was thus left to political settlement by the two governments.

In December 1951 the Court rendered its judgment in the *Anglo-Norwegian Fisheries Case*. Invoking the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court, the United Kingdom in 1949 had instituted this action against Norway to challenge a Norwegian decree of 1935 which delimited a fisheries zone along the coast of northern Norway and to recover damages for interference with British fishing vessels in any area found to have been unlawfully claimed by the decree.

The United Kingdom did not contest Norway's right to establish an offshore zone, 4 miles wide, from which foreign fishing vessels would be excluded. Thus, the controversy involved only the method set forth in the 1935 decree for drawing the base lines from which to measure the 4 miles. As the claimed fisheries zone was recognized to be identical with Norway's territorial sea, this issue raised important questions concerning the limitations on a government's power to determine the line which separates internal waters from territorial waters and which provides the basis for computing the extent of territorial waters.

Oral hearings were held for 24 days in September and October 1951. The United Kingdom asked the Court to hold that, subject to some specific exceptions based on the history of the disputed waters, the base line must be the low-water mark on permanently dry land or the proper closing line of bays or other internal waters, and that any waters not covered by the application of this and other principles of international law are high seas, where the Norwegian decree would be unenforceable. Norway requested the Court to declare that the fisheries zone is not contrary to international law.

The judgment of December 18 rejected the British submissions. The Court's opinion concluded that the geographic characteristics of the coast, the long-standing local economic interests, and the history of Norwegian claims in the region justify the Norwegian interpretation of the applicable legal standards. In addition to its decision upholding the method of delimitation adopted by the 1935 decree (from which two judges dissented), the Court also held 8 to 4 that the particular base lines fixed by the application of this method are not contrary to international law.

Proceedings in the *Case Concerning the Rights of Nationals of the United States of America in Morocco* were instituted in October 1950 by the French Government. The case, the first contentious proceeding before the International Court of Justice to which the United States has been a party, involves conflicting claims of the Governments

of France and the United States regarding the actual extent of the special rights which have been accorded to the United States in Morocco.

The initial pleading, the memorial of the French Government, was filed with the Court on March 1, 1951. The counter-memorial of the United States Government was to have been filed on July 1. However, it was not clear whether the French Government was acting in the case both in its own right and, as the protecting power of Morocco, on behalf of the state of Morocco. Therefore, the United States on June 21 filed a preliminary objection for the purpose of securing clarification of the capacities in which the French Government was acting in the case. The French Government on July 28 filed its observations and submissions on the preliminary objection. Subsequently, in response to a letter which had been addressed to the agent of the French Government by the registrar of the Court containing the Court's request for clarification, the French agent responded that the French Government was proceeding in the case both on its own account and as the protecting power of Morocco. Because the position of the French Government had thus been clarified, the United States Government indicated to the Court its willingness to withdraw its preliminary objection. As a result new dates for the filing of further pleadings were set by the Court and the counter-memorial of the United States Government was filed on December 20, 1951. The French Government's reply was filed in February 1952 and the final written pleading, the rejoinder of the United States Government, was filed with the Court on April 18, 1952. The next step in the procedure will consist of the oral arguments to be presented by the two Governments, the date for the commencement of which has not yet been set by the Court.

Four new adversary proceedings were initiated during 1951, as follows:

1. By an application filed April 9, Greece brought an action, to be known as the *Ambatielos Case*, to compel the United Kingdom to submit to arbitration, under a treaty of commerce and navigation of 1886, a claim that a Greek national had been denied recognition of his rights by the British courts. Time limits for filing the pleadings were set and extended by a series of orders of May 18, July 30, and November 9, 1951, and January 16, 1952.

2. The controversy arising from Iran's nationalization of the property of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company was brought before the Court on May 26 by a British application which charged that Iran had vio-



lated international law by abrogating the 1933 convention under which the British-incorporated company operated and by refusing to arbitrate the dispute as provided in that convention. On June 22 the United Kingdom asked the Court to indicate provisional measures which ought to be taken to protect the rights of the parties during the litigation. The Iranian Government opposed this request on the ground that the Court could not have any jurisdiction in the case. Reserving decision on the question of its jurisdiction, the Court on July 5 nevertheless indicated interim measures of protection which should be applied by the parties. These were to include the establishment of a joint board of supervision to insure, pending the outcome of the litigation, the continued operations of the oil company without prejudice to the interests of either party. Further proceedings in the case were continued into 1952. (See part I, p. 92.)

3. The question of the sovereignty over certain islets and rocks in the English Channel was placed on the Court's docket on December 6. France and the United Kingdom, pursuant to a special agreement, requested the Court "to determine whether the sovereignty over the islets and rocks (in so far as they are capable of appropriation) of the Minquiers and Ecrehos groups respectively belongs to the United Kingdom or the French Republic." Time limits for submission of written statements were set by an order of January 15, 1952.

4. On December 17 the Principality of Liechtenstein filed an application invoking the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court to initiate an action against Guatemala in the *Nottebohm Case*. The application asserted that Guatemala acted contrary to international law by intern-ing and expelling, and confiscating the property of Mr. Nottebohm, a citizen of Liechtenstein, and claimed compensation both on behalf of Mr. Nottebohm and for the principality. This case is the first to be brought before the Court by a party to its Statute which is not a member of the United Nations. An order of January 26, 1952, fixed dates for the written proceedings.

### *Advisory Opinion*

When the Secretary-General, who had been named as depositary in the genocide convention, was faced with the problem of reservations to ratifications, the General Assembly decided to seek the Court's advice on the permissibility and effect of such reservations to multi-

lateral conventions. By a resolution of November 16, 1950, the following questions were addressed to the Court:

In so far as concerns the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in the event of a State ratifying or acceding to the Convention subject to a reservation made either on ratification or on accession, or on signature followed by ratification:

I. Can the reserving State be regarded as being a party to the Convention while still maintaining its reservation if the reservation is objected to by one or more of the parties to the Convention but not by others?

II. If the answer to question I is in the affirmative, what is the effect of the reservation as between the reserving State and:

(a) The parties which object to the reservation?

(b) Those which accept it?

III. What would be the legal effect as regards the answer to question I if an objection to a reservation is made:

(a) By a signatory which has not yet ratified?

(b) By a State entitled to sign or accede but which has not yet done so?

Sixteen written statements, including one by the United States, were filed in the case, and oral arguments were presented from April 10 to 14, 1951, on behalf of three governments and the Secretary-General.

The Court delivered its opinion on May 28. After rejecting a number of objections to its jurisdiction, it addressed itself to the questions propounded by the General Assembly. Two opposing positions which had been argued, that any state could become a party to the convention with any reservation it chooses, or that any reservation requires the express or tacit acceptance of all other signatories, were held not to be established rules of international law. Although provisions governing reservations had been deliberately omitted, the Court judged from the source, nature, and object of the genocide convention that wide participation had been desired and that the possibility of some reservations had been contemplated. However, the questions asked of the Court were too abstract to permit an absolute answer. In each instance the effect would depend on the nature of the reservation and the reason for the objection.

The Court by votes of 7 to 5 thus gave as its opinion that the permissibility of a reservation depends on whether it is or is not "compatible with the object and purpose of the convention"; that a party accepting or objecting to a reservation may employ the same criterion of compatibility in deciding whether or not to regard the reserving state as a party to the convention; and that legally effective objections can be made only by states which have ratified the convention. The five dissenters thought that reservations to the genocide convention were not permissible.

## DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

The General Assembly's efforts to encourage the progressive development of international law and its codification are concentrated in the International Law Commission. The Commission, composed of experts rather than national representatives, held its third session at Geneva from May 15 to July 31, 1951. The Commission completed its study of (1) reservations to multilateral conventions; (2) the question of defining aggression; and (3) preparation of a draft code of offenses against the peace and security of mankind; and (4) reached tentative conclusions on the question of the regime of the high seas. In addition to these major developments, various United Nations bodies during 1951 considered such other legal questions as (1) international criminal jurisdiction; (2) draft declaration on rights and duties of states; and (3) regulations under section 8 of the headquarters agreement.

*Reservations to Multilateral Conventions*

In addition to its request for an opinion by the International Court of Justice regarding reservations to the genocide convention, the General Assembly in 1950 also requested the International Law Commission to give priority to a thorough study of the whole problem of reservations to multilateral conventions. The Commission completed its study during 1951 and made several recommendations to the sixth session of the General Assembly, which considered the Commission's report and the advisory opinion of the Court at the same time. The debates in the Assembly's Legal Committee were marked by conflicting views between (1) the so-called League of Nations or unanimity rule, under which acceptance of a reservation by all contracting states is necessary, and (2) the so-called Pan American rule, under which rejection of a reservation operates only to prevent the coming into force of the treaty as between the reserving and rejecting states. There was also considerable discussion regarding the scope of the Secretary-General's role when he is designated as depositary of a multilateral convention. The resolution adopted by the Assembly, though not solving all of the problems involved, did go a long way toward solving some of the immediate problems and ameliorating others. First, the Assembly, generally adopting a recommendation of the International Law Commission, recommended that in the course of preparing multilateral conventions drafters should "consider the



insertion therein of provisions relating to the admissibility or non-admissibility of reservations and to the effect to be attributed to them." In cases where such provisions are inserted it should be possible by express agreement to avoid most if not all of the legal problems which arise where reservations are made.

The differences of opinion as to the so-called League of Nations and Pan American rules were not entirely resolved. Although the General Assembly did not recommend general use of either rule, it refused to endorse proposals under which United Nations organs, specialized agencies, and states would generally be guided by the report of the International Law Commission, which was strongly oriented in the direction of the unanimity rule and away from the Pan American rule.

At the same time, the Assembly's resolution contained several helpful provisions. It recommended that all states be guided in regard to the genocide convention by the International Court of Justice's advisory opinion. The resolution also requested the Secretary-General, as depositary of the genocide convention, to conform his practice to the Court's advisory opinion regarding reservations to the convention. With respect to the Secretary-General's future role as the depositary, the resolution provides that he shall not pass on the legal effect of reservations or objections thereto but shall communicate these to the states concerned, each of which is to draw its own legal conclusions.

As was appropriate, the General Assembly addressed its resolution to the genocide convention which was immediately before it, the conduct of negotiators, and the role of the Secretary-General as depositary, and did not purport to affect the conduct of depositaries generally.

### *Question of Defining Aggression*

The general question of defining aggression was inconclusively considered by the General Assembly's Political Committee in 1950. It was decided to refer the question to the International Law Commission with a request that it formulate conclusions as soon as possible. The Commission studied the matter at great length during 1951 but reported to the sixth session of the Assembly that it was unable to reach decisions either about the possibility or desirability of defining aggression or about the best technique for reaching a satisfactory definition.

The Assembly's Legal Committee considered this question during much of the month of January 1952. The same differences of opinion which had divided the Law Commission also divided the Legal Committee. The debates were mainly devoted to the preliminary questions of the possibility and desirability of defining aggression. The United States and some other delegations advocated that the Assembly should discontinue its attempt at definition as no satisfactory one could be found. A definition which enumerated all possible acts of aggression would necessarily be incomplete and could thus be harmful; conversely, an abstract and general formula would be too vague to prove useful. Therefore these states considered it preferable to leave the United Nations organs, which are responsible for determining an aggressor, full discretion to consider all circumstances of each case.

A number of other delegations, however, thought that a definition was not only possible but also necessary or highly desirable as a useful supplement to the United Nations system of collective security. They argued that an imperfect definition was better than none. There was no consensus as to the most efficacious type of definition—enumerative, abstract, or a combination of the two.

After the debate, the Assembly passed a resolution which provided that the question be postponed and included on the agenda of its next session and instructed the Secretary-General to submit a thorough report on the subject.

### *Draft Code of Offenses Against the Peace and Security of Mankind*

In 1947 the General Assembly had directed the International Law Commission, in addition to formulating the principles of international law recognized in the Nürnberg trials, to prepare a draft code of offenses against the peace and security of mankind. The Commission completed its work during 1951 and forwarded a draft code for consideration by the sixth session of the Assembly. The Commission did not consider itself called upon to propose methods by which such a code might be given binding force and hence it did not submit a draft instrument for implementing the code. The United States and many other delegations considered that governments had not had sufficient time to study the complex problems involved in the draft code. Consequently, the Assembly decided to postpone con-

sideration of the draft code and include it on the provisional agenda of its next session in late 1952.

### *Regime of the High Seas*

In 1949 the International Law Commission had selected the regime of the high seas as a priority subject for codification and progressive development. The Commission subsequently decided to focus attention on certain aspects of maritime law as the first phase of this work and requested its special rapporteur to formulate proposals with respect to the items selected. During 1951 the Commission considered these proposals and prepared draft articles on 4 of the 11 items which were communicated to governments for comment.

The first item concerns jurisdiction over the sea bed and subsoil of the "continental shelf." In general the draft articles provide that "the continental shelf is subject to the exercise by the coastal state of control and jurisdiction for the purpose of exploring it and exploiting its natural resources." The proposed rules regarding the continental shelf would have no applicability to tideland or territorial waters, wherein the coastal state exercises sovereignty over the subsoil, the sea bed, the waters, the surface, and the air space above the surface. By definition the continental shelf includes only the sea bed and subsoil, and not the waters, the surface, or the air space above them.

The draft articles submitted to governments also include provisions relating to resources of the sea (conservation of marine life); sedentary fisheries; and contiguous zones for purposes of customs, fiscal, or sanitary regulations. Among other items that the Commission considered as not sufficiently advanced to warrant governmental comment at this time are the question of the nationality of ships, penal jurisdiction in matters of collision on the high seas, rules relating to the safety of life at sea, and submarine telegraph cables. The Commission decided to initiate work on the closely related topic of "regime of territorial waters" and assigned a special rapporteur for this item.

The comments of the various governments on the few draft articles submitted will be studied by the Commission's rapporteur, who will prepare a final draft and explanatory report for consideration by the Commission. In due time the Commission will be able to gather together well-considered draft articles on the various topics included in the broad subject of regime of the high seas. Eventually it is con-



templated that the Commission shall submit the draft articles which it has adopted to the General Assembly with its recommendations for the end use of the articles. Such a task of development and codification is necessarily long and involved and requires constant checking and rechecking by the Commission and United Nations member states. The problems are important, however, and it is heartening to see that the Commission is making steady progress in its approach to a fuller understanding of their nature and scope.

### *International Criminal Jurisdiction*

The Committee on International Criminal Jurisdiction was convened at Geneva on August 1, 1951, in accordance with the General Assembly resolution of December 12, 1950. This resolution named the following 17 states to be represented on the Committee: Australia, Brazil, China, Cuba, Denmark, Egypt, France, India, Iran, Israel, the Netherlands, Pakistan, Peru, Syria, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Uruguay. With the exception of India and Peru, all of these states were represented at Geneva. The United States representative, George Maurice Morris, was elected chairman of the Committee.

After 31 meetings the Committee completed its assigned task of preparing a report and a draft statute for a proposed international criminal court. These documents have been communicated to United Nations members for their observations by June 1, 1952, so that the seventh session of the General Assembly can examine the question in late 1952.

The Department of State has circulated the Committee's report among various private legal groups, including several committees of the American Bar Association, and has requested their views in connection with the preparation of the United States observations.

### *Draft Declaration on Rights and Duties of States*

The General Assembly in 1949 had decided to circulate the International Law Commission's draft declaration on the rights and duties of states to United Nations members for their comments and suggestions about further action. In 1950 this problem was deferred to the sixth session of the Assembly, which passed a resolution on December 7, 1951, urging members to send in their comments, postponing con-

sideration of the draft declaration until a sufficient number of states had complied, and calling for consideration as soon as a majority of member states have transmitted their replies.

### *Regulations Under Section 8 of the Headquarters Agreement*

Under section 8 of the headquarters agreement between the United States and the United Nations, the United Nations has the power to make regulations, operative within its headquarters district in New York, for the purpose of establishing conditions necessary for the full execution of its functions. The first three such regulations were considered by the sixth session of the General Assembly.

The Assembly confirmed headquarters regulation No. 1 which had been promulgated with immediate effect by the Secretary-General in February 26, 1951. The purpose of this regulation was to limit the liability of the United Nations with regard to risks already covered by its own comprehensive social-security system. It was necessary to establish clearly that the United States Federal and New York State social-security and workmen's compensation legislation would not be applicable concurrently with the United Nations system and that the United Nations would not be liable for two payments on the same risk.

The General Assembly approved headquarters regulations No. 2 and 3, which would enable the Secretary-General to determine the qualifications for the performance of professional or other special occupational services within the headquarters district and which authorize the Secretary-General to fix schedules for the hours of operation of services and facilities or retail establishments within the headquarters district.

## *Budgetary, Financial, and Administrative Matters*

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**DURING** 1951 and early 1952 the United Nations continued to adapt its administrative, organizational, and financial arrangements to meet the developing needs of its programs. The various efforts in this field were designed for maximum program effectiveness at minimum cost, with a somewhat more equitable sharing of the financial load among the 60 member states. Important developments relate to (1) the United Nations permanent headquarters; (2) the United Nations postal administration; (3) budgets; (4) assessments; (5) staff arrangements; (6) the Secretariat; and (7) organizational interrelationships.

### PERMANENT HEADQUARTERS

By the middle of 1951 the entire headquarters staff of the United Nations had taken up their new quarters in Manhattan, and the former accommodations at Lake Success had been vacated. Most of the staff are located in the new 39-story Secretariat Building, which was the first of the new structures to be completed on the headquarters site. A smaller building, the seven-story Manhattan office building, secured from the city of New York at the time of the acquisition of the site, now houses the library and provides office space for the Military Staff Committee.

In February 1952 a second major unit of the new headquarters project, the Conference Building, was officially opened. This structure provides meeting facilities for the Security Council and the other



United Nations councils and for the main committees of the General Assembly. The General Assembly Building, now under construction and scheduled for completion in the fall of 1952, will provide the main auditorium for plenary meetings as well as additional conference facilities. An underground garage, with a capacity of 1,500 cars, was completed in 1951 and is now in use.

In keeping with general landscaping plans for the headquarters site, certain work was undertaken during the year, including planting and paving, in areas adjacent to the Secretariat Building and the library. Since two New York City playgrounds were displaced when the headquarters site was established, the United Nations is planning to provide a small playground at the extreme northeastern corner of the site, at United Nations expense and under its control, for the use of children of the neighborhood.

The city of New York has pressed forward its program for improvements around the site, in spite of shortages of materials and sharp increases in construction costs. The present schedule provides for completion in 1952 of the improvements on Forty-second Street, First Avenue, Forty-seventh Street, and Forty-eighth Street. Work on Franklin D. Roosevelt Drive, which has been undertaken by the city with United Nations funds, was practically completed at the end of 1951.

The cost of constructing, landscaping, and furnishing the headquarters buildings is being met out of the \$65,000,000 interest-free loan authorized by the United States Congress in an act approved on August 11, 1948. To the end of February 1952 the United States Government had advanced to the United Nations from the loan fund a total of approximately \$58,943,800. These payments are made pursuant to the terms of the headquarters loan agreement included as a part of the authorizing legislation. As stipulated in the loan agreement, repayment of the loan began with an installment of \$1,000,000 on July 1, 1951, and provision for a second payment of \$1,000,000 is made in the United Nations budget for the calendar year 1952.

Rapidly increasing construction costs have necessitated numerous economies, changes, and substitutions in the course of construction. The Secretary-General reported to the sixth session of the General Assembly that the cost of the headquarters project will exceed the original budget of \$65,000,000 and requested the Assembly to appro-

appropriate \$3,000,000 to complete the work. After detailed consideration of the matter, the General Assembly approved the inclusion in the budget for 1952 of an item of \$1,000,000 for headquarters construction. In case additional funds should be required for this purpose during 1952, the Secretary-General was authorized to make advances from the working capital fund to a maximum of \$2,000,000. Any such advances would be repaid out of the budget for the following year.

The services of the Headquarters Advisory Committee, consisting of representatives of 16 member states, including the United States, were available to the Secretary-General during 1951 for consultation on all phases of the headquarters project. In addition, the Secretary-General has had the assistance of a special board of art advisers, appointed in 1950 to consult on policies concerning interior and exterior decoration of the headquarters buildings and to consider various offers, proposals, and donations of art objects, furnishings, and decorative materials by governments, organizations, and individuals. Offers from Norway, Sweden, and Denmark to provide the interior decoration of the three Council Chambers were accepted by the United Nations and the three chambers are now completed.

Throughout the year there was increasing interest on the part of governments and the public in making donations and appropriate gifts for use in the headquarters. Great Britain has undertaken the interior design and furnishing of one of the committee rooms. India is providing floor coverings for another committee room. Native woods are being provided by New Zealand for the Assembly lobby and by Australia for the executive offices in the Assembly building. Canada is giving decorative metal doors for the north entrance to the General Assembly Building. Greece is providing statuary for the landscaped area, and a number of other countries are considering gifts which are expected to include a variety of art objects, floor coverings, wall coverings, and furniture. Among the gifts from nongovernmental sources is a decorative fountain, contributed by the school children of the United States, which is to be placed in the courtyard of the Secretariat Building. The money for this donation was contributed in small amounts in the schools of the various States and territories of this country, under the sponsorship of the American Association for the United Nations and with the approval of the various school authorities.

## UNITED NATIONS POSTAL ADMINISTRATION

A postal agreement between the United States and the United Nations was signed on March 28, 1951, and came into effect on October 24, United Nations Day. On the latter date the existing United States Post Office station at United Nations headquarters became the United Nations Post Office station, operated by the United States Post Office Department under the terms of the agreement. The United Nations Post Office station provides, at prevailing rates, all the services offered by any United States Post Office having comparable operations. However, the United Nations station uses exclusively United Nations postage stamps and United Nations postmarks. During 1951 a committee appointed by the Secretary-General approved designs for United Nations postage stamps in 11 denominations for ordinary mail and 4 denominations for air mail. The ordinary mail stamps were issued in two series on October 24 and November 16; the air-mail stamps were issued on December 14. The United Nations arranges for the production of all stamps and furnishes free of charge to the United States postal authorities operating the station the quantities of such stamps required to meet the needs of the station. Such stamps are valid only for mailing matter posted at the United Nations Post Office station.

All revenue derived from the operation of the station is retained by the United States Post Office Department. The United Nations maintains a separate office to handle mail-order sales of United Nations postage stamps for philatelic purposes, and the United Nations retains the revenue derived from these mail-order sales. The United Nations station is occupied primarily with handling the large volume of United Nations mail, the United Nations paying for the services rendered at the rates prevailing in United States Post Offices. The postal agreement provides the means for its revision after one year of operation and for its termination upon one year's notice by either party.

## BUDGETS

For the calendar year 1952 total assessments authorized to be made against members of the United Nations and of those specialized



agencies financed primarily from annual member contributions are in the amount of approximately \$77,500,000. The comparable figure for 1951 was approximately \$73,400,000. The increases for 1952 reflect the higher costs of operation brought about by rising world prices and the somewhat greater regular services provided by certain of the specialized agencies.

The assessment budget for 1952 of the United Nations alone is approximately \$42,940,000, which exceeds by some \$370,000 the figure for 1951. The 1952 budget includes a \$1,000,000 item toward the expense of completing construction, landscaping, and furnishing of the new headquarters in Manhattan as noted above; a cost-of-living adjustment for the staff in New York, voted after the United States and other countries had taken similar action with respect to government employees; and an increase in maintenance costs at the new headquarters. At the same time substantial savings result from holding the seventh session of the General Assembly and the two sessions of the Economic and Social Council at headquarters rather than abroad.

In addition to the regular programs of the United Nations and specialized agencies, which are financed through assessments, there are special operating programs financed by voluntary contributions. One of these is the expanded program of technical assistance. For 1952 some 60 governments have agreed to request from their parliaments approximately \$19,000,000 for the support of this program. The requirements of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East have been fixed at \$75,000,000 for the current year. The estimated requirements for the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency for an initial year's operation once a cessation of hostilities is achieved remain at the figure of approximately \$250,000,000, which was set early in 1951. Against this amount there are pledges to request parliamentary appropriation of approximately \$206,000,000. For these several special operating programs the sixth session of the General Assembly set up a negotiating committee to discuss with the representatives of member governments the amounts they might be able to contribute. The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund also continues its program as financed by voluntary contributions under the authorization of a General Assembly resolution of 1950.

The General Assembly at its sixth session increased the amount of the working capital fund from \$20,000,000 to \$21,239,203. The additional \$1,239,203 represents the balance of the surplus account as of the end of 1950 which the Assembly voted to transfer to the working capital fund rather than to credit the amount against member states'

contributions for 1952, as would normally have been the practice. The transfer of this surplus balance is temporary and subject to review by the next session of the General Assembly. The increase in the size of the working capital fund was considered necessary because of the heavy demands which are made on it to help finance current United Nations operations pending the receipt of contributions, and the need of maintaining a minimum reserve to meet any unforeseen and extraordinary expenses relating to the maintenance of peace and security. The demands on the working capital fund would be greatly reduced if those member states which, like the United States, now pay in the second half of the year should adopt the practice of paying at least a part of their contribution in the early months of the year. In this regard the Assembly, as part of its resolution on the working capital fund, resolved that:

The governments of Member States be invited to examine methods whereby, within the limits of their constitutional processes, a substantial proportion of their contributions would be paid within the first quarter of each year, and to report through the Secretary-General to the next regular session of the General Assembly on the result of that examination.

## ASSESSMENTS

The percentage assessments of the United States for the regular expenditure budgets of the United Nations and the larger specialized agencies for the calendar years 1951 and 1952 are as follows:

	1951	1952
	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Percent</i>
United Nations . . . . .	38.92	36.90
Food and Agriculture Organization . . . . .	27.10	30.00
International Civil Aviation Organization . . . . .	24.98	24.97
International Labor Organization . . . . .	25.00	25.00
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization . . . . .	35.00	33.33
World Health Organization . . . . .	35.00	33.33

While our percentage share in the Food and Agriculture Organization has increased from 27.10 percent in 1951 to 30.00 percent in

1952, our shares have decreased substantially in the United Nations and in two of the major specialized agencies. They have remained at existing levels in the other specialized agencies.

Each of these organizations adopts its own scale of assessments, taking into consideration the particular membership of the organization, appropriate maximum and minimum shares, and, to a varying degree, the relative capacity of members to pay, and in certain cases, other special factors. In the United Nations, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and the World Health Organization it has been officially recognized that in normal times no single country should be assessed more than one-third of the regular expenses of the organization. For 1952 the United States has succeeded in obtaining reductions of its shares in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the World Health Organization to  $33\frac{1}{3}$  percent of total assessments. In the former this is the fifth consecutive reduction for the United States since 1947, and in the latter it is the fourth reduction since 1948. In WHO the reduction for 1952 was accomplished in spite of the fact that the membership total includes China and a number of Soviet and satellite states which for various reasons have renounced their ties to the organization but are considered as members and assessed annually. The organization has continued to hope that these states may yet resume active participation. In the case of UNESCO, the reduction for the United States was made despite the fact that China, with a substantial assessment, has been unable to make more than a token payment for the last 2 years. However, in both these organizations, adjustments in the United States contributions have been greatly facilitated by accession of new members.

In the United Nations, reductions for the United States to the  $33\frac{1}{3}$ -percent mark were to have been made as the relative ability of other members to pay increased and as new members were added to the organization. Because of Soviet obstructionism, the latter of these two developments has been retarded. As to the former development, the best available statistics indicate that a considerable number of member states have experienced substantial improvements in economic status since 1946 when the first United Nations scale of contributions was established. In the light of present-day conditions, some states, including the Soviet Union and the other Soviet and satellite states, are considerably underassessed. These considerations were reflected in the recommendations of the Committee on Contributions to the sixth session of the General Assembly. The Committee recommended upward adjustments for 15 states. The largest of these increases was



for the Soviet Union, which together with the Ukraine and Byelorussia had been assessed 8.14 percent for 1951. An assessment of 11.49 percent was recommended for these states for 1952, an increase of 3.35 percentage points or more than 40 percent. At the same time the Committee recommended small downward adjustments for 17 states and a substantial decrease of 2.02 percentage points for the United States, from 38.92 to 36.90 percent.

The United States Congress had attached a proviso to the 1952 appropriation for contributions to international organizations which forbade United States representatives to organizations covered by this appropriation to commit the United States to a contribution in excess of  $33\frac{1}{3}$  percent, except after consultation, in exceptional circumstances, with the two appropriations committees. Consequently, after appraising the report of the Contributions Committee and assessing the situation as a whole, the Department of State addressed letters to the Appropriations Committees of the House of Representatives and the Senate stating the favorable attitude of the Department toward the recommendations of the Committee on Contributions.

The appropriation bill carrying this proviso was passed by Congress in the final days of the session, and the Congress had adjourned by the time the Department's letters were received. The General Assembly was about to convene in Paris. Under these circumstances and in order to do everything possible to meet the objectives of the legislation, the United States delegation, in consultation with the Department of State, undertook at once to secure a reduction to  $33\frac{1}{3}$  percent. In this attempt the delegation was not successful despite a most determined effort. The issue for most delegations at the Assembly was not one of whether or not the one-third ceiling principle should be honored; there was general acceptance that the principle must be honored. The real point at issue concerned the pace at which adjustments in the scale should take place. As it was, in accepting the recommendation of a 40-percent increase for the Soviet states, the Assembly was overturning a working rule that adjustments in any one year should be limited to 10 percent of the existing assessment. There was a general conviction among the majority of members that a reduction for the United States of over  $5\frac{1}{2}$  percentage points, in the absence of new members, was so large that it should be spread over more than a single year in order to avoid too sudden a dislocation in the contribution scale as a whole. In the end the Assembly accepted without change the scale recommended by the Committee on Contributions. At the same time the Committee was directed to review the scale further during 1952 for a report to the next Assembly.

## STAFF ARRANGEMENTS

The United Nations staff assessment plan has been in operation since the beginning of 1949. Under this plan all staff members pay to the general funds of the organization a graduated assessment on the compensation they receive from the United Nations. The plan was designed to equalize the income-tax obligations, and thereby the take-home pay, of the organization's staff irrespective of nationality. It also serves to prevent the creation of a tax-privileged group of international public servants.

Under the staff assessment plan, all members of the Secretariat are assessed according to modern principles of national income-tax systems, at rates which rise by steps according to the amount of assessable income, viz, 15 percent on the first \$4,000, rising by 5 percent for each additional \$2,000 below \$12,000. Still higher rates are levied on the relatively few salaries above that amount. These rates approximate the United States income-tax rates. They are subject to adjustment by the General Assembly as conditions change. The revenue derived from staff assessments, which in 1951 amounted to approximately \$4,800,000, is entered as miscellaneous revenue on the books of the United Nations and this reduces assessments on members.

Through accession to the convention on privileges and immunities, 38 member states have specifically exempted United Nations staff members from national taxation on their compensation from the organization. The United States has not yet acceded to this convention.

With certain minor technical exceptions the United States remains in practice the only member state that continues to tax its nationals on the Secretariat. These United States nationals, of whom there are approximately 1,500 stationed in the United States, are in effect subject at the present time to double taxation on their compensation. To meet this situation the General Assembly has from year to year appropriated funds to reimburse the nationals of those states which have not yet acted to relieve their nationals from double taxation. The total amount required for tax reimbursements in 1951 was \$1,391,000, practically all of which went to United States nationals. The sixth session of the General Assembly extended to 1952 the arrangement followed in 1951 for advancing the amount of any tax reimbursements from the working capital fund. Working capital fund advances for 1951 were authorized to be repaid out of the supple-

mentary appropriation for 1951. It is apparent that the members to the United Nations will be reluctant to continue indefinitely to appropriate funds for the reimbursement of taxes paid by nationals of a single member state.

One important development of the year was the adoption by the General Assembly of permanent staff regulations in place of the provisional regulations which had been in force previously. The draft permanent regulations submitted to the Assembly by the Secretary-General with the support of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions were based on 5 years' experience under the provisional regulations. They represented not so much changes in substance as the more precise and detailed delineation of policies previously laid down by the Assembly. This reexamination and clarification of existing regulations and establishment of personnel policies on a more permanent basis should make it easier for the United Nations to attract and retain personnel of the high caliber required.

The most significant point of clarification which resulted from the action of the General Assembly related to the powers of the Secretary-General over termination of staff. Owing to the complex problems of recruiting, testing, and selecting a permanent international staff of high competence, it has been necessary to retain on a temporary basis a sizeable proportion of the staff recruited somewhat hastily during the initial organizational period of the United Nations. This situation has raised questions as to whether the temporary staff should not, after a limited period of time, enjoy guaranties applicable to the permanent staff. The Secretary-General has indicated that his ability to carry out the directives of the Assembly regarding improvement of staff caliber and geographical representation, and to service changing programs, necessitates a flexibility which can only be maintained through his continuing to have full discretion over the termination of the temporary staff. The Assembly approved regulations clarifying and continuing his powers with respect to the termination of the temporary staff. This was done on the assurance of the Secretary-General that the powers so granted would be discharged in a manner compatible with good personnel practice and that he would take steps within the next 2 years to complete the screening of the present temporary staff so that their status would no longer be in doubt.



## SECRETARIATS

The secretariats of the United Nations and the major specialized agencies expanded slightly during 1951, as follows:

	1950	1951
United Nations . . . . .	4, 117	4, 368
Food and Agriculture Organization . . . . .	537	639
International Civil Aviation Organization . . . . .	379	407
International Labor Organization . . . . .	521	556
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization . . . . .	801	837
World Health Organization . . . . .	675	712
International Bank . . . . .	409	429
International Monetary Fund . . . . .	447	438
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>7, 886</b>	<b>8, 386</b>

While these increases result in part from an increase in workload, they are also due to an increasing trend toward the decentralization of activities within each agency. Offices carrying out the field work of these organizations are located in the following 32 countries:

Argentina	France	Peru
Australia	French Equatorial Africa	Philippines
Brazil	India	Poland
Canada	Indonesia	Switzerland
Chile	Iran	Thailand
China	Italy	Turkey
Costa Rica	Japan	U. S. S. R.
Cuba	Liberia	United Kingdom
Czechoslovakia	Mexico	United States
Denmark	Pakistan	Uruguay
Egypt		Yugoslavia

Such a network of offices makes it possible for the United Nations and the specialized agencies to be in closer contact with the needs and problems that their programs are designed to meet. At the same time decentralization creates many problems of an administrative and organizational character. Foremost among these are (1) the necessity of coordinating the regional as well as the headquarters activities of the United Nations and the specialized agencies so that their joint efforts have maximum effect, and (2) the necessity for allocating responsibility and staff between headquarters and field

establishments so as to obtain efficient and economical operations. The first of these problems is under continuous review by the Administrative Committee on Coordination of the Economic and Social Council and of the Council itself. The latter problem has been and will continue to be a subject of concern to the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions and the General Assembly of the United Nations and to the conferences of the various specialized agencies. The matter is examined annually in these bodies with a view to insuring that any proposed decentralization of activity is fully justified.

## ORGANIZATIONAL INTERRELATIONSHIPS

During 1951 much progress was made in shaping the activities of the several specialized agencies and subsidiary bodies of the United Nations dealing with economic and social matters into a comprehensive and interrelated program of maximum effectiveness. The most significant development was the emphasis placed on the establishment of program priorities by the various organizations to assure the concentration of resources on the most important projects and activities.

The Coordination Committee of the Economic and Social Council devoted a series of meetings to the preparation of a comprehensive report on the establishment of priorities. This report clarified the procedure to be followed by the specialized agencies and United Nations subsidiary bodies in presenting their programs in terms of priorities and recommended that in 1952 the Council should attempt to establish priority programs in the economic and social field for the United Nations organizations as a whole.

One of the tasks of this session of the Economic and Social Council and subsequently of the sixth session of the General Assembly was a review of the reports of the specialized agencies and United Nations subsidiary bodies on the steps they had taken to establish priorities and to concentrate their resources on high-priority items. These reports showed that the efforts made to date to establish priorities had helped to clarify the objectives of existing and projected programs. However, they also indicated that certain of the subsidiary organs and specialized agencies had not adequately complied with

the Assembly's 1950 request that a meaningful system of priorities be established. Consequently, the Economic and Social Council recommended a renewal of effort on the part of the organizations during 1952.

At the sixth session of the General Assembly the United States and numerous other members acknowledged the progress achieved but indicated dissatisfaction with the extent and quality of the efforts made by the subsidiary organs and specialized agencies to comply with General Assembly directions on priorities. The Assembly renewed its request for "unremitting efforts by the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies to ensure that the international resources devoted to economic and social matters should be concentrated on tasks of primary importance."

While these central deliberations looking toward the perfection of machinery for concentrated and coordinated action within the United Nations organizations were in progress, the agencies pressed forward with continuing programs of joint activity in the field. The United Nations and the International Labor Organization entered upon a joint investigation of forced labor, and the Food and Agriculture Organization and the World Health Organization continued their study of problems of nutrition through the device of a joint committee. In India, FAO and WHO worked together to increase food production and improve the level of health; and in Europe, the United States, Latin America, the Middle East, Africa, and Australia they joined together in the support of brucellosis centers. These activities are but examples of an extensive system of cooperative work involving these and other organizations.

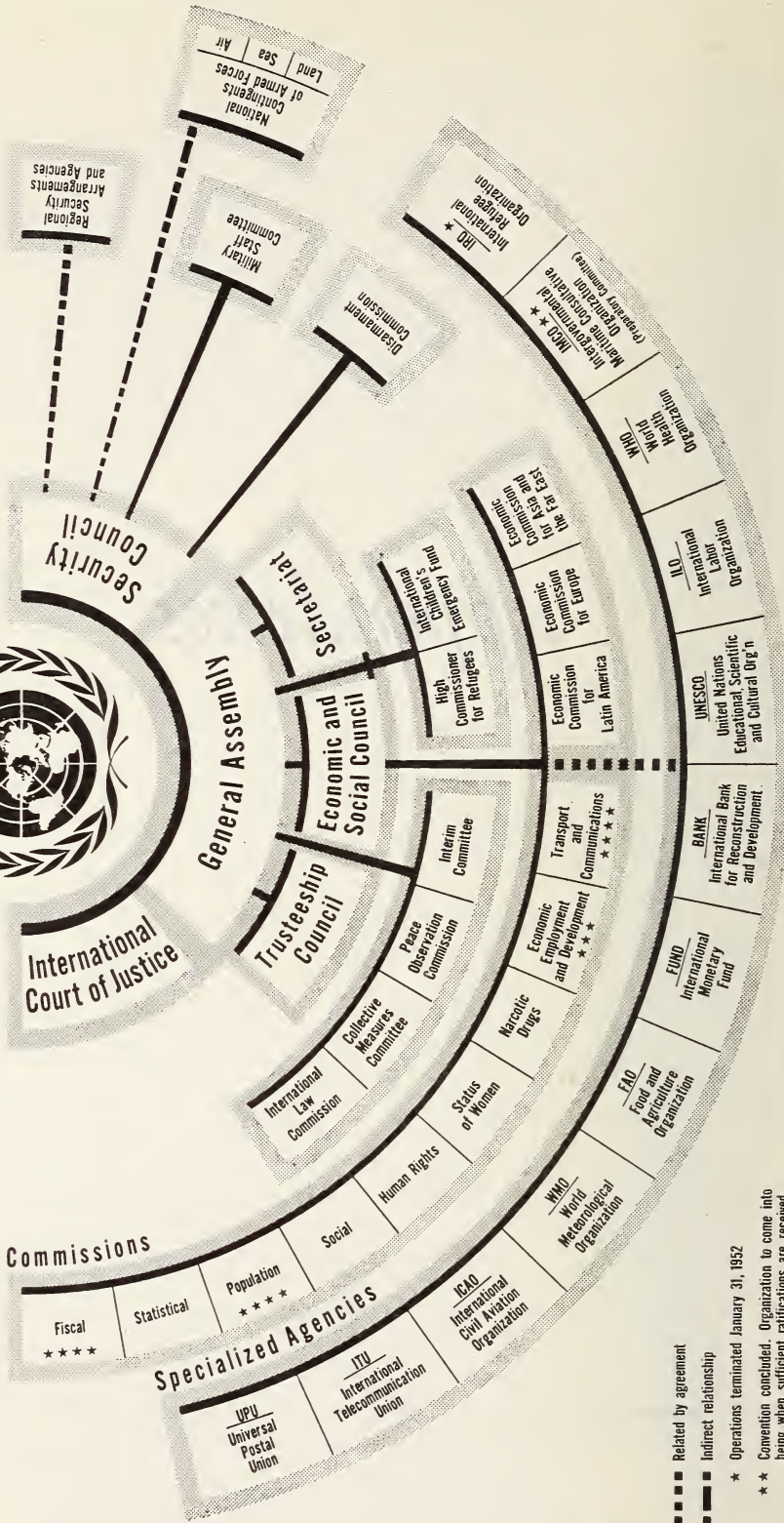
In the area of administrative and budgetary coordination, further progress was made in the adoption of common policies and standards. With slight exception the United Nations and the major specialized agencies now have a common salary and allowance system and pension plan. With the adoption of permanent staff regulations for the United Nations staff, it is anticipated that the comprehensive personnel policies of the agencies, which are now largely modeled upon United Nations policies, will be brought into even closer accord. Further progress was made in achieving a uniformity of financial regulations, and the agencies are now jointly exploring improved methods for the fullest utilization of soft currencies.





*appendixes*

# The United Nations System



- ■ ■ ■ Related by agreement
- ■ ■ Indirect relationship
- \* Operations terminated January 31, 1952
- \*\* Convention concluded. Organization to come into being when sufficient ratifications are received.
- \*\*\* Discontinued until December 31, 1954



*Contributions to Korean Activities*

SUMMARIES OF MILITARY AND RELIEF ASSISTANCE FOR KOREA AS OF  
JANUARY 15, 1952

Country	Date	Details of offer	Status
<b>GROUND FORCES</b>			
Australia . . . . .	Aug. 3, 1950 . . . . .	Ground forces from Australian infantry force in Japan.	In action.
Belgium . . . . .	Sept. 13, 1950 . . . . .	Additional battalion of Australian troops.	Do.
Bolivia . . . . .	May 3, 1951 . . . . .	Infantry battalion . . . . .	Do.
Canada . . . . .	July 15, 1950 . . . . .	Reinforcements . . . . .	Do.
	Aug. 14, 1950 . . . . .	30 officers . . . . .	Acceptance deferred.
		Brigade group, including 3 infantry battalions, 1 field regiment of artillery, 1 squadron of self-propelled antitank guns, together with engineer, signal, medical, ordnance, and other services with appropriate reinforcements.	In action.

*Summaries of military and relief assistance for Korea as of January 15, 1952—Continued*

Country	Date	Details of offer	Status
<b>GROUND FORCES—con.</b>			
China . . . . .	July 3, 1950 . . . . .	3 infantry divisions . . . . .	Acceptance deferred.
Colombia . . . . .	Nov. 14, 1950 . . . . .	1 infantry battalion . . . . .	In action.
Costa Rica . . . . .	July 27, 1950 . . . . .	Volunteers . . . . .	Acceptance deferred.
Cuba . . . . .	Nov. 30, 1950 . . . . .	1 infantry company . . . . .	Accepted.
El Salvador . . . . .	Aug. 15, 1950 . . . . .	Volunteers . . . . .	Acceptance deferred.
Ethiopia . . . . .	Nov. 2, 1950 . . . . .	1,069 officers and men . . . . .	In action.
France . . . . .	Aug. 20, 1950 . . . . .	Infantry battalion . . . . .	Do.
Greece . . . . .	Sept. 1, 1950 . . . . .	Unit of land forces . . . . .	Do.
	July 2, 1951 . . . . .	Additional unit of land forces . . . . .	Transmitted to Unified Command.
Luxembourg . . . . .	Mar. 15, 1951 . . . . .	Infantry company integrated into the Belgian forces . . . . .	In action.
Netherlands . . . . .	Sept. 8, 1950 . . . . .	1 infantry battalion . . . . .	Do.
New Zealand . . . . .	July 26, 1950 . . . . .	1 combat unit . . . . .	Do.
Panama . . . . .	Aug. 3, 1950 . . . . .	Contingent of volunteers and bases for training . . . . .	Acceptance deferred.
Philippines . . . . .	Aug. 10, 1950 . . . . .	Regimental combat team consisting of approximately 5,000 officers and men.	In action.
Thailand . . . . .	July 23, 1950 . . . . .	Infantry combat team of about 4,000 officers and men.	Do.
Turkey . . . . .	July 25, 1950 . . . . .	Infantry combat force of 4,500 men, later increased to 6,086 men.	Do.
United Kingdom . . . . .	Aug. 21, 1950 . . . . .	Ground forces . . . . .	Do.
	Official information communicated on June 12, 1951.	2 brigades composed of brigade headquarters, 5 infantry battalions, 1 field regiment, 1 armoured regiment.	Do.
United States . . . . .	Official information communicated on June 8, 1951.	3 army corps and 1 marine division with supporting elements.	Do.

NAVAL FORCES

Australia . . . . .	July 28, 1950 . . . . .	2 destroyers . . . . .	In action.
	July 29, 1950 . . . . .	1 aircraft carrier and 1 frigate . . . . .	Do.
Canada . . . . .	July 12, 1950 . . . . .	3 destroyers . . . . .	Do.
Colombia . . . . .	Oct. 16, 1950 . . . . .	1 frigate, <i>Almirante Padilla</i> (replaced by <i>Capitan Tono</i> ).	Do.
France . . . . .	July 19, 1950 . . . . .	Patrol gunboat . . . . .	Withdrawn.
Netherlands . . . . .	July 5, 1950 . . . . .	1 destroyer, <i>Evertsen</i> . . . . .	In action.
New Zealand . . . . .	July 1, 1950 . . . . .	2 frigates, H. M. N. Z. <i>Tutira</i> and H. M. N. Z. <i>Pukaki</i> . . . . .	Do.
Thailand . . . . .	Oct. 3, 1950 . . . . .	2 corvettes, <i>Prasae</i> and <i>Bangpakong</i> <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	Do.
United Kingdom . . . . .	June 28, 1950 . . . . .	Naval forces in Japanese waters diverted to Korea . . . . .	Do.
	Official information com- municated on June 12, 1951.	1 aircraft carrier, 2 cruisers, 8 destroyers, 1 survey ship.	Do.
United States . . . . .	Official information com- municated on June 8, 1951.	A fast carrier task group with a blockade and escort force, an amphibious force, reconnaissance and antisubmarine warfare units.	Do.

AIR FORCES

Australia . . . . .	June 30, 1950 . . . . .	1 R. A. A. F. fighter squadron, 1 air communication unit, base and maintenance personnel.	Do.
Canada . . . . .	July 21, 1950 . . . . .	1 R. C. A. F. squadron . . . . .	Do.
Union of South Africa . . . . .	Aug. 4, 1950 . . . . .	1 fighter squadron, including ground personnel . . . . .	Do.
United Kingdom . . . . .	Official information com- municated on June 12, 1951.	Elements of the air force . . . . .	Do.
United States . . . . .	Official information com- municated on June 8, 1951.	1 tactical air force, 1 bombardment command, 1 combat cargo command, all with supporting elements.	Do.

<sup>1</sup> Destroyed on grounding.



*Summaries of military and relief assistance for Korea as of January 15, 1952—Continued*

Country	Date of offer	Details of offer	Status
<b>MATERIAL</b>			
Philippines . . . . .	Aug. 3, 1950 . . . . .	17 Sherman tanks and 1 tank destroyer . . . . .	In action.
<b>TRANSPORT</b>			
Belgium . . . . .	Sept. 28, 1950 . . . . .	Air transport . . . . .	Do.
Canada . . . . .	Aug. 11, 1950 . . . . .	Facilities of Canadian Pacific airlines between Vancouver and Tokyo.	Do.
China . . . . .	July 3, 1950 . . . . .	Dry cargo vessels (10,000 tons) . . . . .	Do.
Denmark . . . . .	July 22, 1950 . . . . .	20 C-47's . . . . .	Acceptance deferred.
Greece . . . . .	July 20, 1950 and Oct. 13, 1950.	Motor ship <i>Bella Dan</i> . . . . .	Do.
Norway . . . . .	July 18, 1950 . . . . .	8 Dakota transport planes . . . . .	In action.
Panama . . . . .	Aug. 3, 1950 . . . . .	Merchant ship tonnage . . . . .	Do.
Thailand . . . . .	Oct. 3, 1950. . . . .	Use of merchant marine for transportation of troops and supplies.	Do.
United Kingdom . . . . .	Official information communicated on June 12, 1951.	Transport <i>Sichang</i> to be attached to Thai troops . . . . .	Do.
United States . . . . .		7 supply vessels . . . . .	Do.
		(The United Command has arranged for transport of United States troops and material, as well as for the transport of some of the forces and material listed in the present summary.)	

MEDICAL

Denmark . . . . .	Aug. 18, 1950 . . . . .	Hospital ship <i>Jutlandia</i> . . . . .	Do.
India . . . . .	July 29, 1950 . . . . .	Field ambulance unit . . . . .	Do.
Italy . . . . .	Sept. 27, 1950 . . . . .	Field hospital unit . . . . .	Do.
Norway . . . . .	Mar. 6, 1951 . . . . .	Surgical hospital unit . . . . .	Do.
Sweden . . . . .	July 20, 1950 . . . . .	Field hospital unit . . . . .	Do.
United Kingdom . . . . .	Official information com- municated on June 12, 1951. . . . .	Hospital ship . . . . .	Do.

United States . . . . . (No details available. The Unified Command has, however, provided full medical facilities not only for United States troops but also for the troops of participating governments.)

MISCELLANEOUS

Costa Rica . . . . .	July 27, 1950 . . . . .	Sea and air bases . . . . .	Accepted.
Panama . . . . .	Aug. 3, 1950 . . . . .	Bases for training . . . . .	Acceptance deferred.
		Free use of highways . . . . .	Accepted.
		Farm lands to supply troops . . . . .	Pending.
Thailand . . . . .	Feb. 2, 1951 . . . . .	Treatment for frostbite . . . . .	Do.

## SUMMARY OF ASSISTANCE FOR KOREAN EMERGENCY RELIEF PROGRAM AS OF JANUARY 15, 1952

(Except where noted, this list does not contain offers to UNKRA through the Negotiating Committee on Contributions to Programs of Relief and Rehabilitation)

Country	Date of offer	Details of offer	Value <sup>1</sup>	Status
Argentina . . . . .	Aug. 8, 1951 . . . . .	Corned meats, 13,950 cases <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	500, 000	Under shipment.
Australia . . . . .	Nov. 28, 1950 . . . . .	Penicillin, crystalline . . . . .	65, 355	Do.
	Dec. 14, 1950 . . . . .	Distilled water . . . . .	30, 897	Do.
		Laundry soap, 116,000 lbs. . . . .	7, 792	Do.
	Jan. 8, 1951 . . . . .	Procaine penicillin . . . . .	105, 345	Arrived in Korean theater.
	Jan. 31, 1951 . . . . .	Barley, 2,000 long tons . . . . .	169, 200	Do.
	June 25, 1951 . . . . .	Services of 3 medical and welfare personnel (offered by Save the Children Fund). . . . .	. . . . .	Accepted by Unified Command.
Austria . . . . .	Nov. 8, 1951 . . . . .	Lumber <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	40, 000	Acceptance pending.
Belgium . . . . .	Nov. 7, 1950 . . . . .	Sugar, 300 tons . . . . .	60, 000	Under shipment.
Brazil . . . . .	Sept. 22, 1950 . . . . .	Cruzeiros 50,000,000 . . . . .	2, 700, 000	Pending legislation.
Burma . . . . .	Feb. 1, 1951 . . . . .	Rice, 400 tons <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	49, 934	Arrived in Korean theater.
Cambodia . . . . .	May 14, 1951 . . . . .	Salted fish, 1,400 kilos . . . . .	400	Do.
	June 14, 1951 . . . . .	Rice, 5.2 tons . . . . .	600	Do.
Canada . . . . .	Apr. 19, 1951 . . . . .	Used clothing and shoes, 12 tons (donated by United Church of Canada). . . . .	. . . . .	Under shipment.
	Nov. 14, 1951 . . . . .	Used clothing, 331 bales (donated by United Church of Canada). . . . .	. . . . .	Do.
Chile . . . . .	Nov. 14, 1951 . . . . .	Nitrates, 5,000 tons <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	250, 000	Accepted by Unified Command.
China . . . . .	Oct. 4, 1950 . . . . .	Coal, 9,900 tons; rice, 1,000 tons; salt, 3,000 tons; DDT, 20 tons. . . . .	613, 630	Shipped direct to Korea by Government of China.
	July 17, 1951 . . . . .	Medical supplies . . . . .	. . . . .	Accepted by Unified Command.



Colombia . . . . .	Mar. 3, 1951 . . . . .	Clothing (donated by commercial firms)	. . . . .	Do.
	Mar. 19, 1951 . . . . .	Clothing (donated by commercial firms)	500	Do.
Costa Rica . . . . .	Mar. 3, 1951 . . . . .	Clothing, 800 kilos (collected by Red Cross)	. . . . .	Under shipment.
Cuba . . . . .	Oct. 2, 1950 . . . . .	Sugar, 2,000 tons . . . . .	268, 962	Arrived in Korean theater.
		Alcohol, 10,000 gals . . . . .	. . . . .	Under shipment.
		Blood plasma . . . . .	. . . . .	Pending.
Denmark . . . . .	July 5, 1950 . . . . .	Medical supplies . . . . .	142, 964	Arrived in Korean theater.
	Sept. 26, 1950 . . . . .	Sugar, 500 tons . . . . .	95, 047	Do.
Ecuador . . . . .	Oct. 13, 1950 . . . . .	Rice, 500 tons . . . . .	. . . . .	Do.
Ethiopia . . . . .	Aug. 5, 1950 . . . . .	£14,286 sterling . . . . .	40, 000	Deposited and expended on medical supplies now en route to Korea.
France . . . . .	Oct. 9, 1950 . . . . .	Medical supplies } . . . . .	75, 400	Arrived in Korean theater.
	Dec. 29, 1950 . . . . .	do. . . . .	. . . . .	
Greece . . . . .	Oct. 20, 1950 . . . . .	Soap, 113 tons . . . . .	30, 855	Do.
	Nov. 30, 1950 . . . . .	Notebooks and pencils, 25,000 each . . . . .	1, 320	Do.
	Dec. 27, 1950 . . . . .	Medical supplies . . . . .	83, 740	Do.
Iceland . . . . .	Sept. 14, 1950 . . . . .	Cod liver oil, 125 tons . . . . .	45, 400	Do.
India . . . . .	Oct. 4, 1950 . . . . .	Jute bags, 400,000 . . . . .	168, 095	Do.
	Oct. 11, 1950 . . . . .	Medical supplies . . . . .	3, 384	Do.
	Aug. 9, 1951 . . . . .	Medical supplies; 8 items (donated by Indian Red Cross).	2, 110	Under shipment.
Israel . . . . .	Aug. 22, 1950 . . . . .	Medical supplies . . . . .	63, 000	Arrived in Korean theater.
	Feb. 19, 1951 . . . . .	Citrus products <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	33, 600	Under shipment.
Japan . . . . .	Apr. 27, 1951 . . . . .	Preserved foods, 300 cases. (donated by Japan Canned and Bottled Foods Association).	. . . . .	Arrived in Korean theater.
Lebanon . . . . .	July 26, 1950 . . . . .	\$50,000 . . . . .	50, 000	Deposited.

<sup>1</sup> Figures given are official government evaluations in U. S. dollar equivalent. Where no values are shown, the official figures have not been received.

<sup>2</sup> Offered to UNKRA through the Negotiating Committee on Contributions to Programs of Relief and Rehabilitation.

*Summary of assistance for Korean Emergency Relief Program as of January 15, 1952—Continued*

Country	Date of offer	Details of offer	Value 1	Status
Liberia . . . . .	July 17, 1950 . .	Natural rubber, 22,400 lbs . . . . .	10, 000	Arrived in Korean theater.
	Feb. 23, 1951 . .	Natural rubber, 15,000 lbs <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	15, 000	Do.
Mexico . . . . .	Sept. 30, 1950 . .	Pulses and rice, 2,657 metric tons; medical supplies. <sup>3</sup>	348, 000	Do.
	Oct. 6, 1950 . .	Dried peas, 492 metric tons . . . . .	55, 536	Do.
	Nov. 20, 1950 . .	Milk powder, 150 tons . . . . .	66, 640	Do.
New Zealand . . . . .	Nov. 21, 1950 . .	Soap, 200 tons . . . . .	50, 000	Do.
		Used clothing, 5 tons (donated by Council of Organizations for Relief Services Overseas).	. . . . .	
	Mar. 14, 1951 . .	Vitamin capsules, 9,880,000 . . . . .	. . . . .	Under shipment.
	Mar. 16, 1951 . .	Used clothing, 5 tons (donated by CORSO)	. . . . .	Do.
	Oct. 15, 1951 . .	Clothing, 13 cubic tons (donated by CORSO)	. . . . .	Accepted by Unified Command.
	Oct. 24, 1951 . .	Clothing, 13½ tons (donated by CORSO) . . . . .	. . . . .	Acceptance pending.
Nicaragua . . . . .	Nov. 16, 1950 . .	Rice, 50 tons . . . . .	. . . . .	{ Declined unless can be made available at United States port.
	Dec. 16, 1950 . .	Rice, 100 tons, and alcohol, 5,000 qts. . . . .	. . . . .	
Norway . . . . .	Dec. 29, 1950 . .	Clothing, 126 tons (collected by Europa-hjelpen).	. . . . .	Arrived in Korean theater.
	Feb. 13, 1951 . .	Medical supplies . . . . .	. . . . .	Under shipment.
Pakistan . . . . .	Aug. 29, 1950 . .	Wheat, 5,000 tons . . . . .	379, 850	Arrived in Korean theater.
Paraguay . . . . .	Nov. 3, 1950 . .	\$10,000 . . . . .	10, 000	Deposited.
Peru . . . . .	Nov. 21, 1950 . .	1,000,000 Peruvian soles . . . . .	65, 000	Pending legislation.
	July 7, 1950 . .	Soap, 50,000 cakes . . . . .	5, 500	Under shipment.
Philippines . . . . .	Sept. 7, 1950 . .	Vaccines . . . . .	50, 050	Arrived in Korean theater.
	Sept. 8, 1950 . .	Rice, 10,000 metric tons . . . . .	2, 260, 000	8,850 tons shipped, balance awaiting shipment.

Thailand . . . . .	Sept. 8, 1950 . . . . .	Fresh blood, 518 units . . . . .	19, 475	Arrived in Korean theater.
Turkey . . . . .	Nov. 29, 1950 . . . . .	Fresh blood, 500 units . . . . .	4, 358, 000	Declined.
	Sept. 20, 1950 . . . . .	Rice, 40,000 metric tons . . . . .		Arrived in Korean theater.
	Aug. 19, 1950 . . . . .	Vaccines and serums . . . . .		Declined owing to difficulties of transportation.
	Jan. 10, 1951 . . . . .	Knitting wool and needles (donated by Red Crescent).	898	Arrived in Korean theater.
United Kingdom . . . . .	Oct. 19, 1950 . . . . .	Salt, 6,000 tons . . . . .	139, 149	Do.
	Oct. 20, 1950 . . . . .	Sulfa drugs . . . . .	48, 791	Do.
	Dec. 22, 1950 . . . . .	Food yeast, 50 tons . . . . .	25, 166	Do.
	Mar. 29, 1951 . . . . .	Clothing and cloth, 1,200 lbs. (donated by Y. W. C. A. Hong Kong).		Do.
	June 19, 1951 . . . . .	Supplies to value of £400,000, including:	1, 120, 000	Supplies to be made available at request of Unified Command.
United States . . . . .		Charcoal, 2,000 piculs per month. . . . .	61, 182, 625	Under shipment.
		Foodstuffs (wheat, barley, 477, 024 m.t. rice, etc.).		( <sup>1</sup> )
		Medical and sanitary supplies.	11, 488, 452	
		Soap . . . . .	2, 084, 156	
		Coal . . . . .	6, 168, 335	
		Petroleum products . . . . .	4, 401, 656	
		Transportation equipment . . . . .	6, 049, 036	
		Communication equipment. . . . .	3, 729, 334	
		Clothing, shoes, textiles . . . . .	36, 941, 778	

<sup>1</sup> Figures given are official government evaluations in U. S. dollar equivalent. Where no values are shown, the official figures have not been received.

<sup>2</sup> Offered to UNKRA through the Negotiating Committee on Contributions to Programs of Relief and Rehabilitation.

<sup>3</sup> Supplies to value of \$460,000 shipped to Korea, of which \$115,000 was intended as contribution to Palestine relief. This will be subject to adjustment between the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency and the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East.

<sup>4</sup> The total United States governmental contribution of \$108,140,631, as listed above, includes all supplies made available through ECA and U. S. Army programs from June 25, 1950, to Nov. 24, 1951, exclusive of nonrelief, economic aid. For m.t., read metric tons.

Transportation costs for each item are included in the valuation of the item. The United States Government has also contributed the transportation costs on certain offers, both from governmental and nongovernmental sources, as agreed with the United Nations. This contribution is listed in the last item.



*Summary of assistance for Korean Emergency Relief Program as of January 15, 1952—Continued*

Country	Date of offer	Details of offer	Value <sup>1</sup>	Status	
United States—Con.  (Donated by American Friends Serv- ice Commit- tee.)	Official valuation received on Dec. 6, 1951.	Agricultural supplies and equipment.	15, 175, 370		
		Industrial repair equip- ment and supplies, and other equipment.	493, 294		
		Miscellaneous manufactured end products (leins, etc.)	1, 328, 677		
		Miscellaneous raw materi- als and products.	17, 424, 296		
		Storage and laboratory costs	305, 500		
		Transportation costs of cer- tain contributions from other sources.	1, 368, 122		
		Used clothing . . . . .	103, 000 lb..	104, 000	Under shipment.
		Soap . . . . .	5, 000 lb..		
		Used clothing, 10 tons . . .		20, 000	Do.
		do. . . . .		10, 000	Do.
		do. . . . .		7, 500	} Arrived in Korean theater.
		do. . . . .		24, 233	
		do. . . . .		67, 500	Under shipment.
		do. . . . .		32, 500	Do.
	do. . . . .		60, 860	Do.	
	Soap . . . . .		370	Do.	

(Donated by American Relief for Korea.)	June 13, 1951.	Clothing and shoes . . . . .	500,000 lb.	480,000	Do.
	Oct. 24, 1951.	. . . do . . . . .	1,000,000 lb.	1,000,000	Do.
(Donated by anonymous United States sources.)	Aug. 10, 1951.	Used clothing . . . . .	69,426 lb.	69,426	Arrived in Korean theater.
	Dec. 3, 1951.	Canned milk and food . . . . .	500 lb.	250	Do.
		Clothing . . . . .	32,256 lb.	32,256	Under shipment.
(Donated by CARE, Inc.)	Sept. 21, 1950.	Food and clothing packages . . . . .		100,000	Arrived in Korean theater.
	Nov. 20, 1950.	Blankets and textile packages . . . . .		202,264	Do.
	Apr. 10, 1951.	Food packages . . . . .		100,000	Available in Japan.
	June 19, 1951.	. . do . . . . .		100,000	Under shipment.
		Blanket packages . . . . .		28,000	Do.
	July 25, 1951.	Food packages . . . . .		110,000	Do.
	Aug. 13, 1951.	Material, soap, food . . . . .		1,565	Do.
	Aug. 22, 1951.	Food packages . . . . .		100,000	Do.
	Oct. 19, 1951.	Knitting wool packages, 2,500 . . . . .		25,000	Do.
	Dec. 3, 1951.	Clothing and blanket packages . . . . .		85,000	Do.
		Food packages . . . . .		100,000	Do.
(Donated by Church World Service.)	Jan. 9, 1952.	Soap packages . . . . .		38,800	Acceptance pending.
	Sept. 25, 1950.	Used clothing and miscellaneous supplies . . . . .		104,958	Arrived in Korean theater.
	Nov. 6, 1950.	Vitamin tablets, 1,000,000 . . . . .		5,500	Do.
		Used clothing . . . . .	100,000 lb.	100,000	Do.
	Jan. 30, 1951.	. . do . . . . .	60,000 lb.	60,000	Do.
	Feb. 19, 1951.	. . do . . . . .	12,000 lb.	12,000	Do.
	Feb. 21, 1951.	. . do . . . . .	40,000 lb.	40,000	Do.
	Apr. 2, 1951.	. . do . . . . .	10,000 lb.	10,000	Do.
	May 18, 1951.	. . do . . . . .	50,000 lb.	50,000	Do.
(Donated by Committee for Free Asia.)	Aug. 8, 1951.	Newsprint, 1,000 tons . . . . .		150,000	Do.

<sup>1</sup> Figures given are official government evaluations in U.S. dollar equivalent. Where no values are shown, the official figures have not been received.

*Summary of assistance for Korean Emergency Relief Program as of January 15, 1952—Continued*

Country	Date of offer	Details of offer	Value <sup>1</sup>	Status
United States— Continued (Donated by General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists.)	Apr. 11, 1951 . . . . .	Used clothing . . . . .	19,000 lb. . . . .	10,000 Arrived in Korean theater.
(Donated by Lutheran World Relief.)	Feb. 23, 1951 . . . . . Mar. 26, 1951 . . . . . Apr. 26, 1951 . . . . . July 18, 1951 . . . . . Sept. 26, 1951 . . . . .	. . do . . . . . Soap . . . . . . . do . . . . . . . do . . . . . . . do . . . . .	44,550 lb. . . . . 12,851 lb. . . . . 25,287 . . . . . 29,000 . . . . . 9,000 . . . . .	Do. Do. Do. Under shipment. Arrived in Korean theater.
(Donated by Manget Foundation.)	Oct. 1951 . . . . .	Services of 1 supply officer . . . . .	. . . . .	Services made available for one year from Oct. 1951.
(Donated by Mennonite Central Committee.)	Feb. 19, 1951 . . . . .	Used clothing . . . . .	102,883 lb. . . . .	102,883 Under shipment.
(Donated by Oriental Missionary Society.)	Sept. 10, 1951 . . . . .	Medical supplies . . . . .	. . . . .	Do.



(Donated by	Dec. 12, 1950 . . .	Used and new clothing . . .	4,913 lb.	5, 033	Arrived in Korean theater.
Save the Chil-	Feb. 16, 1951 . . .	Used clothing . . . . .	10,011 lb.	10, 087	Do.
dren	Apr. 23, 1951 . . .	. do . . . . .	13,512 lb.	13, 610	}
Federa-	July 9, 1951 . . .	. do . . . . .	15,700 lb.	15, 395	
tion.)	July 20, 1951 . . .	School equipment . . . . .		1, 200	Under shipment.
	Oct. 10, 1951 . . .	Used clothing . . . . .	15,136 lb.	15, 115	Do.
	Oct. 10, 1951 . . .	School equipment and gift packages. . . . .		7, 500	Do.
	Oct. 22, 1951 . . .	Used clothing . . . . .	4,826 lb.	4, 826	Do.
	Dec. 10, 1951 . . .	. do . . . . .	9,867 lb.	9, 867	Do.
(Donated by	Oct. 17, 1950 . . .	Used clothing, soap, medicinals . . . . .		290, 749	Arrived in Korean theater.
War Relief	Oct. 27, 1950 . . .	Services of medical team . . . . .			Declined.
Services, Na-	Nov. 17, 1950 . . .	Clothing, shoes, soap . . . . .		99, 738	Arrived in Korean theater.
tional Catholic	Nov. 29, 1950 . . .	Used clothing . . . . .	1,000,000 lb.	1, 000, 000	Do.
Welfare Con-	Dec. 7, 1950 . . .	. do . . . . .	1,000,000 lb.	1, 000, 000	Do.
ference.)		. do . . . . .	70,000 lb.	70, 000	Do.
	Feb. 16, 1951 . . .	Medicinals . . . . .		2, 600	Do.
		Used clothing . . . . .	20,000 lb.	20, 000	Do.
	Mar. 26, 1951 . . .	Dried milk . . . . .	1,000,000 lb.	125, 000	Do.
		Dried eggs . . . . .	100,000 lb.	40, 000	Do.
	Aug. 30, 1951 . . .	Used clothing . . . . .	10,000 lb.	10, 000	Under shipment.
	Oct. 22, 1951 . . .	. do . . . . .	950,000 lb.	950, 000	Do.
	Dec. 6, 1951 . . .	. do . . . . .	400,000 lb.	400, 000	Do.
	Dec. 27, 1951 . . .	. do . . . . .	115,000 lb.	115, 000	Acceptance pending.
	Sept. 14, 1950 . . .	\$2,000,000 . . . . .		2, 000, 000	Pending legislation.
Uruguay . . . . .	Oct. 28, 1950 . . .	Blankets, 70,000 . . . . .		250, 779	Arrived in Korean theater.
Venezuela . . . . .	Sept. 14, 1950 . . .	Medical supplies, foodstuffs . . . . .		81, 652	Do.

1 Figures given are official government evaluations in U.S. dollar equivalent Where no values are shown, the official figures have not been received.

*Summary of assistance for Korean Emergency Relief Program as of January 15, 1952—Continued*

Country	Date of offer	Details of offer	Value †	Status
<b>SPECIALIZED AGENCIES</b>				
ILO . . . . .	Nov. 20, 1950 . . . . .	Services of 2 labor advisers . . . . .	. . . . .	Services made available by ILO until Jan. 1, 1952.
IRO . . . . .	Aug. 3, 1950 . . . . .	Clothing and miscellaneous supplies . . . . .	179,000	Under shipment.
	Aug. 8, 1950 . . . . .	Medical supplies . . . . .	12,177	Arrived in Korean theater.
	Aug. 19, 1950 . . . . .	Services of 5 medical team personnel . . . . .	. . . . .	Services made available by IRO until Jan. 1, 1952.
	Nov. 27, 1950 . . . . .	Services of 4 medical team personnel . . . . .	. . . . .	
	Feb. 14, 1951 . . . . .	Services of 5 supply officers . . . . .	. . . . .	Made available to Unified Command.
UNESCO . . . . .	Jan. 31, 1951 . . . . .	\$100,000 for purchase of educational supplies.	100,000	
UNICEF . . . . .	Sept. 27, 1950 . . . . .	Blankets, 312,020 . . . . .	535,006	Arrived in Korean theater.
		Powdered milk, 330,000 lbs. . . . .	10,054	Do.
	Sept. 28, 1950 . . . . .	Medical supplies . . . . .	1,964	Do.
		Soap, 100,000 lbs . . . . .	7,167	Do.
	Jan. 26, 1951 . . . . .	Clothing . . . . .	200,000	Do.
	Feb. 1, 1951 . . . . .	. . . do . . . . .	199,586	Do.
		Freight charges on cod liver oil from Iceland.	3,729	
	July 24, 1951 . . . . .	Cotton cloth, 2,400,000 yds. . . . .	540,000	Available in Japan.
WHO . . . . .	Aug. 8, 1950 . . . . .	Services of 10 medical team personnel . . . . .	. . . . .	Services made available by WHO until Jan. 1, 1952.
	Sept. 4, 1950 . . . . .	Services of 3 public-health advisers . . . . .	. . . . .	
	Nov. 22, 1950 . . . . .	Services of 10 medical team personnel . . . . .	. . . . .	

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTORS					
Korean Consulate General, San Francisco.	Mar. 19, 1951.	Clothing, 756 lbs. . . . .	750	Arrived in Korean theater.	
League of Red Cross Societies.	Nov. 11, 1950.	Services of 9 medical teams, each of 3 persons. Tents, blankets, medical supplies, cloth- ing. Educational gift boxes, 50,000 (donated by American Junior Red Cross). Mecaprine tablets, 2,000,000 (donated by Indian Red Cross). Dried fruit, 3,092 kg. (donated by Greek Red Cross). Clothing, food, medicine, etc. (donated by Japanese Red Cross). School chests, 75 (donated by American Junior Red Cross). Clothing and medical supplies (donated by British, Iranian, Norwegian, and Australian Red Cross). Used and new clothing (donated by Aus- tralian, Swedish, American, and Amer- ican Junior Red Cross). Educational gift boxes, 50,000 (donated by American Junior Red Cross). \$718 . . . . .	100,000 6,119 686 36,000 7,500 Do. Do. 292,100 100,000 718	5 teams made available by Red Cross until Jan. 1, 1952. Supplied direct to Korean Red Cross. Under shipment. Do. Arrived in Korean theater. Under shipment. Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Deposited.	
Private individuals.					



## UNITED NATIONS MILITARY PARTICIPATION IN KOREA BY COUNTRY AND SERVICE

### *Percentage of Total United Nations Force Contributed by the United States*

	<i>Percent<sup>1</sup></i>
Total U. S. force, all services . . . . .	64.19
Total other U. N. and R. O. K. <sup>2</sup> forces, all services . . . . .	35.81
Total U. N. force, all services . . . . .	100.00

### *Percentage of Contribution by Nation by Service (Combat)*

Country	Ground forces	Naval forces	Air forces
	<i>Percent<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>Percent<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>Percent<sup>1</sup></i>
Australia . . . . .	0.26	0.52	0.45
Belgium . . . . .	0.17	None	Transport <sup>3</sup>
Canada . . . . .	1.57	0.87	Do. <sup>3</sup>
Colombia . . . . .	0.25	0.20	None
Ethiopia . . . . .	0.31	None	Do.
France . . . . .	0.27	do.	Do.
Greece . . . . .	0.26	do.	Transport <sup>3</sup>
Luxembourg <sup>4</sup> . . . . .	Infantry unit	do.	None
Netherlands . . . . .	0.19	0.26	Do.
New Zealand . . . . .	0.33	0.28	Do.
Philippines . . . . .	0.43	None	Do.
Republic of Korea <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	40.10	7.45	5.65
Thailand . . . . .	0.38	0.31	Transport <sup>3 5</sup>
Turkey . . . . .	1.47	None	None
Union of South Africa . . . . .	None	do.	0.20
United Kingdom . . . . .	3.69	4.22	0.32
United States . . . . .	50.32	85.89	93.38
	100.00	100.00	100.00

<sup>1</sup> Percentages are current as of Dec. 31, 1951.

<sup>2</sup> Republic of Korea; not a member of the United Nations.

<sup>3</sup> Air transport not included in percentages.

<sup>4</sup> Integrated with Belgian unit.

<sup>5</sup> Withdrawn during month of December 1951.

## *The United Nations System*

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### THE UNITED NATIONS

#### *The General Assembly*

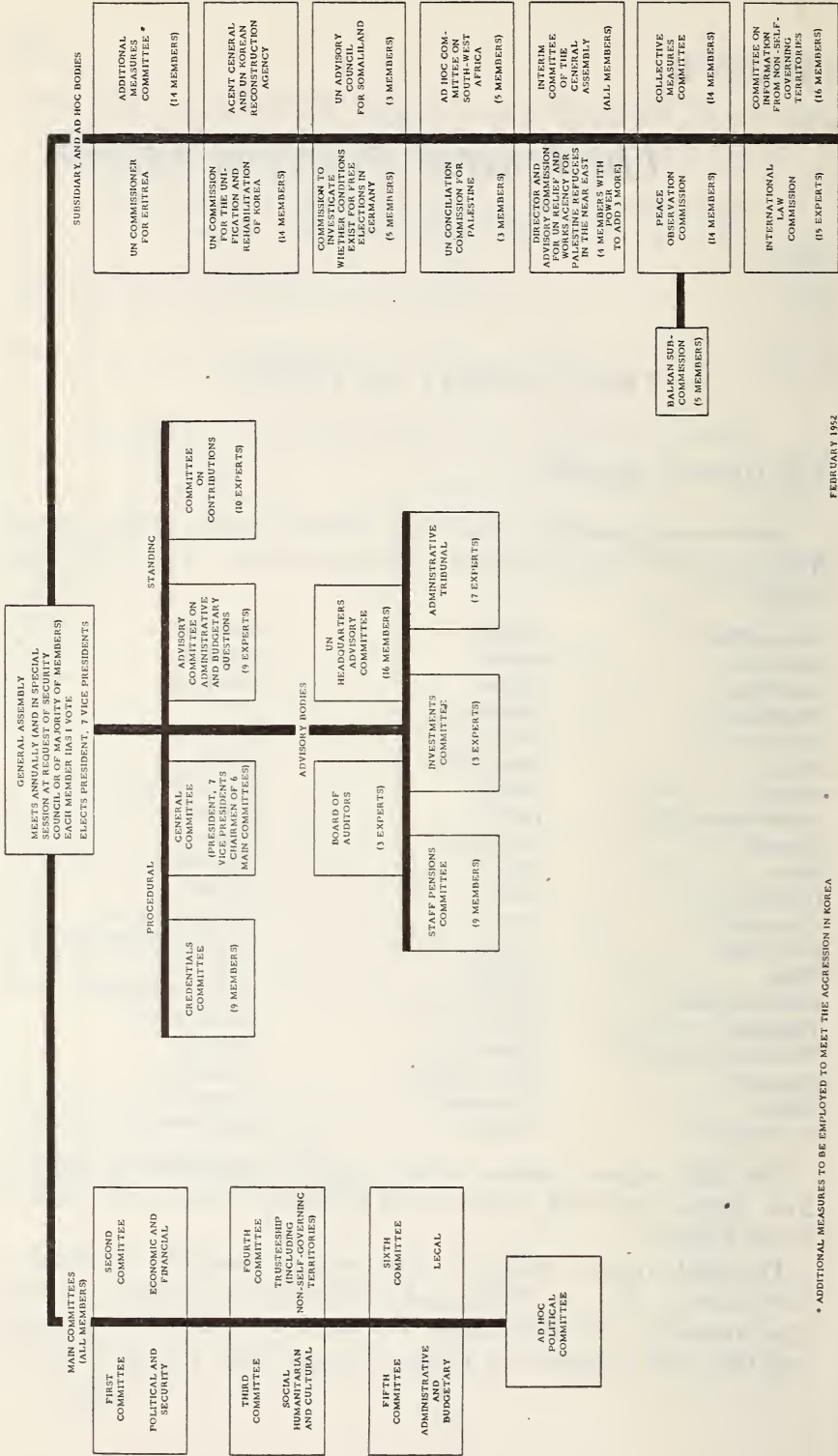
The General Assembly is the only principal organ of the United Nations on which all 60 members are represented. These are listed below.

Afghanistan	Ethiopia	Pakistan
Argentina	France	Panama
Australia	Greece	Paraguay
Belgium	Guatemala	Peru
Bolivia	Haiti	Philippines
Brazil	Honduras	Poland
Burma	Iceland	Saudi Arabia
Byelorussian S.S.R.	India	Sweden
Canada	Indonesia	Syria
Chile	Iran	Thailand
China	Iraq	Turkey
Colombia	Israel	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Costa Rica	Lebanon	Union of South Africa
Cuba	Liberia	U. S. S. R.
Czechoslovakia	Luxembourg	United Kingdom
Denmark	Mexico	United States
Dominican Republic	Netherlands	Uruguay
Ecuador	New Zealand	Venezuela
Egypt	Nicaragua	Yemen
El Salvador	Norway	Yugoslavia

The fifth regular session, which opened September 19, 1950, in New York, adjourned after a brief meeting, November 5, 1951, in Paris, France.

The sixth regular session of the General Assembly convened on November 6, 1951, in Paris, and adjourned on February 5, 1952. The Assembly elected Dr. Luis Padilla Nervo (Mexico) president and the chief delegates of China, France, Iraq, United Kingdom,

# THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND ITS COMMITTEES



\* ADDITIONAL MEASURES TO BE EMPLOYED TO MEET THE AGGRESSION IN KOREA



U.S.S.R., United States, and Yugoslavia as its seven vice presidents. The chairmen of the six main committees were, respectively, Finn Moe (Norway) Political and Security; Prince Wan Waithayakon (Thailand) Economic and Financial; Miss Ana Figueroa (Chile) Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural; Dr. Max Henriquez Ureña (Dominican Republic) Trusteeship; Thomas Archibald Stone (Canada) Administrative and Budgetary; and Manfred Lachs (Poland) Legal. Selim Sarper (Turkey) was elected chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee.

### *The Security Council*

The Security Council consists of 11 members of the United Nations, 5 of which—China, France, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States—have permanent status. The remaining 6 are elected for 2-year terms by the General Assembly, taking into account article 23 of the Charter to the effect that “due regard” shall be paid to the contribution of members to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the United Nations and to equitable geographic distribution. The nonpermanent members are not eligible for immediate reelection.

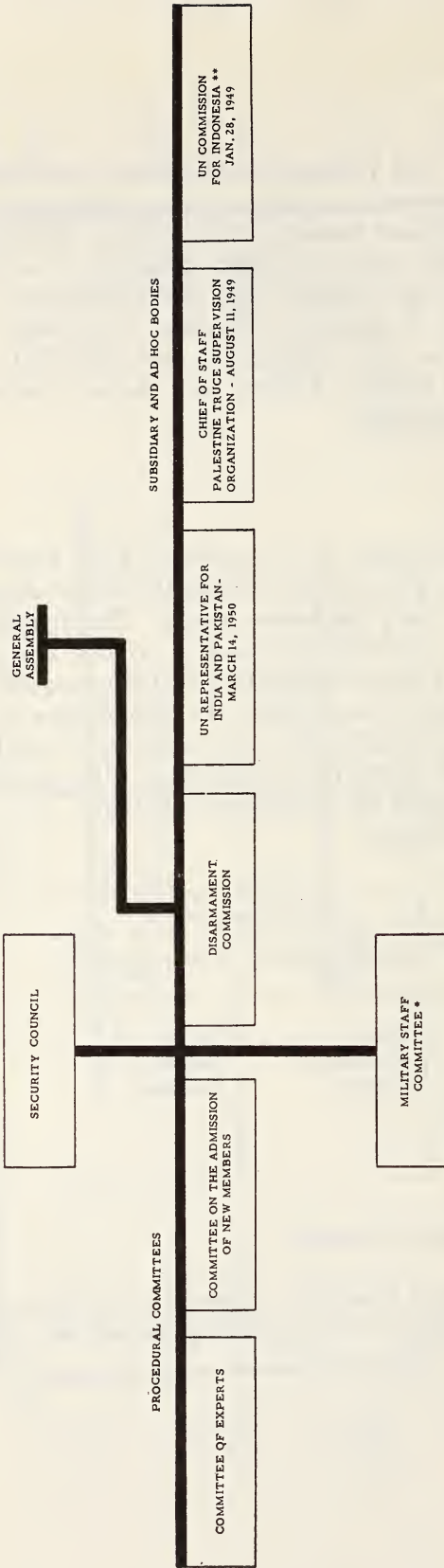
The membership is as follows:

Permanent members	Nonpermanent members	
	Term expires Dec. 31, 1952	Term expires Dec. 31, 1953
China France U.S.S.R. United Kingdom United States	Brazil Netherlands Turkey	Chile Greece Pakistan

### *The Economic and Social Council*

The Economic and Social Council is composed of 1 representative each from 18 member states, 6 countries being elected each year by

# STRUCTURE OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL



\* CHIEFS OF STAFF OF THE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

\*\* ADJOURNED SINE DIE

the General Assembly to serve for a period of 3 years. The Council is composed of the following :

Term expires Dec. 31, 1952	Term expires Dec. 31, 1953	Term expires Dec. 31, 1954
Canada	Philippines	Argentina
Czechoslovakia	Poland	Belgium
Iran	Sweden	China
Mexico	U.S.S.R.	Cuba
Pakistan	United Kingdom	Egypt
United States	Uruguay	France

As a rule two sessions, each lasting approximately 6 weeks, are held during a year. The twelfth session was held at Santiago, Chile, February 20, 1951, to March 21, 1951, and the thirteenth session was convened on July 31, 1951, at Geneva. Under a reorganization of its plan of work the Council recessed on September 21, 1951. A continuation of the thirteenth session was called in December 1951 in Paris to work out the agenda and plan of work for 1952. In view of the fact that the Assembly did not adjourn until February 5, 1952, it was decided that there should be convened only one session of the Council in 1952 and that the agenda of the regular two sessions should be combined. The representative from Chile, Ambassador Hernan Santa Cruz, was reelected president for the year 1951. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar (India) and Jiri Nosek (Czechoslovakia) were elected first and second vice presidents. However, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar did not attend the thirteenth session and Jiri Nosek took his place as first vice president; Gaston Eyskens (Belgium) was elected second vice president.

#### FUNCTIONAL COMMISSIONS

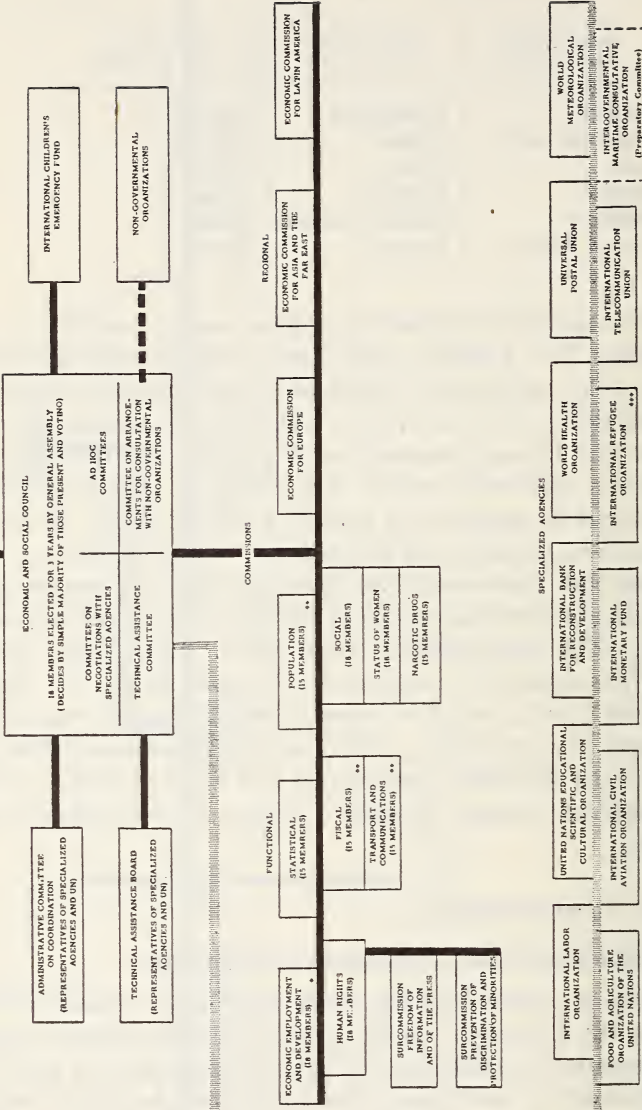
##### Economic, Employment and Development Commission

At its thirteenth session the Economic and Social Council decided to discontinue the Economic, Employment and Development Commission until December 31, 1954, and to have the functions of the Commission performed by the Council, its committees, regional commissions, or *ad hoc* bodies, as appropriate.



# STRUCTURE OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

GENERAL ASSEMBLY



DIRECTLY DEPENDENT ON ECOSOC.

RELATED BY AGREEMENT.

\* BY ECOSOC RESOLUTION 44XIII, DISCONTINUED UNTIL DECEMBER 31, 1954  
 \*\* BY ECOSOC RESOLUTION 44XIV, DISCONTINUED UNTIL DECEMBER 31, 1954  
 \*\*\* OPERATIONS TERMINATED JANUARY 31, 1954, PRESENTED IN STATE OF LIQUIDATION

CONVENTION CONCLUDED, ORGANIZATION TO BE ESTABLISHED WITHIN SUFFICIENT BALANCE OF CATIONS RECEIVED

**Fiscal Commission***1951 chairman: Dr. José M. Perez Cubillas, Cuba*

	Expiration date
Belgium . . . . .	December 31, 1951
Czechoslovakia . . . . .	December 31, 1951
New Zealand . . . . .	December 31, 1951
Pakistan . . . . .	December 31, 1951
United States . . . . .	December 31, 1951
Canada . . . . .	December 31, 1952
Cuba . . . . .	December 31, 1952
Poland . . . . .	December 31, 1952
U.S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1952
Venezuela . . . . .	December 31, 1952
China . . . . .	December 31, 1953
France . . . . .	December 31, 1953
India . . . . .	December 31, 1953
Union of South Africa . . . . .	December 31, 1953
United Kingdom . . . . .	December 31, 1953

The following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate members for the period January 1, 1952, through December 31, 1954:

Colombia	Sweden
Czechoslovakia	United States
Pakistan	

**Transport and Communications Commission***1951 chairman: Jan Oyevaar, Netherlands*

	Expiration date
India . . . . .	December 31, 1951
Netherlands . . . . .	December 31, 1951
Poland . . . . .	December 31, 1951
United Kingdom . . . . .	December 31, 1951
Venezuela . . . . .	December 31, 1951
Chile . . . . .	December 31, 1952
China . . . . .	December 31, 1952
France . . . . .	December 31, 1952
Norway . . . . .	December 31, 1952
Pakistan . . . . .	December 31, 1952
Brazil . . . . .	December 31, 1953
Byelorussian S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1953
Egypt . . . . .	December 31, 1953
U.S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1953
United States . . . . .	December 31, 1953

The following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate members for the period January 1, 1952, through December 31, 1954:

India	Poland
Netherlands	United Kingdom
Paraguay	

### Statistical Commission

*1951 chairman: Harry Campion, United Kingdom*

	Expiration date
China . . . . .	December 31, 1951
Netherlands . . . . .	December 31, 1951
Philippines . . . . .	December 31, 1951
U.S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1951
United States . . . . .	December 31, 1951
Argentina . . . . .	December 31, 1952
Canada . . . . .	December 31, 1952
Czechoslovakia . . . . .	December 31, 1952
India . . . . .	December 31, 1952
Ukrainian S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1952
Denmark . . . . .	December 31, 1953
Egypt . . . . .	December 31, 1953
France . . . . .	December 31, 1953
Panama . . . . .	December 31, 1953
United Kingdom . . . . .	December 31, 1953

The following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate members for the period January 1, 1952, through December 31, 1954:

Australia	U.S.S.R.
China	United States
Netherlands	

### Population Commission

*1951 chairman: Alfred Sauvy, France*

	Expiration date
U.S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1951
United Kingdom . . . . .	December 31, 1951
United States . . . . .	December 31, 1951
China . . . . .	December 31, 1952
France . . . . .	December 31, 1952
Sweden . . . . .	December 31, 1952
Syria . . . . .	December 31, 1952
Ukrainian S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1952
Australia . . . . .	December 31, 1953
Belgium . . . . .	December 31, 1953
Brazil . . . . .	December 31, 1953
Peru . . . . .	December 31, 1953
Yugoslavia . . . . .	December 31, 1953

The following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate members for the period January 1, 1952, through December 31, 1954:

Indonesia	United Kingdom
Mexico	United States
U.S.S.R.	



## Social Commission

*1951 chairman: L. Van Schalkwijk, Union of South Africa*

	Expiration date
France . . . . .	December 31, 1951
India . . . . .	December 31, 1951
Turkey . . . . .	December 31, 1951
Union of South Africa . . . . .	December 31, 1951
U.S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1951
United States . . . . .	December 31, 1951
Australia . . . . .	December 31, 1952
Bolivia . . . . .	December 31, 1952
Brazil . . . . .	December 31, 1952
New Zealand . . . . .	December 31, 1952
United Kingdom . . . . .	December 31, 1952
Yugoslavia . . . . .	December 31, 1952
Belgium . . . . .	December 31, 1953
Byelorussian S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1953
Canada . . . . .	December 31, 1953
China . . . . .	December 31, 1953
Ecuador . . . . .	December 31, 1953
Israel . . . . .	December 31, 1953

The following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate members for the period January 1, 1952, through December 31, 1954:

France	Philippines
Greece	U.S.S.R.
India	United States

Commission on Narcotic Drugs<sup>1</sup>

*1951 chairman: A. N. Sattanathan, India*

Canada	Iran	Turkey
China	Mexico	U.S.S.R.
Egypt	Netherlands	United Kingdom
France	Peru	United States
India	Poland	Yugoslavia

<sup>1</sup> Canada, China, France, India, Peru, Turkey, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, and Yugoslavia were reelected in August 1949 by the Economic and Social Council for an indefinite period "until such time as they might be replaced by decision of the Council." The other five states were elected for a period of 3 years.

## Commission on Human Rights

*1951 chairman: Charles Malik, Lebanon*

	Expiration date
China . . . . .	December 31, 1951
Denmark . . . . .	December 31, 1951
Guatemala . . . . .	December 31, 1951
Lebanon . . . . .	December 31, 1951
United Kingdom . . . . .	December 31, 1951
Uruguay . . . . .	December 31, 1951
Egypt . . . . .	December 31, 1952
France . . . . .	December 31, 1952
Greece . . . . .	December 31, 1952
India . . . . .	December 31, 1952
Ukrainian S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1952
U.S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1952
Australia . . . . .	December 31, 1953
Chile . . . . .	December 31, 1953
Pakistan . . . . .	December 31, 1953
Sweden . . . . .	December 31, 1953
United States . . . . .	December 31, 1953
Yugoslavia . . . . .	December 31, 1953

The following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate members for the period January 1, 1952, through December 31, 1954:

Belgium	Poland
China	United Kingdom
Lebanon	Uruguay

## Commission on the Status of Women

*1951 chairman: Mme. Marie-Hélène Lefaucheur, France*

	Expiration date
Australia . . . . .	December 31, 1951
China . . . . .	December 31, 1951
Greece . . . . .	December 31, 1951
Haiti . . . . .	December 31, 1951
India . . . . .	December 31, 1951
Brazil . . . . .	December 31, 1952
Lebanon . . . . .	December 31, 1952
Mexico . . . . .	December 31, 1952
U.S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1952
United Kingdom . . . . .	December 31, 1952
United States . . . . .	December 31, 1952

	Expiration date
Cuba . . . . .	December 31, 1953
Dominican Republic . . . . .	December 31, 1953
France . . . . .	December 31, 1953
Netherlands . . . . .	December 31, 1953
New Zealand . . . . .	December 31, 1953
Poland . . . . .	December 31, 1953

The following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate members for the period January 1, 1952, through December 31, 1954:

Burma	China
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Iran
Chile	Pakistan

## REGIONAL COMMISSIONS

### Economic Commission for Europe

*Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland*

*1951 chairman: Mrs. Karin Kock, Sweden*

Belgium	Iceland	Turkey
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Luxembourg	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Czechoslovakia	Netherlands	U.S.S.R.
Denmark	Norway	United Kingdom
France	Poland	United States
Greece	Sweden	Yugoslavia

The Commission held its sixth session at Geneva May 29, 1951, to June 13, 1951.

### Economic Commission for Latin America

*Headquarters: Santiago, Chile*

*1951 chairman: Martinez Baez, Mexico*

Argentina	Ecuador	Nicaragua
Bolivia	El Salvador	Panama
Brazil	France	Paraguay
Chile	Guatemala	Peru
Colombia	Haiti	United Kingdom
Costa Rica	Honduras	United States
Cuba	Mexico	Uruguay
Dominican Republic	Netherlands	Venezuela

The Commission held its fourth session in Mexico City May 28, 1951, to June 16, 1951.



Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East

Headquarters: Bangkok, Thailand

1951 chairman: Balmaceda, Philippines

Australia	Indonesia	Thailand
Burma	Netherlands	U.S.S.R.
China	New Zealand	United Kingdom
France	Pakistan	United States
India	Philippines	

Associate members are :

Brunei and Sarawak	Laos	Nepal
Cambodia	Malaya and British	Republic of Korea
Ceylon	Borneo	Vietnam
Hong Kong		

The Commission held its seventh session at Lahore, Pakistan, February 28, 1951, to March 7, 1951.

UNITED NATIONS INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S EMERGENCY FUND

Resolution 417(V) constituted the Executive Board of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) as from January 1, 1951, to consist of the governments of the 18 states represented on the Social Commission and the governments of 8 states, not necessarily members of the United Nations, to be designated by the Economic and Social Council for appropriate terms, with due regard to geographical distribution and to the representation of the major contributing and recipient countries.

There were 3 meetings of the 26-government Executive Board of UNICEF held in 1951. The meetings of the Board from February 9 to 13, inclusive, and from May 22 to 24, inclusive, were held at Lake Success. The meeting from November 8 to 12 was held in Paris.

The present membership is as follows:

1951 chairman: Mrs. D. B. Sinclair, Canada

	Expiration date
Australia . . . . .	December 31, 1952
Belgium . . . . .	December 31, 1953

	Expiration date
Bolivia . . . . .	December 31, 1952
Brazil . . . . .	December 31, 1952
Byelorussian S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1953
Canada . . . . .	December 31, 1953
Ceylon . . . . .	December 31, 1952
China . . . . .	December 31, 1953
Dominican Republic . . . . .	December 31, 1951
Ecuador . . . . .	December 31, 1953
France . . . . .	December 31, 1954
India . . . . .	December 31, 1954
Indonesia . . . . .	December 31, 1952
Iraq . . . . .	December 31, 1952
Israel . . . . .	December 31, 1953
Italy . . . . .	December 31, 1953
New Zealand . . . . .	December 31, 1952
Switzerland . . . . .	December 31, 1953
Thailand . . . . .	December 31, 1954
Turkey . . . . .	December 31, 1951
Union of South Africa . . . . .	December 31, 1951
U.S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1954
United Kingdom . . . . .	December 31, 1952
United States . . . . .	December 31, 1954
Uruguay . . . . .	December 31, 1953
Yugoslavia . . . . .	December 31, 1952

### *The United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency*

The United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency was established by a resolution of the General Assembly on December 1, 1950. Its purpose is to assist the Korean people to relieve the suffering and repair the devastation caused by aggression and to lay the necessary economic foundations for the political unification and independence of the country. An initial target budget of \$250,000,000 has been approved. An Advisory Committee of five states, United Kingdom, Canada, Uruguay, India, and the United States, was appointed by the General Assembly to advise the Agent General of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency with regard to major financial, procurement, distribution, and other problems pertaining to planning and operations. The first meeting of the Advisory Committee convened in New York in February 1951.

### *The Trusteeship Council*

The Trusteeship Council consists of all United Nations members administering trust territories, the permanent members of the Security Council not administering trust territories, and as many other elected United Nations members not administering trust territories as are required to insure that the total number of members of the Council is equally divided between nations which administer trust territories and those which do not. There are 12 members of the Council. The elected members serve for a term of 3 years. At the sixth session of the General Assembly El Salvador was elected to hold office until December 31, 1952, to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Argentina.

#### Members Administering Trust Territories

Australia	France	United Kingdom
Belgium	New Zealand	United States

#### Permanent Members of Security Council Not Administering Trust Territories

China	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
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#### Members Elected for 3-Year Terms by the General Assembly

Dominican Republic (1953)	Iraq (1952)
El Salvador (1952)	Thailand (1953)

### *The International Court of Justice*

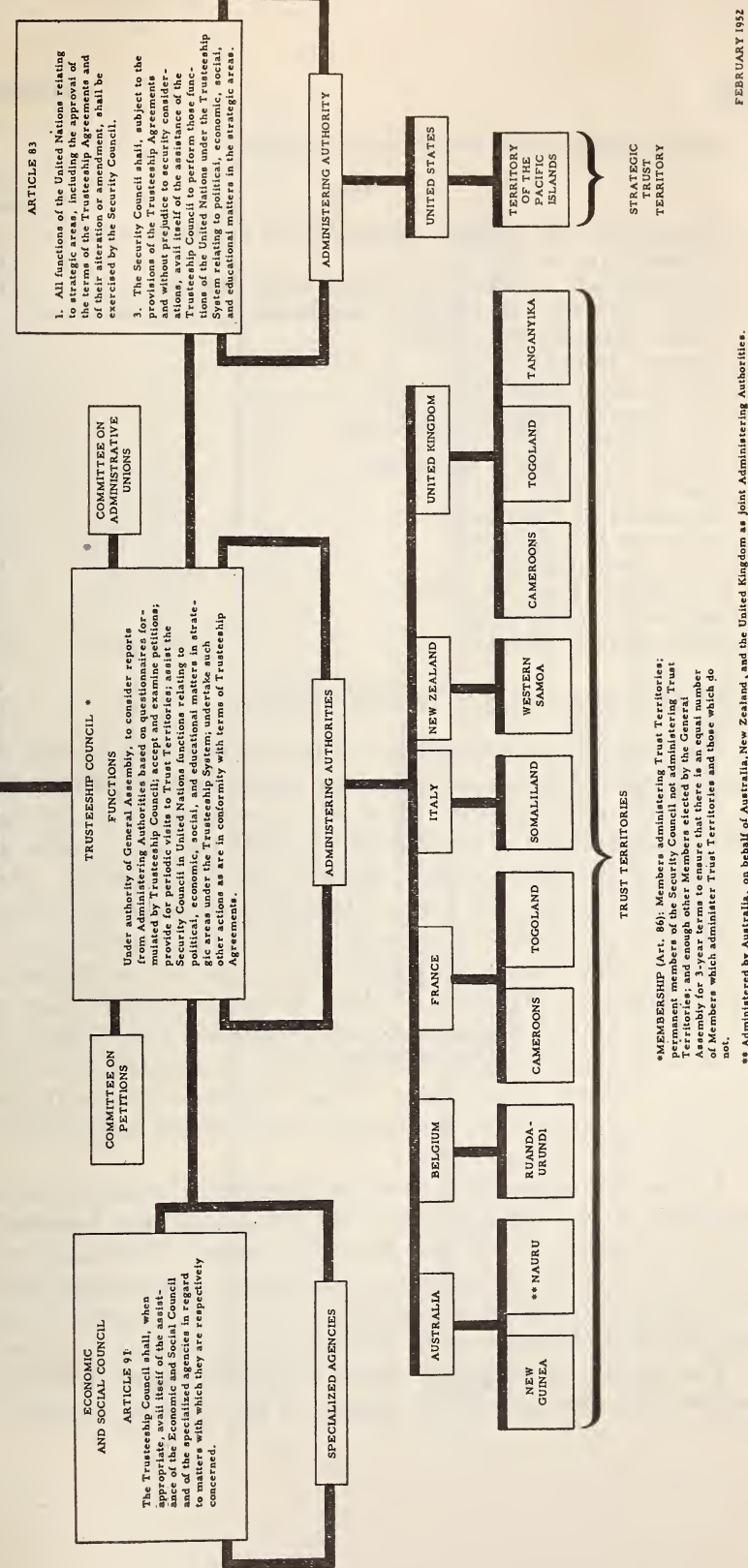
The International Court of Justice consists of 15 members elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council, voting independently. The members are elected for 9-year terms. However, at the completion of the first election five members were chosen for 3-year terms and five for 6-year terms, as determined by lot drawn by the Secretary-General. At the sixth session of the General Assembly four new judges were elected, one to fill a vacancy created by the death of José P. de Barros e Azevedo (Brazilian) and three replacements for judges whose terms expired in February 1952; two judges were reelected, Green H. Hackworth (U.S.) and Helge Klaestad (Norwegian).



# STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM

SECURITY COUNCIL

GENERAL ASSEMBLY



\*MEMBERSHIP (Art. 86). Members administering Trust Territories: permanent members of the Security Council not administering Trust Territories; and enough other Members elected by the General Assembly for 3-year terms to ensure that there is an equal number of Members which administer Trust Territories and those which do not.

\*\* Administered by Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom as Joint Administering Authorities.

FEBRUARY 1952

The members of the Court are as follows:

Judges	Term expires
Sir Arnold McNair, president (British; elected for 3-year period beginning May 6, 1952) . . . . .	1955
Jules Basdevant, president (French; term ended May 5, 1952) . . . . .	1955
José G. Guerrero, vice president (Salvadoran; reelected for 3-year period beginning May 6, 1952) . . . . .	1955
Alejandro Alvarez (Chilean) . . . . .	1955
Abdel H. Badawi Pasha (Egyptian) . . . . .	1958
L. F. Carneiro (Brazilian) . . . . .	1955
S. A. Golunsky (Soviet) . . . . .	1961
Green H. Hackworth (United States) . . . . .	1961
Hsu Mo (Chinese) . . . . .	1958
Helge Klaestad (Norwegian) . . . . .	1961
Sir Benegal Rau (Indian) . . . . .	1961
John E. Read (Canadian) . . . . .	1958
E. C. Armand Ugón (Uruguayan) . . . . .	1961
Bohdan Winiarski (Polish) . . . . .	1958
Milovan Zoricic (Yugoslav) . . . . .	1958

### *The Secretariat of the United Nations*

The Secretariat under article 7 of the Charter is a principal organ of the United Nations. It is headed by the Secretary-General, who is the chief administrative officer of the organization. During the fifth regular session of the General Assembly the term of office of the incumbent Secretary-General, Trygve Lie (Norwegian), was extended for a period of 3 years. He and his staff provide secretariat services for the other principal organs, except the International Court of Justice, which has its own administrative body at The Hague known as the Registry. Nationals of about 62 countries, 54 of them members of the United Nations, are employed in the Secretariat. There were, as of August 31, 1951, 4,368 employees on the staff, 3,402 serving in New York and 966 in other offices. The functions of the Secretary-General and of the Secretariat are described in general terms in chapter XV of the Charter.

Among the important tasks of the Secretariat is that of servicing meetings of the other principal organs (except the International Court of Justice) and of their subsidiary bodies. This includes provision of physical arrangements, translating, interpreting, preparation of minutes and documentation, publication of official records, and advising chairmen on precedents and parliamentary procedure.

The Secretariat frequently serves as executive agent for the other organs; for example, at the request of the General Assembly, the





Secretary-General appointed the members of the *Ad Hoc* Commission on Prisoners of War pursuant to Assembly resolution 427(V). Again, under Assembly resolution 503(VI), the Secretary-General is requested to appoint the members of the panel of military experts provided for in the uniting-for-peace resolution. The Secretariat provides services and expert staff for the field missions, such as those in Korea and India-Pakistan, and the Trusteeship Council's missions to trust territories. Likewise, the Secretariat prepares studies and background material to facilitate the work of the several organs and their subsidiary bodies.

A third responsibility of the Secretariat is the development of arrangements with specialized agencies for the coordination of programs and administrative and financial practices. Finally, the Secretariat is responsible for supplying information to the world on the purposes and daily activities of the United Nations.

## ORGANIZATION

The Secretary-General has under his direction eight departments, in addition to his own executive office, an office to direct the technical assistance program, and numerous centers of operation in the field. The main offices at headquarters and their top officials are as follows:

### Executive Office of the Secretary-General

Andrew Cordier (U.S.), Executive Assistant to the Secretary-General  
 W. Martin Hill (British), Director of Coordination for Specialized Agencies and Economic and Social Matters

### Department of Security Council Affairs

Konstantin Zinchenko (Soviet), Assistant Secretary-General  
 D. Protitch (Yugoslav), Top Ranking Director

### Department of Economic Affairs

David Owen (British), Assistant Secretary-General

### Department of Social Affairs

Guillaume Georges-Picot (French), Assistant Secretary-General  
 Hussein Mohamed Asfahany (Egyptian), Principal Director

### Department of Trusteeship and Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories

Victor Hoo (Chinese), Assistant Secretary-General  
 Ralph J. Bunche (U.S.), Top Ranking Director  
 Wilfred Benson (British), Director in Charge of the Division of Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories

**Department of Public Information**

Benjamin Cohen (Chilean), Assistant Secretary-General  
Tor Gjesdal (Norwegian), Top Ranking Director

**Legal Department**

Ivan Kerno (Czechoslovak), Assistant Secretary-General  
A. H. Feller (U.S.), Top Ranking Director

**Conference and General Services Department**

Shamaldharee Lall (Indian), Assistant Secretary-General  
David Vaughan (U.S.), Top Ranking Director

**Department of Administrative and Financial Services**

Byron Price (U.S.), Assistant Secretary-General  
Hans Andersen (Danish), Top Ranking Director of Finance  
Georges Palthey (French), Top Ranking Director of Personnel

**Technical Assistance Administration**

Hugh L. Keenleyside (Canadian), Director General  
G. Martinez-Cabanas (Mexican), Deputy Director General

In addition to the New York headquarters, there is a European headquarters at Geneva, directed by Wlodimierz Moderow (Polish). This is also the headquarters for the Economic Commission for Europe, headed by Gunnar Myrdal (Swedish) and the offices of the High Commissioner for Refugees, of which G. van Heuven Goedhart (Dutch) is the chief. The Secretary-General has also set up small field offices to service the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE), the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), and the 18 information centers required by the Department of Public Information to carry out its responsibility for insuring that peoples in all parts of the world receive full information about the United Nations.

**ADVISORY COMMITTEES**

The General Assembly exercises control over and gives direction to the administrative processes and financial administration of the Secretariat through its Administrative and Budgetary Committee. In addition, it has created numerous expert bodies, the members of which serve on a continuing basis, to assist the Assembly and the Secretary-General in properly discharging their administrative and financial responsibilities. These include the following:

*The Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions*, composed of nine members, examines the budget of the United Nations and specialized agencies and assists the Administrative and Budgetary Committee of the General Assembly. The nine members are Thanassis Aghnides (Greek), André Ganem (French), William O. Hall (U.S.), R. Asha (Syrian), I. V. Chechyotkin (Soviet), Olyntho P. Machado (Brazilian), Sir William Matthews (British), Braj Kumar Nehru (Indian), and Eduardo Carrizosa (Colombian).

*The Committee on Contributions* consists of 9 members who advise the General Assembly concerning the apportionment of expenses of the United Nations among members. The members are René Charron (French), Arthur Samuel Lall (Indian), Stuart Arthur Rice (U.S.), Josue Saenz (Mexican), Georgi F. Saksin (Soviet), Sir Sydney Caine (British), Kan Lee (Chinese), Mitchell W. Sharp (Canadian) and M. Z. N. Witteveen (Dutch).

*The Administrative Tribunal*, composed of seven members, hears and passes judgment upon applications alleging nonobservance of contracts of employment or terms of appointment of staff members of the Secretariat of the United Nations. The seven members, only three of whom sit in a particular case, are Mme. Paul Bastid (French), Lord Crook (British), Lt. Gen. His Highness Maharaja Jam Shri Digvijayasinhji Sahib (Indian), Vladimir Outrata (Czechoslovak), Hamed Sultan (Egyptian), Bror Arvid Sture Petren (Swedish), and Homero Viteri-Lafronte (Ecuadoran).

*The Board of Auditors* audits the accounts of the United Nations, the International Court of Justice, and such specialized agencies as may request its services. It is composed of three members serving for 3 years, as follows: Auditor-General of Canada, Auditor-General of Colombia, and Auditor-General of Denmark.

*The Investments Committee* advises the Secretary-General concerning the investment of the assets of the Pension Fund and such other funds on the investment of which the Secretary-General may seek advice. It is composed of Ivar Rooth (Swedish), Leslie R. Rounds (U.S.), and Jacques Rueff (French).

*The Staff Pension Committee* represents the United Nations on the Joint Staff Pension Board and administers, in respect of United Nations employees, the powers delegated by the Board relating to admission of participants and granting of benefits. It is composed of three members elected by the General Assembly, three members appointed by the Secretary-General, and three elected by the participants. The members elected by the General Assembly are



R. T. Cristobal (Philippine), E. de Holte Castello (Colombian), and N. I. Klimov (Soviet). The alternates elected by the General Assembly are Keith Brennan (Australian), Warren B. Irons (U.S.), and P. Ordonneau (French).

## THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

### *International Labor Organization*

*Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland*

*Director General: David A. Morse, United States*

Afghanistan	El Salvador	Netherlands
Albania	Ethiopia	New Zealand
Argentina	Finland	Norway
Australia	France	Pakistan
Austria	Germany	Panama
Belgium	Greece	Peru
Bolivia	Guatemala	Philippines
Brazil	Haiti	Poland
Bulgaria	Hungary	Portugal
Burma	Iceland	Sweden
Canada	India	Switzerland
Ceylon	Indonesia	Syria
Chile	Iran	Thailand
China	Iraq	Turkey
Colombia	Ireland	Union of South Africa
Costa Rica	Israel	United Kingdom
Cuba	Italy	United States
Czechoslovakia	Japan	Uruguay
Denmark	Lebanon	Venezuela
Dominican Republic	Liberia	Vietnam
Ecuador	Luxembourg	Yugoslavia
Egypt	Mexico	

### *Food and Agriculture Organization*

*Headquarters: Rome, Italy*

*Director General: Norris E. Dodd, United States*

*Deputy Director General: Sir Herbert Broadley, O.B.E., United Kingdom*

Afghanistan	Burma	Costa Rica
Argentina	Cambodia	Cuba
Australia	Canada	Denmark
Austria	Ceylon	Dominican Republic
Belgium	Chile	Ecuador
Bolivia	China <sup>1</sup>	Egypt
Brazil	Colombia	El Salvador

<sup>1</sup> Withdrawal effective July 1952.

Ethiopia	Jordan	Portugal
Finland	Korea	Saudi Arabia
France	Laos	Spain
Germany	Lebanon	Sweden
Greece	Liberia	Switzerland
Guatemala	Luxembourg	Syria
Haiti	Mexico	Thailand
Honduras	Nepal	Turkey
Hungary	Netherlands	Union of South Africa
Iceland	New Zealand	United Kingdom
India	Nicaragua	United States
Indonesia	Norway	Uruguay
Iraq	Pakistan	Venezuela
Ireland	Panama	Vietnam
Israel	Paraguay	Yugoslavia
Italy	Peru	
Japan	Philippines	

### *International Bank for Reconstruction and Development*

*Headquarters: Washington, D.C.*

*President: Eugene R. Black, United States*

*Vice President: Robert L. Garner, United States*

The membership is the same as the member states of the International Monetary Fund, below, to which a state is required to belong before it can join the Bank.

### *International Monetary Fund*

*Headquarters: Washington, D.C.*

*Chairman of the Executive Board and Managing Director: Ivar Rooth, Sweden*

Australia	El Salvador	Norway
Austria	Ethiopia	Pakistan
Belgium	Finland	Panama
Bolivia	France	Paraguay
Brazil	Greece	Peru
Canada	Guatemala	Philippines
Ceylon	Honduras	Sweden
Chile	Iceland	Syria
China	India	Thailand
Colombia	Iran	Turkey
Costa Rica	Iraq	Union of South Africa
Cuba	Italy	United Kingdom
Czechoslovakia	Lebanon	United States
Denmark	Luxembourg	Uruguay
Dominican Republic	Mexico	Venezuela
Ecuador	Netherlands	Yugoslavia
Egypt	Nicaragua	

*International Civil Aviation Organization**Headquarters: Montreal, Canada**Secretary General: Carl Ljungberg, Sweden*

Afghanistan	Finland	New Zealand
Argentina	France	Nicaragua
Australia	Greece	Norway
Austria	Guatemala	Pakistan
Belgium	Haiti	Paraguay
Bolivia	Iceland	Peru
Brazil	India	Philippines
Burma	Indonesia	Poland
Canada	Iran	Portugal
Ceylon	Iraq	Spain
Chile	Ireland	Sweden
Colombia	Israel	Switzerland
Cuba	Italy	Syria
Czechoslovakia	Jordan	Thailand
Denmark	Lebanon	Turkey
Dominican Republic	Liberia	Union of South Africa
Egypt	Luxembourg	United Kingdom
El Salvador	Mexico	United States
Ethiopia	Netherlands	Venezuela

*United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization**Headquarters: Paris, France**Director General: Jaime Torres Bodet, Mexico**Deputy Director General: Dr. John W. Taylor, United States*

Afghanistan	Dominican Republic	Japan
Argentina	Ecuador	Jordan
Australia	Egypt	Korea, Republic of
Austria	El Salvador	Laos
Belgium	France	Lebanon
Bolivia	Germany	Liberia
Brazil	Greece	Luxembourg
Burma	Guatemala	Mexico
Cambodia	Haiti	Monaco
Canada	Honduras	Netherlands
Ceylon	Hungary	New Zealand
China	India	Norway
Colombia	Indonesia	Pakistan
Costa Rica	Iran	Panama
Cuba	Iraq	Peru
Czechoslovakia	Israel	Philippines
Denmark	Italy	Poland



Saudi Arabia	Turkey	Venezuela
Sweden	Union of South Africa	Vietnam
Switzerland	United Kingdom	Yugoslavia
Syria	United States	
Thailand	Uruguay	

## *World Health Organization*

*Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland*

*Director General: Dr. Brock Chisholm, Canada*

Afghanistan	Greece	Pakistan
Albania <sup>2</sup>	Guatemala <sup>1</sup>	Panama
Argentina <sup>1</sup>	Haiti <sup>1</sup>	Paraguay <sup>1</sup>
Australia	Honduras <sup>1</sup>	Peru <sup>1</sup>
Austria	Hungary <sup>2</sup>	Philippines
Belgium	Iceland	Poland <sup>2</sup>
Bolivia <sup>1</sup>	India	Portugal
Brazil <sup>1</sup>	Indonesia	Rumania <sup>2</sup>
Bulgaria <sup>2</sup>	Iran	Saudi Arabia
Burma	Iraq	Southern Rhodesia <sup>3</sup>
Byelorussian S.S.R. <sup>2</sup>	Ireland	Spain
Cambodia	Israel	Sweden
Canada	Italy	Switzerland
Ceylon	Japan	Syria
Chile <sup>1</sup>	Jordan	Thailand
China <sup>2</sup>	Korea	Tunisia <sup>3</sup>
Costa Rica <sup>1</sup>	Laos	Turkey
Cuba <sup>1</sup>	Lebanon	Ukrainian S.S.R. <sup>2</sup>
Czechoslovakia <sup>2</sup>	Liberia	Union of South Africa
Denmark	Libya	U.S.S.R. <sup>2</sup>
Dominican Republic <sup>1</sup>	Luxembourg	United Kingdom
Ecuador <sup>1</sup>	Mexico <sup>1</sup>	United States <sup>1</sup>
Egypt	Monaco	Uruguay <sup>1</sup>
El Salvador <sup>1</sup>	Morocco <sup>3</sup>	Venezuela <sup>1</sup>
Ethiopia	Netherlands	Vietnam
Finland	New Zealand	Yugoslavia
France	Nicaragua <sup>1</sup>	
Germany	Norway	

<sup>1</sup> Members of Pan American Sanitary Organization.

<sup>2</sup> States no longer considering themselves members.

<sup>3</sup> Associate member.

*Universal Postal Union**Headquarters: Bern, Switzerland**Secretary General: Fritz Hess, Switzerland*

Afghanistan	Honduras	Rumania
Albania	Hungary	San Marino
Algeria	Iceland	Saudi Arabia
Argentina	India	Spain
Australia	Indochina	Spanish Colonies
Austria	Indonesia	Spanish Morocco
Belgian Congo	Iran	Sweden
Belgium	Iraq	Switzerland
Bolivia	Ireland	Syria
Brazil	Israel	Thailand
Bulgaria	Italy	Tunisia
Burma	Japan	Turkey
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Jordan	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Cambodia	Korea	Union of South Africa
Canada	Laos	U.S.S.R.
Ceylon	Lebanon	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
Chile	Liberia	The whole of the British overseas ter- ritories, including the colonies, protector- ates, and territories under trusteeship
China	Luxembourg	United States of America
Colombia	Mexico	The whole of the pos- sessions of the United States
Costa Rica	Netherlands	Uruguay
Cuba	Antilles and Surinam	Vatican City
Czechoslovakia	New Zealand	Venezuela
Denmark	Nicaragua	Vietnam
Dominican Republic	Norway	Yemen
Ecuador	Pakistan	Yugoslavia
Egypt	Panama	
El Salvador	Paraguay	
Ethiopia	Peru	
Finland	Philippines	
France	Poland	
French Morocco	Portugal	
French Overseas Terri- tories	The Portuguese terri- tories of West Africa, the Portuguese terri- tories of East Africa, Asia, and Oceania	
Greece		
Guatemala		
Haiti		

*International Telecommunication Union**Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland**Secretary General: Leon Mulatier, France*

Afghanistan	Greece	Poland
Albania	Guatemala	Portugal
Argentina	Haiti	Portuguese territories
Australia	Honduras	Rumania
Austria	Hungary	Saudi Arabia
Belgian Congo and Territory of Ruanda-Urundi	Iceland	Southern Rhodesia
Belgium	India	Spain
Bolivia	Indonesia	Spanish zone of Morocco and the totality of Spanish possessions
Brazil	Iran	Sweden
Bulgaria	Iraq	Switzerland
Burma	Ireland	Syria
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Israel	Territories of France
Cambodia	Italy	Territories of United Kingdom
Canada	Japan	Territories of United States
Ceylon	Jordan	Thailand
Chile	Korea	Turkey
China	Laos	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Colombia	Lebanon	Union of South Africa and Territory of South-West Africa
Costa Rica	Liberia	U. S. S. R.
Cuba	Luxembourg	United Kingdom
Czechoslovakia	Mexico	United States
Denmark	Monaco	Uruguay
Dominican Republic	Netherlands	Vatican City
Ecuador	Curacao and Surinam	Venezuela
Egypt	New Guinea	Vietnam
El Salvador	New Zealand	Yemen
Ethiopia	Nicaragua	Yugoslavia
Finland	Norway	
France	Pakistan	
French Protectorates of Morocco and Tunisia	Panama	
Germany	Paraguay	
	Peru	
	Philippines	

*World Meteorological Organization**Headquarters: Lusanne, Switzerland**Chief of Secretariat: G. Swoboda, Switzerland*

Argentina	Belgian Congo	Bermuda
Australia	Belgium	Brazil



British Central African Territories	French Togoland	Pakistan
British East African Territories	French West Africa	Paraguay
British Malaya/Borneo Territories	Greece	Peru
British West African Territories	Guatemala	Philippines
Bulgaria	Haiti	Poland
Burma	Hong Kong	Portugal
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Hungary	Portuguese East Africa
Canada	Iceland	Portuguese West Africa
Ceylon	India	Rumania
China	Indochina	Spain
Cuba	Indonesia	Surinam
Czechoslovakia	Iraq	Sweden
Denmark	Ireland	Switzerland
Dominican Republic	Israel	Thailand
Ecuador	Italy	Tunisia
Egypt	Lebanon	Turkey
Finland	Madagascar	Ukrainian S.S.R.
France	Mexico	Union of South Africa
French Cameroons	Morocco, French Protectorate	U.S.S.R.
French Equatorial Africa	Netherlands	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
French Oceania	Netherlands Antilles	
French Somaliland	New Caledonia	United States of America
	New Guinea	Uruguay
	New Zealand	Venezuela
	Norway	Yugoslavia

*Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization:  
Preparatory Committee (Formative)<sup>1</sup>*

*Headquarters: Transport and Communications Division, United Nations Secretariat, New York, N.Y.*

The Preparatory Committee is made up of:

Argentina	France	Norway
Australia	Greece	Sweden
Belgium	India	United Kingdom
Canada	Netherlands	United States

<sup>1</sup> Imco will come into being when 21 states have ratified the Imco convention. Ten ratifications have been received to date at United Nations headquarters from Australia, Belgium, Burma, Canada, France, Greece, Ireland, Netherlands, United Kingdom, and the United States.

## *United States Representation in the United Nations System*

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### MISSIONS

#### *Mission at the Headquarters of the United Nations*

The United States is represented by a permanent mission at the headquarters of the United Nations in New York. Under the direction of the representative of the United States to the United Nations, the mission carries out the instructions of the President, as transmitted by the Secretary of State, in United Nations bodies at the headquarters of the United Nations. It also serves as the channel of communication between the Department of State and the United Nations organs, agencies, and commissions at the headquarters and the delegations of other nations to the United Nations located in New York. It is a base of operations for the United States delegation to the General Assembly when the Assembly meets in New York.

The structure, organization, and functions of the United States mission to the United Nations have been determined in the main by the following factors:

1. The requirements of the United Nations Charter and the resolutions of the organs of the United Nations, the General Assembly in particular.
2. The provisions of the United Nations Participation Act as amended by Public Law 341 of the Eighty-first Congress.
3. Executive Order 10108, which superseded Executive Order 9844.
4. Location of the headquarters of the United Nations in the United States and the consequent need for the United States to assume the responsibilities of "host government."

5. The fact that the United States, in consequence of its leadership role in the United Nations, is represented on all organs and virtually all commissions and committees of the United Nations.

The chief of the mission is the United States representative to the United Nations, who, by statute, is the United States representative in the Security Council. He is assisted by a deputy representative of the United States to the United Nations, who, by statute, is deputy United States representative in the Security Council. There is also a second deputy representative in the Security Council. Other principal officers of the mission are the United States representatives on the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council.

During 1951 the chief of the mission served, with the assistance of deputies, as United States representative in the Atomic Energy Commission, in the Commission for Conventional Armaments, and in the following Committees of the General Assembly: The Interim Committee, the Collective Measures Committee, and the Committee on Additional Measures. The Disarmament Commission, established under a General Assembly resolution of January 11, 1952, supersedes the Atomic Energy Commission and the Commission for Conventional Armaments. The United States representative and a deputy representative have been designated to serve on this Commission.

The main source of policy guidance and strategical direction for the conduct of the United States participation in the United Nations is necessarily the Department of State. The mission, however, has a staff consisting of a small number of advisers and a secretariat under a secretary-general and a deputy secretary-general. The advisers assist the United States representative in (1) planning the tactical pursuit of United States policy objectives in the light of the political and parliamentary situations in United Nations organs and bodies; (2) consultation, negotiation, and liaison with other delegations and the United Nations Secretariat. The secretariat of the mission assists the United States representative in (1) the coordination of the above activities; (2) the provision of necessary research, reference, reporting, and communications services; (3) the discharge of the responsibilities of the United States as "host government," in particular those arising from the headquarters agreement between the United States and the United Nations (Public Law 357, 80th Cong.) and the International Organizations Immunities Act (Public Law 291, 79th Cong.), which deal *inter alia* with relations of the United Nations,



its officials, and delegation members with Federal, State, and local authorities; and (4) the administration and management of the United States mission.

### *Other United States Missions*

In addition to the United States mission to the United Nations during 1951 the United States maintained several special missions in order to participate effectively in the work of certain bodies of the United Nations which did not have headquarters in the United States.

During 1951 a permanent resident delegation to the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe was maintained at Geneva. It worked with the Commission and its committees in efforts to readjust the production and distribution of coal, electric power, lumber, steel, and other commodities for the purpose of assisting the economic reconstruction of Europe. United States representatives were also sent to the meetings of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, and the Economic Commission for Latin America.

Special missions also were maintained during 1951 to make possible effective participation in the work of certain field missions and specialized agencies of the United Nations. United States representatives served, for example, with the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine, the United Nations Commission for Indonesia (until April 1951), the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans, the Advisory Commission of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, and the United Nations Council for Libya. The work of these bodies is described in the text of this report.

During 1951 there was at Geneva a United States representative for specialized agency affairs, charged with maintaining liaison for the United States with the International Refugee Organization, the International Labor Organization, and the World Health Organization, as well as with various other United Nations bodies in Europe. A special United States mission, the office of the United States representative to the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization, was maintained at Montreal. Liaison was also maintained with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) through a counselor on UNESCO affairs stationed at the American Embassy at Paris.

## UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVES TO THE UNITED NATIONS, ITS ORGANS, SUBSIDIARY BODIES, AND THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

United States representative and chief of United States mission to the United Nations

Warren R. Austin

Deputy United States representative

Ernest A. Gross

### THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

*Sixth Regular Session, Paris, November 6, 1951*

Representatives

Dean G. Acheson, Secretary of State, Chairman of Delegation

Warren R. Austin

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

Congressman Mike J. Mansfield

Congressman John M. Vorys

Philip C. Jessup<sup>1</sup>

Alternate representatives

Benjamin V. Cohen

John Sherman Cooper

Ernest A. Gross<sup>2</sup>

Miss Anna Lord Strauss

Channing H. Tobias

*Interim Committee of the General Assembly*

Representative

Warren R. Austin

Deputy representatives

Charles P. Noyes (resigned April 8, 1951)

James N. Hyde

William O. Hall (appointed January 11, 1952)

*Committee on Information From Non-Self-Governing Territories*

Representative

Benjamin O. Gerig

### THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Representative

Warren R. Austin

Deputy representatives

Ernest A. Gross

John C. Ross

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Jessup served as a representative in the absence of the Secretary of State.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Gross served as an alternate representative in the absence of the Secretary of State.

**UNITED NATIONS ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION (AEC)**

Representative

Warren R. Austin

Acting deputy representative

John C. Ross

**COMMISSION FOR CONVENTIONAL ARMAMENTS (CCA)**

Representative

Warren R. Austin

Deputy representative

Frank C. Nash

**DISARMAMENT COMMISSION (superseded AEC and CCA January 11, 1952)**

Representative

Warren R. Austin

Deputy representative

Benjamin V. Cohen

**MILITARY STAFF COMMITTEE**

Representatives

Army: Lt. Gen. W. D. Crittenger, U.S.A.

Navy: Vice Adm. B. H. Bieri, U.S.N. (resigned May 15, 1951)

Vice Adm. Oscar C. Badger, U.S.N. (resigned May 13, 1952)

Vice Adm. Arthur D. Struble, U.S.N. (appointed May 14, 1952)

Air Force: Lt. Gen. H. R. Harmon, U.S.A.F.

Deputy representatives

Army: Col. C. P. Townsley, U.S.A.

Navy: Capt. W. A. Riley, U.S.N.

Air Force: Col. L. H. Rodieck, U.S.A.F.

**THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL**

Representative

Isador Lubin

Deputy representatives

Leroy D. Stinebower (resigned March 14, 1952)

Walter M. Kotschnig

*Commissions of the Economic and Social Council and United States Representatives**Social*: Arthur J. Altmeyer*Narcotics*: Harry J. Anslinger*Transport and Communications* (not to convene until 1953): George P. Baker*Fiscal* (not to convene until 1953): Edward F. Bartelt*Population* (not to convene until 1953): Philip M. Hauser (resigned June 1951)*Status of Women*: Mrs. Olive Remington Goldman*Economic, Employment and Development Commission* (discontinued until December 31, 1954): Leroy D. Stinebower (resigned March 14, 1952)*Statistical*: Stuart A. Rice*Human Rights*: Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt



*Regional Commissions of the Economic and Social Council*  
*Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East*

United States representative (eighth session)

Merrill C. Gay

Alternate United States representative (eighth session)

Walter M. Kotschnig

*Economic Commission for Europe*

United States representatives

Milton Katz (resigned August 15, 1951)

William H. Draper (seventh session)

Alternate representatives

Paul R. Porter (seventh session)

Robert E. Asher (seventh session)

*Economic Commission for Latin America*

United States representative

Claude G. Bowers

Acting representative (fourth session)

Merwin L. Bohan

**THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL**

United States representative

Francis B. Sayre

Deputy representative

Benjamin Gerig

**INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S EMERGENCY FUND**

United States representative, Executive Board

Katharine F. Lenroot

Alternate

Frances K. Kernohan

**SPECIAL COMMITTEES AND COMMISSIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

*General Assembly: United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans (terminated February 5, 1952)*

United States representative

Jefferson Patterson

*General Assembly: United Nations Collective Measures Committee*

United States representative

Warren R. Austin

Deputy representative

Harding F. Bancroft

*General Assembly: United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine*

United States representative

Ely E. Palmer

Acting deputy representative

James W. Barco

*General Assembly: United Nations Peace Observation Commission*

United States representative  
Ernest A. Gross

*General Assembly: Balkan Subcommittee of the Peace Observation Commission*

United States representative  
Ernest A. Gross

*General Assembly: United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East*

United States representative, Advisory Commission  
John B. Blandford, Jr. (resigned June 30, 1951)  
Robert B. Macatee, acting (August 31, 1951 to February 20, 1952)  
Edwin A. Locke, Jr., representative (appointed February 21, 1952)

*General Assembly: United Nations Council for Libya (1951)*

United States representative  
Lewis Clark

*General Assembly: Additional Measures Committee*

United States representative  
Warren R. Austin  
Deputy representative  
Ernest A. Gross

*General Assembly: Advisory Committee to the Agent General of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency*

United States representative  
Isador Lubin  
Deputy representative  
Graham R. Hall

**SPECIALIZED AGENCIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS***Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations*

United States member, FAO Council  
Clarence S. McCormick (June 1951 meeting)  
Stanley Andrews (November 1951 meeting)

Alternate United States member  
Fred J. Rossiter

Associate United States members  
John W. Evans (June 1951 meeting)  
Francis Linville (November 1951 meeting)

*International Bank for Reconstruction and Development*

United States Governor, Board of Governors  
John W. Snyder  
Alternate United States Governor  
James E. Webb  
United States Executive Director  
William McC. Martin, Jr.  
Alternate United States Executive Director  
John S. Hooker

*International Civil Aviation Organization*

United States representative to the Council

Paul A. Smith

Alternate United States representative on the Council and United States representative on the Air Transport Committee

Norman P. Seagrave

Alternate United States representative on the Council and United States member on the Air Navigation Commission

Claude H. Smith

*International Labor Organization*

Representative of the Government of the United States to the Governing Body of the International Labor Office

Philip M. Kaiser

Arnold Zempel, substitute

*International Monetary Fund*

United States Governor, Board of Governors

John W. Snyder

Alternate United States Governor

James E. Webb

United States Executive Director

Frank A. Southard, Jr.

Alternate United States Executive Director

John S. Hooker

*International Telecommunication Union*

United States representative, Administrative Council

Francis Colt de Wolf

Alternate United States representative, Administrative Council

Harvey B. Otterman

*United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization*

American member in personal capacity on Executive Board (elected by organization itself)

Luther H. Evans

*Universal Postal Union*

United States member, Executive Liaison Committee

John M. Redding

Alternate United States member, Executive Liaison Committee

John J. Gillen

*World Health Organization*

United States member, Executive Board

Dr. H. van Zile Hyde

*World Meteorological Organization*

United States representative, Executive Council, and president

Francis W. Reichelderfer



## *Documentary Publications on the United Nations*

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United Nations publications may be found in many libraries throughout the country. The resolutions and proceedings of the various United Nations organs, including the General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council, and Trusteeship Council, appear in the *Official Records* series. *Official Records* and published United Nations documents, including final reports and special studies, may be purchased from the United Nations Sales Agent, International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N.Y. A catalog describing the publications for sale is supplied by the United Nations Sales Agent upon request. In addition to the published documents, mimeographed documents of the organs of the United Nations may be purchased from the United States directly. Inquiries and orders for such documents should be addressed to the Sales Section, Department of Public Information, United Nations, New York, N.Y.

The Department of State periodically issues reports on the United Nations, reports of the United States delegations to United Nations meetings, and separate pamphlets and documents dealing with international organization matters of interest to the United States. Examples of such publications are *International Organizations in Which the United States Participants, 1949* (Department of State publication 3655), *Participation of the United States Government in International Conferences, July 1, 1949–June 30, 1950* (Department of State publication 4216), and *Our Foreign Policy, 1952* (Department of State publication 4466). Information and documents of current interest are contained in the *Department of State Bulletin*, a weekly publication. Lists of all relevant departmental publications may be obtained from the Division of Publications, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.



