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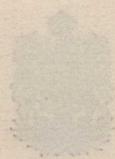
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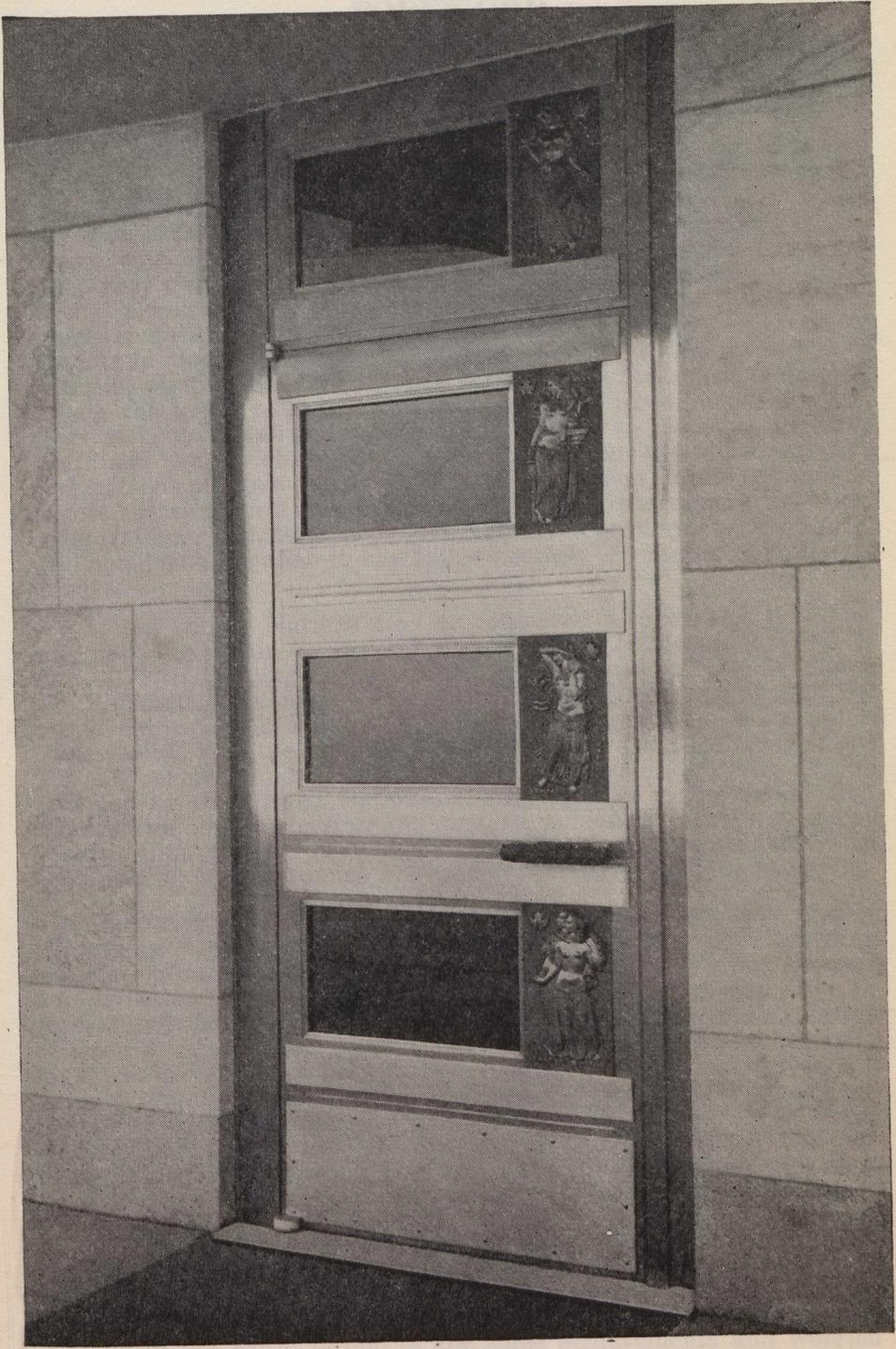
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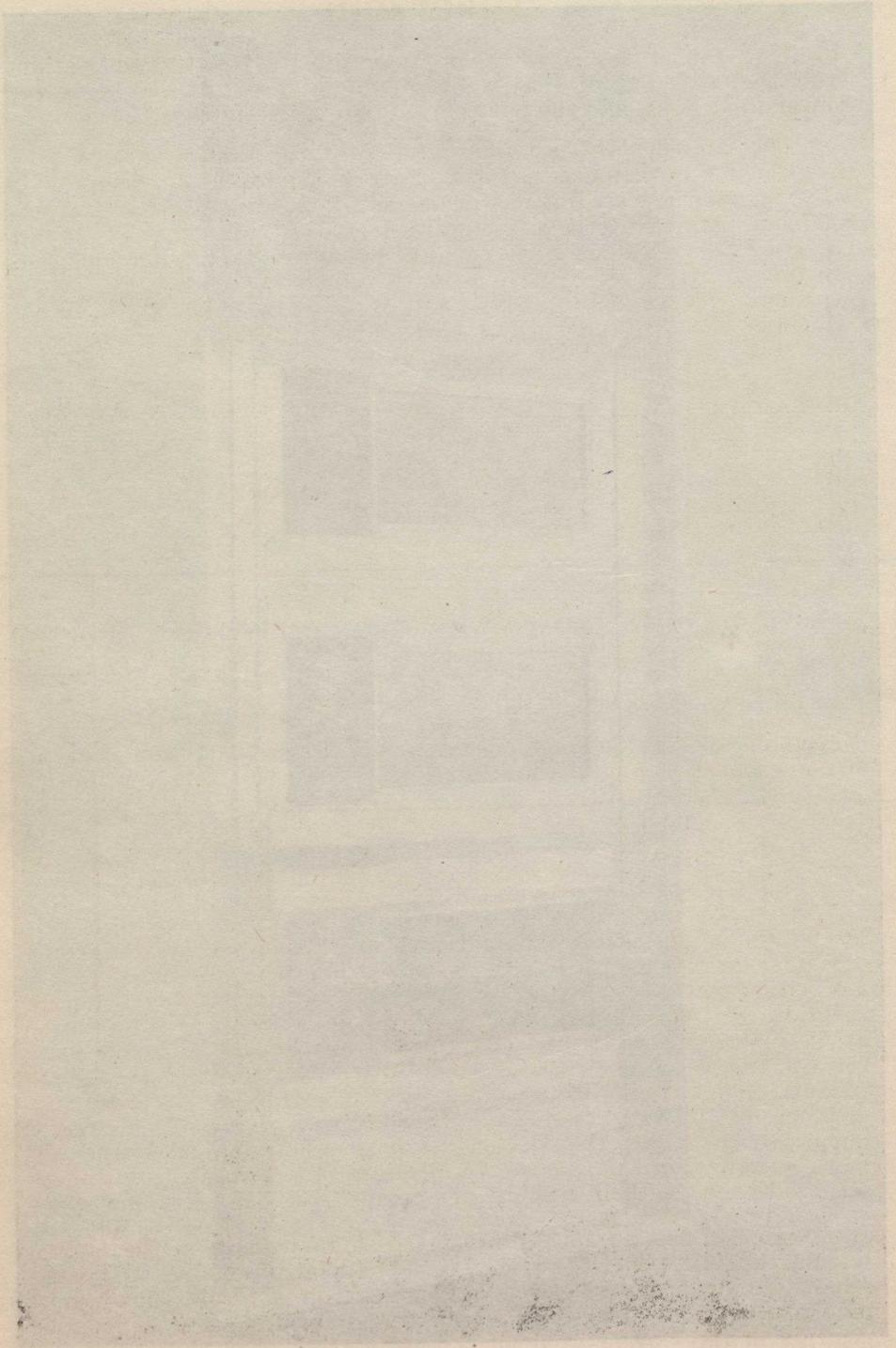
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One of the seven identical nickel alloy doors, the gift of Canada to the United Nations, in position at the main entrance to the new General Assembly Building in New York. The doors were designed by Ernest Cormier, and fabricated by the Robert Mitchell Co., of Montreal.



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FOREWORD

This report describes the main events in the United Nations from the beginning of 1951 to the middle of 1952, as they appeared to Canadian eyes, and the part played by Canada in those events.

The United Nations is neither a military alliance against communism nor an embryonic form of world government. Essentially the Charter of the United Nations is a multilateral treaty which has been ratified by the great majority of sovereign states. It is a treaty with enormous scope and has led to the establishment of machinery for nearly every form of international political, social, economic, cultural and humanitarian co-operation. Yet it is a treaty which is meant specifically to protect the jurisdiction of states in essentially domestic matters. Moreover, it is a treaty which in collective security matters requires for its full enforcement unanimity among the great powers. Not only does this unanimity not exist; there is acute division between these powers — between the free world and the Soviet world. The United Nations did not create this division but it does reflect it. Yet the division would exist, and almost certainly in a more dangerous form, if there were no world organization. Because the United Nations is a mirror of the world, we should not say that it has failed because it reflects an unhappy picture.

If the United Nations may be compared to a mirror, this does not mean that it is an institution which has no personality of its own — that it simply reflects the personalities of the 60 states which comprise its membership. In politics, if not in mathematics, the whole can be greater — or less — than the sum of its parts. Nevertheless it is the member states which give the United Nations life and colour. And the machinery for discussion and conciliation provided by the United Nations is only effective to the extent that compromise and understanding can be achieved between member governments. That the machinery can help tremendously in achieving such compromise and understanding goes without saying.

We must not, however, expect to solve our problems merely by joining a particular international institution, or by discarding one international institution in favour of another. We must rather ask ourselves to what extent we, working with and through one or several international institutions, can best advance towards a solution of the difficulties which beset us. Thus there should be no necessity for Canada to choose between the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. We need the strength for peace that membership in both these organizations can give us. The great purposes for which the United Nations was established and the more circumscribed purposes of NATO are fully consistent with each other and are in their essence not competitive but complementary.

Nor should it be thought that Canadian policies in the United Nations and in NATO will be inconsistent or in conflict with each other. Whatever the international institutions in which Canada may participate, we are the same people, occupying the same geographic position in the world, proud of the same achievements and worried by the same problems. The basic principles of our national life —

our need for unity and security, our belief in political liberty, the protection of our heritage of Christian civilization — affect every aspect of our external affairs. Canadian policies — though they should be national policies — will always be influenced by international factors, by our position in the Commonwealth, our friendship with the United States and with the other countries of this hemisphere; by our historical, racial and cultural ties with Europe, and by our wish to live in friendship and understanding with the new nations of Asia and the Middle East. Factors like these will govern the formulation of Canadian policy, wherever that policy is stated.

There is more to policy-making, however, and a great deal more to policy-implementing, than merely knowing what influences and determines policy, or what seems right and what seems wrong by our own scale of values. The difficulty is to decide not only what is right, but what is feasible — not only what Canada should do and what Canada would like to do, but also what Canada is physically capable of doing, with resources which, though increasing, are still limited. It is a matter of deciding what should be ranked as Project A, and what share of our resources should be devoted to that project, and what share will then remain to be divided among Projects B, C and D. These decisions are the difficult ones. They leave room for wider differences of opinion than the initial decision that all these policies and projects are wise and deserve Canada's support.

In the various United Nations bodies, recently, the word "priorities" has been increasingly heard. This is a symptom of growing awareness that while the things that need doing in the world, and that could be done through the United Nations, are legion, the resources of the United Nations and of its member states are limited. First things must therefore have first priority, if the available resources are not to be dissipated in doing a multitude of things inadequately.

Decisions on priorities can lead to disagreement over national policies. The same is true internationally. In the United Nations disagreement on just such an issue has, in fact, led to a serious rift in recent months. A gap has become apparent between the developed and the under-developed countries of the world. Its most important cause is disagreement over the amount of help which can be extended to the under-developed countries and the rate at which it can be extended. The countries from whom this material help must principally come — and Canada is one of them — contend that they must give priority to defence measures for their own survival. That this must come first is not, in fact, seriously questioned by anyone. The difference of opinion is over the extent to which other pressing problems should be subordinated to this first objective.

The seriousness of this rift in the free world should not be minimized. It is a matter of deep regret that Canada, on more than one recent occasion in the United Nations, has had to oppose certain projects from countries whose friendship we value deeply and for whose aspirations we have the greatest sympathy. At the same time, the importance of this difference of opinion should not be inflated out of all proportion. The communists may gloat over "contradictions in the camp of imperialism". This, however, is

not a basic disagreement comparable to those which separate the Soviet world from the free world. Nor is it a nineteenth century struggle between exploiters and exploited or even between nationalism and colonialism. It is merely a difference of opinion over degree and pace. On the fundamental principles there is general agreement. In recent months there have been indications that the developed and the under-developed countries are moving closer together on this question. The rift, happily, is not a fundamental one; there is no reason why it should be a permanent one.

The United Nations is an agency for the conciliation of political disputes and for the organization of collective action against established aggression, when all methods of mediation and conciliation have been exhausted. It provides, together with the Specialized Agencies, numerous opportunities for international co-operation in almost every form of economic, social, cultural and humanitarian endeavour. Finally, but by no means least, it is an agency with important responsibilities in supervising the evolution to self-government of many peoples now living in dependent status.

The United Nations provides points of diplomatic contact not elsewhere available, and it would not be wise to under-estimate the possible fruits of such contacts. In fact the numerous contacts with the Soviet bloc provided by the United Nations offer the free world the best opportunity to exploit a relaxation of the present tension, if the U.S.S.R. should show a willingness to compromise and cooperate in a way which would make this relaxation possible.

Yet we must not think of international affairs today solely in terms of the cold war, or of fear and insecurity solely in terms of Soviet imperialism. Even if communism had never been invented, and even if the Soviet Union were located on a different planet, a number of serious differences within the free world would remain. For many peoples of the world the most direct political threat, real or imaginary, comes from their next-door neighbours or from the continuation of long-unresolved situations in their particular parts of the world. To such peoples, the existence of the United Nations is not merely a reassuring fact — it provides the actual means of seeking redress for grievances without resort to armed force. It also gives them some assurance that if they are attacked, they will receive in some form or other collective assistance.

This principle of collective security is fundamental to the Charter and Canadian policy is based on an acceptance of that principle. We are convinced that aggression in any part of the world constitutes, in the long run, a threat to every other part, including Canada. Yet today, our acceptance of this principle — or, at any rate, its application in practice — is qualified, as are so many things, by the available resources in the free world. To say we must exercise judgment in deciding how the collective security obligations of the Charter can best be discharged does not mean that we can ever afford to turn a blind eye to any act of aggression. It does mean, however, that those who share the responsibility of defending the free world must exercise the highest qualities of intelligence, as well as of conscience, in deciding where and how the limited forces at their disposal should be applied. But while we must

recognize that collective action to meet aggression may have to vary according to circumstances, the response to aggression in Korea, and the adoption of the "Uniting for Peace" Resolution of November 1950, are evidence of the determination of the majority of the members of the United Nations to work towards the achievement of the kind of collective security envisaged in the Charter. We must not abandon that work.

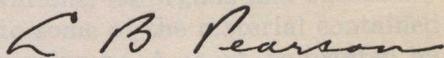
In the economic and social fields the activities of the United Nations and of the Specialized Agencies touch almost every aspect of our daily life. Indeed, so widespread and diverse are these activities that there is a constant danger of duplication, overlapping and waste effort. Projects are sometimes introduced without sufficient thought about their implementation or as to whether they would duplicate work already being done. It has been the constant effort of Canadian representatives to stress the need for co-ordination, and also the necessity for considering not only the desirability but the feasibility of each project proposed. We have continually emphasized that such proposals should not be considered in the abstract, that is, without regard to how they might be implemented by the states primarily concerned. Not infrequently our emphasis on these points has placed us among the minority in the United Nations and also, as noted above, in opposition to many of our good friends. But we have shown repeatedly that we are prepared to support, by deeds as well as by words, those projects we believe to be both desirable and feasible. Examples of this have been the Canadian contributions to the Expanded Programme for Technical Assistance, to the relief of Palestine refugees, to relief and reconstruction in Korea, and to the International Children's Emergency Fund. Our contributions to these and similar activities have been based on the principle that, in the long run, the maintenance of peace is inseparably bound up with the achievement of economic and social progress.

In questions concerning dependent territories, Canada's experience in achieving self-government and independence has convinced us of the value of gradual and peaceful evolution, as opposed to violent and too sudden change. In the United Nations there is a wide difference of view concerning the degree to which the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council should intervene in the affairs of dependent peoples, and also concerning the speed with which these peoples should attain independence. The fact is, of course, that the peoples now classified as dependent vary greatly in their ability to manage their own affairs. It follows that we should avoid dogmatism and try to consider, in each case, what is in the best interests of the particular people concerned. We should also not forget that there are peoples under communist rule who have been given the forms of self-government but who are in a state of far greater enslavement than the inhabitants of colonial territories.

More than anything else, the United Nations, particularly the General Assembly, is a world forum. We should not be too distressed because its meetings are often acrimonious and contentious. At times the very violence of the disputes in the United Nations is evidence of the fact that member states are deeply concerned about the effect produced by their arguments. There would be more cause

to worry about the United Nations if the debates ever degenerated into an elaborate exchange of meaningless courtesies which avoided any realistic reference to outstanding issues and disputes. Then, indeed, futility would have been reached.

After seven years the United Nations is still a young organization, still largely an experiment. But one thing has become increasingly evident. Despite the disappointments we have all encountered, there is no doubt that the spirit of interdependence in the world is growing. Today there is more contact, diplomatic and otherwise, between peoples of different races, religions and cultures than at any time in the world's history, and much credit for this is due to the United Nations. An exception exists, of course, in respect of those countries of Eastern Europe and of Asia which have chosen — or have been forced by their despotic leaders — to cut themselves off from contacts with the rest of the world. Elsewhere our increasing contacts with each other are slowly reducing the ignorance and mutual suspicion which have in the past proved such a fertile breeding ground for war. The progress is slow, but it is in the right direction and is constantly being made, often in United Nations bodies which receive very little publicity. We must not, then, think of the United Nations solely in terms of the bitter disputes which now loom so large in the headlines. Our hope for the future of our world organization has a deeper and more solid foundation than these headlines would suggest. The battle against ignorance and prejudice and, yes, even against fear is steadily and perseveringly being fought. It must continue until one day victory is achieved.



Secretary of State for External Affairs.

Ottawa,
September, 1952.

EDITORIAL PREFACE

Earlier volumes in the *Canada and the United Nations* series (*The United Nations, 1946, Canada at the United Nations, 1947, Canada and the United Nations, 1948, Canada and the United Nations, 1949* and *Canada and the United Nations, 1950*) have each dealt with the events of a single calendar year. This volume covers an 18-month period, from the beginning of 1951 to the middle of 1952. The main reason for this change is that the sixth session of the General Assembly, which met from November 1951 to February 1952, was in the middle of its deliberations at the end of the calendar year; a report on the United Nations which covered only the period to the end of December could not give a full account of how the various matters before the Assembly in 1951 were resolved. Future editions will deal with the 12-month period beginning July 1 each year, and will be published immediately before the annual session of the General Assembly (which usually begins in September) rather than after it. Many subjects of continuing importance appear on successive agendas of the Assembly, and the book's value as a reference work, during an Assembly session, may be increased if it covers some of the developments after the preceding session.

Readers who are not familiar with the organizational relationships and functions of the United Nations, its organs and subsidiary bodies, may find it helpful to refer to some of the material contained in the Appendices at the end of this volume. A chart, re-printed by courtesy of the Department of Public Information of the United Nations, shows the principal United Nations bodies and their relationship with each other. Appendix 1 lists the membership of the United Nations itself, and of some of the more important United Nations bodies, on June 30, 1952. Appendix 2 gives the dates and places of important United Nations meetings during the period reviewed by the volume, and Canadian representation at the sixth session of the General Assembly and at the 1951 and 1952 sessions of the Economic and Social Council. Appendix 9 is a note on United Nations documents and Appendix 10 lists publications of the Department of External Affairs which deal with United Nations subjects. Appendix 3, which is a report prepared at the request of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, describes the procedures followed by the Canadian Government in dealing with United Nations matters.

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I

POLITICAL AND SECURITY

Korea

The Cease-Fire Group which was appointed by the President of the General Assembly under the authority of the resolution of December 14, 1950¹, made two unsuccessful attempts to open discussion with the Central People's Government of China. On January 3, 1951, the Cease-Fire Group reported failure but, at the request of the Political Committee of the General Assembly, prepared a statement of principles on which a cease-fire in Korea could be based. This statement of principles was approved by the Political Committee on January 13 in the following terms:

The objective shall be the achievement, by stages, of the programme outlined below for a cease-fire in Korea, for the establishment of a free and united Korea, and for a peaceful settlement of Far Eastern problems.

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.

¹See *Canada and the United Nations 1950*, pp. 9 and 10.

This statement of principles was transmitted to the Central People's Government of China which was asked whether the principles would be acceptable "as a basis for the peaceful settlement of the Korean problem and other Far Eastern problems". On January 17 the Foreign Minister of the Central People's Government replied in terms which some states interpreted as an outright rejection and which others interpreted as a partial acceptance or counter-proposal. The United States particularly took the view that the reply of the Central People's Government could not be accepted as a basis for continued negotiation and on January 20 introduced a resolution naming the Central People's Government of China as an aggressor in Korea, requesting consideration of additional measures to meet the aggression and providing for the appointment of a Good Offices Committee.

Meanwhile steps were taken to try to clarify the meaning of the Central People's Government's reply of January 17. On the basis of this clarification, 12 Asian and Arab countries, including India, presented a resolution of January 25 recommending "that representatives of the Governments of France, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Egypt and India, and of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, meet as soon as possible for the purpose of securing all necessary elucidations and amplifications of the above mentioned reply and of making any incidental or consequential arrangements towards a peaceful settlement of the Korean and other Far Eastern problems".

The Political Committee of the General Assembly rejected the Asian-Arab resolution on January 30 (Canada abstaining) and adopted the United States resolution with amendments accepted during the course of the debate. Canada reluctantly voted in favour of this resolution for reasons which the Secretary of State for External Affairs stated before the Political Committee on January 26:

We think the putting of such a resolution at this stage and in this form when the possibilities of negotiation with the People's Government of China are not in our opinion completely exhausted to be premature and unwise...

The main purport of this resolution as we understand it and certainly as the public in our own country will understand it, is to condemn the Chinese People's Government for the assistance they have given the aggressor in Korea. We think that there is no shadow of doubt about this continuing participation in aggression and we believe that the action of the Chinese People's Government in this matter has been morally wrong, and that the United Nations cannot ignore such a defiance of the principles upon which it is founded.

The resolution as passed on February 1, 1951, included the following paragraph:

The General Assembly...

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

²See Appendix 4 for the full text of this resolution.

Canada was represented on the Additional Measures Committee set up by this resolution but not on the Good Offices Committee.

The Good Offices Committee was not able to make any progress or to secure recognition by the Central People's Government of China. During the debate on Chinese aggression at the beginning of the year the communist forces launched a heavy ground attack which was halted during January. In April and May another heavy communist offensive was launched. This, combined with the failure of the enemy to agree to negotiate with the Good Offices Committee, led the Additional Measures Committee to approve on May 11 a resolution calling for an embargo on shipments of arms and strategic materials to China and North Korea. This resolution was approved by the General Assembly on May 18. It is worth noting that Canada, like many other members of the United Nations, had already put into effect regulations of its own which were similar in purpose to the restrictions called for by the resolution of May 18. For this reason, and because its regulations were, if anything, more severe than those required by the resolution, Canada felt able to vote for the resolution.

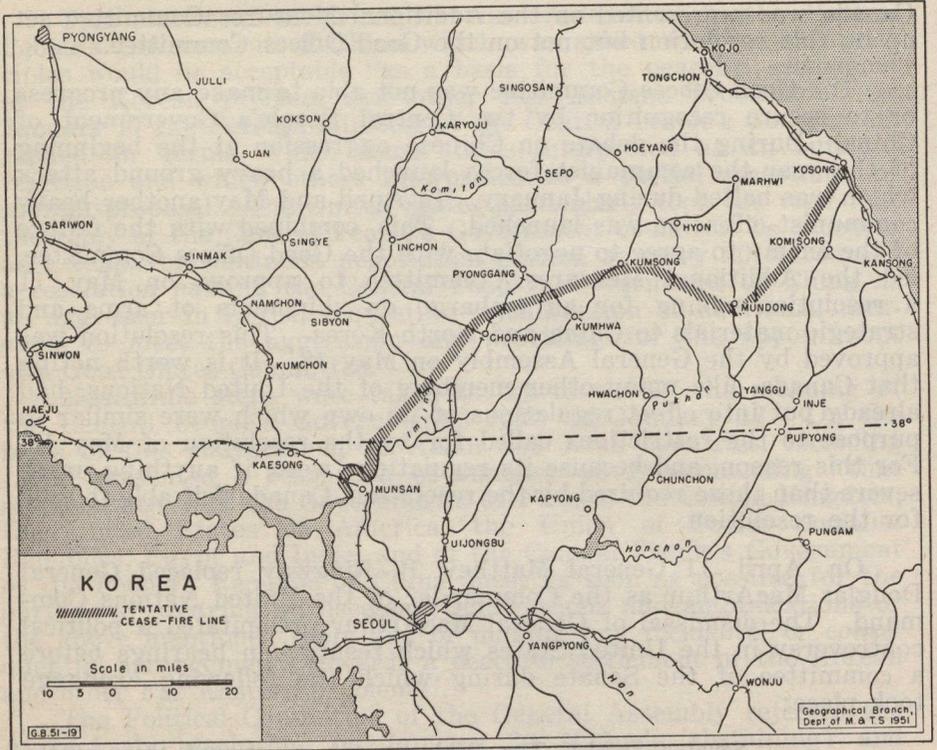
On April 11 General Matthew B. Ridgway replaced General Douglas MacArthur as the Commander of the United Nations Command. The dismissal of General MacArthur precipitated a political controversy in the United States which resulted in hearings before a committee of the Senate during which the following exchange took place:

Senator Smith: You think that if we stopped them at the Thirty-eight and pushed them back to where they began, and if we restored peace and security in South Korea, that is all we are expected to do in order to assert the prestige of the United Nations?

Mr. Acheson: That is the military objective of the United Nations, as laid down by the United Nations itself. There is also the political objective of the United Nations, which is creating a free, independent, and democratic Korea, and the United Nations will continue to do that, and I hope it will be able to do that.

Mr. Acheson's remarks were evidently interpreted by the communists as meaning that a negotiated truce along the 38th parallel would be acceptable to the United Nations as the fulfilment of their military obligations in Korea.

On June 23 the Soviet Representative to the United Nations in New York made a radio address at the end of which he suggested that discussions be started "between the belligerents for a cease-fire and an armistice providing for the mutual withdrawal of forces from the 38th parallel". After clarifying Mr. Malik's remarks in Moscow, the United States announced that General Ridgway had been authorized to seek to negotiate a cease-fire with the enemy commander in Korea and, following an exchange of messages between General Ridgway and enemy headquarters, official representatives of the opposing commanders met for the first time on July 10, 1951.



Negotiations proceeded slowly. On July 26 an agenda for the discussions was agreed upon in the following terms:

- (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 the 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 the cease-fire and armistice;
- (4) Arrangements relating to prisoners of war;
- (5) Recommendations to the governments of the countries concerned on both sides.

The negotiators then approached the first substantive question — the question of where the truce-line should be drawn. By this time the United Nations forces, in attacking the communists to recover ground lost during the two enemy offensives mentioned earlier, had reached a line which was just south of the 38th parallel on the west and north of it on the east. The enemy were reluctant to accept this actual battle line as the military demarcation line and the United Nations negotiators were unwilling to give up their militarily defensible line (which was in the general area of the 38th parallel) for a purely arbitrary and artificial line which had proved impossible

to defend in 1950. It was therefore not until November 27 and after the communists had suspended negotiations from August 23 to October 24, that agreement was reached on the military demarcation line in the following terms:

1. The principle is accepted that the actual line of contact between both sides (as determined under either paragraph two or three, as appropriate) 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 after the two delegations approve in the plenary session this agreement and the specific location of the military demarcation line and demilitarized zone, determined by the sub-delegations on the basis of the above stated principle and in accordance with the present line of contact as indicated in the attached map and explanatory notes, the military demarcation line and demilitarized zone shall not be changed, regardless of whatever changes may occur in the actual line of contact between both sides.
3. In view of the fact that hostilities will continue until the signing of the Armistice Agreement, if the Military Armistice Agreement is not signed within 30 days after the two delegations approve in the plenary session this agreement and the specific location of the military demarcation line and the demilitarized zone as determined in paragraph two above, the sub-delegations shall revise, immediately prior to the signing of the Military Armistice Agreement, the above military demarcation line and the demilitarized zone in accordance with the changes which have occurred in the actual line of contact between both sides so that the revised military demarcation line will coincide exactly with the line of contact between both sides immediately prior to the signing of the Military Armistice Agreement and will constitute the military demarcation line for the duration of the military armistice.

The two delegations proceeded immediately to a discussion of Item 3 of their agenda, concerning arrangements for carrying out the terms of the armistice. A difference of view at once developed over the question of supervision, as the communist negotiators were unwilling to accept any thorough supervision of activities behind the demilitarized zone, while the United Nations negotiators were anxious that supervision should be as thorough as possible. The communists were unwilling to allow a supervisory commission made up of representatives of neutral states to roam at will behind the lines on both sides looking for clandestine military activity, or to permit the commission to fly over territory behind the lines to check on activities which could be seen from the air. The communists later, after accepting the principle of a commission of neutrals, nominated the Soviet Union as one of the three states to be named by the communist side. The nomination of so biased a state for a neutral commission obviously could not be accepted by the negotiators for the United Nations Command.

In order to speed up the negotiations, discussion was opened on Item 4 (prisoners of war) on December 11 before discussion of Item 3 was concluded. Negotiations on this item too were deadlocked when it became apparent that the United Nations negotiators would not accept an obligation to compel communist prisoners in their hands to accept repatriation, while the communist negotiators refused to agree that prisoners were free to refuse to return to their own countries if they so wished. The problem of prisoners who might prefer not to be returned to their own side for political reasons was a very difficult one. Current international custom is designed to protect the rights of prisoners of war against their captors, but there is no long-standing custom which covers the case of prisoners who want, for political reasons, protection against the states from whose armies they were captured. To carry out the humanitarian intent of international practice, therefore, the negotiators for the United Nations Command took the stand that any prisoner, who so feared repatriation for political reasons that he was ready to resist repatriation by force, should not be repatriated. For this, precedents existed, among which were the offers made by the Russians to German armies which were besieged in Stalin-grad and Budapest during the Second World War.

Again with the object of hastening the discussion, conversations began on Item 5 on February 6 while Items 3 and 4 were deadlocked. This item was relatively easily settled and the two armistice teams agreed on the following wording on February 16:

In order to ensure the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, the military commanders of both sides hereby recommend to the governments of the countries concerned on both sides that, within three (3) months after the armistice agreement is signed and 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 accepting this wording, the United Nations negotiators made it plain that "foreign forces" meant "non-Korean forces" and that the word "etc." was not to be construed to relate to matters outside of Korea.

Meanwhile, the sixth session of the General Assembly which had met in Paris decided to defer consideration of its two items on Korea in view of the continuation of the armistice negotiations in Korea. On January 3, the Soviet Delegate attempted to secure approval for a resolution which would have required the Security Council to hold one of the periodic meetings provided for in the Charter and "to examine at the periodic meeting in the first place the measures which the Security Council should take to help to bring to a successful conclusion the negotiations taking place in Korea for the cessation of hostilities". This was voted down as being likely to interfere with the negotiations rather than to bring them to a successful conclusion, because it would have involved the infusion of political questions into what had hitherto been a purely military negotiation. This could only have resulted in a

delay in achieving an armistice. The procedural resolution deferring consideration of the two agenda items on Korea — “The Problem of the Independence of Korea” and “Relief and Rehabilitation of Korea” — was adopted by the Assembly on February 5, 1952 by a vote of 51 in favour (including Canada), 5 against (the Soviet bloc) and 2 abstentions (Chile and Yemen).

In order to try to break the deadlock in the armistice negotiations which were still going on, the United Nations Command negotiators on April 28 put forward a “package proposal”, the effect of which would have been that the United Nations Command would repatriate all enemy prisoners who could be repatriated without the use of force, that a neutral organ of inspection known as the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission would be set up to help supervise the armistice (including Sweden and Switzerland nominated by the United Nations Command and Poland and Czechoslovakia nominated by the communists), and that the United Nations Command would agree that the terms of the armistice would not include a prohibition against the rebuilding of military airfields in Korea. Debate on this package proposal was still continuing on June 30 but by then it was apparent that the only real cause of dispute was the prisoners of war in United Nations hands who did not want to be repatriated and on whose repatriation the communist negotiators were insisting.

During the period of 18 months under review, the United Nations moved from a position of direct participation in the war in Korea to a position in which it was relying on bodies to whom authority had been delegated, to try and bring the war to a conclusion. This situation was, of course, brought about by the beginning of armistice talks in July 1951. Similarly military activity gradually declined after the failure of the communist offensives in the spring of 1951 until, on the ground at least, there was a relative lull during the last 12 months.

Charges of the National Government of China Against the Soviet Union

Charges of treaty breaking and violations of the United Nations Charter were originally brought against the Soviet Union by the National Government of China at the fourth session of the General Assembly in 1949. They were referred to the Interim Committee of the Assembly for study and after further consideration at the fifth session of the Assembly in 1950 were once more referred to the Interim Committee.¹ The Interim Committee did not meet during 1951 and the General Assembly decided at its sixth session to include the item on its agenda. Canada voted in favour of including the item.

Debate began on January 26, 1952, the Chinese and United States Delegates supporting the charges and the Soviet Union opposing. The Soviet member made little attempt to answer the

¹See *Canada and the United Nations 1950*, pp. 12 and 13.

Chinese charges directly and devoted most of his many statements to the support of the thesis that the main threat to the territorial integrity of China came from the United States. On February 1 the Assembly adopted, by a vote of 25 in favour, 9 against with 24 abstentions (including Canada), a resolution the significant part of which reads as follows:

Finding that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics obstructed the efforts of the National Government of China in re-establishing Chinese national authority in the Three Eastern Provinces (Manchuria) after the surrender of Japan and gave military and economic aid to the Chinese Communists against the National Government of China,

Determines that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in her relations with China since the surrender of Japan, has failed to carry out the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of 14 August, 1945.

Canada's decision to abstain on the vote flowed from the belief that while the charges levelled against the Soviet Union by the National Government of China might well be true, it is nevertheless a fact that the Chinese Government which at the present time is in effective control of the mainland of China (the Central People's Government of China) does not support the charges. Any debate on the subject was therefore bound to take place in an atmosphere of legalism divorced from reality. The charges also refer to a period of history which is particularly confusing; the responsibility for what happened then cannot be determined with any great degree of accuracy. As no change in the condition of the Chinese people could be brought about by adopting the resolution, the Canadian Government thought that to support or to oppose the charges could serve no useful purpose.

Chinese Representation

When the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China gained control of the Chinese mainland in 1949, it claimed the right to take the Chinese seat in the General Assembly as well as in other United Nations bodies. The National Government of the Republic of China, which had moved to Formosa, would not, however, surrender its right to represent China in the United Nations.

Some members of the United Nations, in their own relations with China, have continued to recognize the National Government, while others, a minority, have given recognition to the Central People's Government. The fact that some governments have, for their own purposes, recognized the Central People's Government has not necessarily prevented them from accepting the majority decision to continue to recognize the National Government representatives in the United Nations, or even from joining the majority in supporting moves to postpone a decision in the United Nations on the claims of the Central People's Government to the seat of China in the United Nations. While the argument continues, representatives of

the National Government continue to sit in the General Assembly and in other United Nations bodies. In the Specialized Agencies, the general principle is now followed that each Agency should settle for itself the question of Chinese representation.

During the sixth session of the Assembly, a proposal of the Soviet Union to include on the agenda of the Assembly an additional item entitled "The Representation of China in the United Nations" was rejected by a large majority. The Assembly adopted a resolution proposed by Thailand rejecting the Soviet request to include this item and also postponing consideration, for the duration of the sixth session, of any further proposals either to exclude representatives of the National Government or to seat representatives of the Central People's Government. The vote on Thailand's resolution clearly demonstrated the views of a large majority of the members of the United Nations that no new decision regarding Chinese representation should be made at a time when armed forces of the Central People's Government were supporting aggression in Korea. This view was also reflected by the adoption of many similar motions to postpone consideration of the question of Chinese representation in subsidiary bodies of the United Nations and in the various Specialized Agencies.

The position of Canada, which has not recognized the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, continues to be as outlined by the Secretary of State for External Affairs in the House of Commons on February 2, 1951:

I need hardly add that when late last year the Chinese Government in Peking joined in the aggression in Korea, it was inconceivable that countries which had hitherto withheld recognition would at that time decide to change their policies. I feel, however, that the Far Eastern problems could be more readily solved if diplomatic relations existed with the Government of China which has the whole of the mainland of China under its control. But the Peking Government can hardly expect recognition now from those member states of the United Nations against whom they are fighting in Korea. The remedy for the situation now lies with the communists themselves. They should not think that they can bludgeon or blackmail their way into recognition or into the United Nations.

Admission of New Members

The most recent applicant to be admitted to the United Nations was Indonesia which, on September 28, 1950, became the sixtieth member. No new members have been admitted since that time because the Soviet Union has used its veto power in the Security Council to prevent the admission of any countries supported by the non-communist states, until these states, in return, agree to the admission of the applicants favoured by the U.S.S.R. So far a majority of the United Nations has not agreed to this "package deal". At present, applications for membership from the following governments are outstanding:

(a) **States Sponsored by the U.S.S.R.**

Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, the Mongolian People's Republic, North Korea, "the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam" (Viet-Minh) and Roumania;

(b) **Other States**

Austria, Cambodia, Ceylon, Finland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, the Republic of Korea, Laos, Libya, Nepal, Portugal and Viet-Nam.

Three proposals regarding the admission of new members were submitted at the sixth session of the General Assembly. The first of these was a resolution sponsored by the Soviet Union by which the General Assembly would have asked the Security Council to reconsider the applications of 13 states (Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Ceylon, Finland, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, the Mongolian People's Republic, Nepal, Portugal and Roumania) and to consider the new application of Libya. This Soviet proposal included all the outstanding applicants except the disputing claimants in Korea and in Indo-China. The proposal led to a heated debate in the Political Committee of the Assembly and was attacked by the United States Representative as "blackmail". It was adopted in the Political Committee by a vote of 21 in favour, 12 against and 25 abstentions (including Canada), but was rejected in the plenary session of the Assembly since it failed to secure the necessary two-thirds majority. The vote in the plenary session was 22 in favour, 21 against and 16 abstentions (including Canada).

The second resolution on this subject to be considered by the Assembly was submitted by the Peruvian Delegation. This resolution declared that the admission of new members should be based exclusively on the conditions contained in Article 4 of the Charter. Article 4 states that membership in the United Nations is open to all peace-loving states which 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 Peruvian resolution further recommended that the Security Council reconsider all pending applications, basing this re-examination exclusively on the facts submitted by applicants regarding their qualifications under Article 4. This resolution was adopted by the Assembly by a vote of 43 in favour, 8 against and 17 abstentions (including Canada).

The third proposal which was submitted by a number of Central American delegations would have requested an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice concerning the use of the veto by a permanent member of the Security Council to block a favourable recommendation on an applicant state. On March 3, 1950 the Court had given its opinion that the General Assembly could not, by itself, effect the admission of an applicant state in the absence of a recommendation by the Security Council. This opinion of the Court did not, however, deal with the question of how the Council should make such recommendations, i.e. whether or not the veto could be used. A number of delegations were reluctant to discuss the substance of this Central American resolution because the date on which it was brought into the Political Committee left little time for adequate consideration of the problems involved. Accordingly, the Central

American delegations proposed that their first resolution be transmitted to the next (seventh) regular session of the Assembly for its consideration. In order to avoid a debate on the substance of the proposal regarding the International Court, the Canadian Delegation voted in favour of the transmittal resolution, which was adopted in the plenary session by a vote of 36 in favour, 5 against and 14 abstentions.

The Canadian Delegation did not make any statement in the debates on this question in the Assembly. The Canadian position is to favour any practical arrangement which would break the present deadlock on membership of applicants supported by Canada.

Disarmament

The story of disarmament discussions in the United Nations is one of almost unrelieved deadlock between the fundamentally opposed and so far unreconciled positions of the Soviet Union and the Western powers. In an effort to end the stalemate that had been reached in both the Atomic Energy Commission and the Commission for Conventional Armaments, the General Assembly, at its fifth session, adopted on December 13, 1950 Resolution 496 (V) establishing a Committee of Twelve (the members of the Security Council and Canada) to consider and report to the next Assembly session on ways and means whereby the work of these two Commissions might be co-ordinated and on the advisability of their functions being placed under a new and consolidated disarmament commission. The Committee of Twelve recommended to the sixth session of the Assembly that such a new commission, which should be under and report to the Security Council, should be established and that the Atomic Energy Commission and the Commission for Conventional Armaments should then be dissolved. There was no indication beyond this of what the detailed terms of reference of the new commission might be.

The Governments of France, the United Kingdom and the United States, however, had been carrying on tripartite consultations on this problem and they submitted to the sixth session of the Assembly comprehensive proposals for the regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and armaments; the task of elaborating these proposals and embodying them in a draft treaty was to be assigned to the proposed new commission. These proposals were placed in perspective by a tripartite statement issued by the sponsors just before the opening of the Assembly, which emphasized that, while in existing conditions the three Governments were determined to develop the strength needed for their security, the danger of war could be appreciably reduced if all governments would work together on a programme to reduce and limit armed forces. Although such a programme could not be implemented while United Nations forces were resisting aggression in Korea, discussion should begin without delay. Three new and notable features of these proposals were (a) that they provided, as a first step, for a progressive and continuous system of international disclosure and verification of all armed forces and armaments, (b) that they suggested the drawing

up of criteria for limiting national armed forces and armaments, and (c) that they were to include atomic weapons as well as conventional armaments in the same scheme. The control of atomic energy and the prohibition of atomic weapons were to be dealt with on the basis of the United Nations plan unless and until a better one was devised.

The tripartite proposals were met initially by Mr. Vyshinsky's notorious comment that he "had not been able to sleep for laughing" at their inadequacy, and by familiar Soviet accusations about the aggressive intentions of the Western powers. Later, however, the Soviet Delegations produced counter-proposals which advocated: (a) that the unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons should be embodied in a convention and enforced under strict international controls; (b) that the five major powers should reduce their armed strength by one-third in one year; (c) that, within a month of the Assembly's decision to prohibit atomic weapons and reduce the armed strength of the major powers, all states should furnish complete information on their armed forces, including data on atomic weapons and on military bases abroad; (d) that an international control organ should be established within the framework of the Security Council to implement these decisions; and (e) that a world conference to consider these arrangements should be called not later than June 1, 1952. The Western delegations pointed out that there was nothing new in Mr. Vyshinsky's proposals, particularly with respect to the question of inspection, on which they had already demonstrated that the Soviet position was unsatisfactory.

In the Assembly's Political Committee, to which these two sets of proposals were referred, there was general approval for the Western proposals but also recognition that little practical progress could be achieved without Soviet co-operation. When, therefore, a proposal was introduced jointly by Iran, Pakistan and Syria to establish a sub-committee, consisting of the representatives of France, the United Kingdom, the United States and the U.S.S.R. under the chairmanship of the President of the Assembly, to formulate "agreed proposals", it was unanimously accepted with the proviso that the sub-committee should report back within ten days.

The sub-commission met in closed session. Although it was unable to reach agreement on any major point of substance, except to replace the Atomic Energy Commission and the Commission for Conventional Armaments by a single new commission, its deliberations were amicable and businesslike, in contrast with subsequent discussions on this subject, and they achieved a moderate measure of mutual understanding. The meetings were also useful in furnishing as clear an indication as is available of the Soviet attitude on these matters. The Soviet Union is apparently unwilling to disclose any information on its armed forces or armaments until a binding decision has been taken by all the great powers to prohibit atomic weapons and reduce armaments and armed forces. It also insists that, without an immediate declaration of unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons, it will not embark on the establishment of a control plan. Under the Soviet proposals as discussed in the sub-committee, a binding decision on prohibition would be taken simultaneously with a decision to set up international control. Under this plan, there would be a period of indeterminate duration in which

atomic weapons would be prohibited without there being any international control to ensure that this prohibition was being carried out. Mr. Vyshinsky admitted this fact but claimed that the interval was inevitable and would be short. This is the "simultaneity" of prohibition and control as envisaged by the Soviet Union. It is true that Mr. Vyshinsky later suggested in the Political Committee that a compromise might be to proclaim prohibition in principle immediately and at the same time to state that it would become effective only when international control was established. This revised Soviet proposal was referred for further study to the new Disarmament Commission but there the Soviet Representative has so far refused to discuss this point in detail until the Commission first decides on prohibition.

The sub-committee having reported back to the Political Committee, the Western powers submitted a revised text of their proposals which attempted to go some way to meet Soviet criticisms. The Soviet Delegation merely submitted its original counter-proposals again. However, these proposals and other amendments by Czechoslovakia and Egypt along similar lines were decisively defeated in the Committee. The tripartite resolution as a whole was then adopted in the Committee by 44 votes (including Canada) to 5 (the Soviet bloc) with 10 abstentions (Afghanistan, Argentina, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Pakistan, Saudi-Arabia, Syria and Yemen) and in the Assembly itself by a similar vote. The text of the final resolution is contained in Appendix 5.

The Disarmament Commission thus established commenced its work in March of this year in New York, where it has since been meeting periodically. Having agreed to follow the rules of procedure of the former Atomic Energy Commission, it embarked on a long discussion of its programme of work. The Soviet Representative insisted that the Commission should first decide in principle that all weapons of mass destruction should be outlawed and that conventional armaments should be reduced by a given percentage (perhaps one-third) of current levels. He persisted in presenting this issue solely in terms of the Soviet proposals made at the recent session of the Assembly, in spite of the fact that these proposals had in no sense been accepted by the Assembly but had merely been referred to the Commission for further examination. The Western delegations, while not objecting to examination of the Soviet proposals, maintained that they would be meaningless unless the Commission were at the same time to agree upon methods for putting them into effect, on which the Soviet proposals were deplorably imprecise.

Finally, an agreement was reached for a programme of work calling for simultaneous examination of the question of the regulation of all armaments and armed forces and the question of their disclosure and verification. Two working committees were set up, Committee One to deal with the first of these questions, and Committee Two to deal with the second. The membership of these Committees was to be the same as for the Commission itself and they were to function simultaneously.

It cannot be said that the Commission or its Committees have made any substantial progress up to the time of writing. This is partly because the Soviet Representative has confined himself to

criticising the proposals of other members of the Commission and has declined to submit alternative suggestions. Another reason is that the Soviet Representative, by repeatedly alleging that United Nations forces in Korea are waging bacteriological warfare, has distracted the Commission from its proper functions. These charges, which have been much exploited by the communist press, were denied categorically by the United States Representative and were also refuted by the spokesmen of other states contributing to the United Nations forces in Korea. The Soviet Representative nevertheless returned repeatedly to the subject and was only restrained when the Canadian Representative, who was chairman of the Commission during the month of March, ruled that consideration of these charges was not within the terms of reference of the Commission. This ruling was challenged by the Soviet Representative but was upheld by all other members of the Commission.

In spite of the lack of substantial progress, the Commission was able to submit on June 1 its first report to the Security Council in accordance with the instructions of the General Assembly. This interim report, which was adopted by 11 votes to 1 (the U.S.S.R.), describes the Commission's programme of work and lists the proposals so far submitted to it. The main proposals are as follows:

- (a) A working paper submitted by the United States entitled "Proposals for the Progressive and Continuing Disclosure and Verification of Armed Forces"¹, which suggests a procedure whereby disclosure of information could be carried out in five stages; the information disclosed would be verified by an international control organ which would have to report the satisfactory completion of each stage before the next stage could be embarked upon; the same organ would maintain a continuing check, at all stages, on the information already disclosed.
- (b) A proposal submitted by the United States entitled "Essential Principles for a Disarmament Programme"², which states in an expanded form the principles embodied in the Assembly resolution establishing the Commission (see Appendix 5).
- (c) A working paper submitted by France, the United Kingdom and the United States on "Proposals for Fixing the Numerical Limitation of all Armed Forces"³.

The first two proposals have received general support from members of the Commission but useful discussion of them has been hampered by their out-of-hand rejection by the Soviet Representative. By far the most important, however, is the third proposal, which puts forward a "working formula" for establishing numerical ceilings for all armed forces with a view to avoiding a disequilibrium of power dangerous to international peace and security. It tentatively suggests that the ceilings for the United States, the U.S.S.R. and China should be the same and should be between one million

¹Document DC/C2/1 of April 5.

²Document DC/C1/1 of April 24.

³Document DC/10 of May 28.

and one and a half million; and that the ceilings for the United Kingdom and France should also be the same and should be between 700 and 800 thousand. For all other states having substantial armed forces it suggests that ceilings should be agreed on which would normally be "less than one per cent of the population" and "less than current levels except in very special circumstances", and which should be established with a view to avoiding a disequilibrium of power dangerous to international peace and security in any particular area of the world. This tripartite proposal was introduced to the Commission by the United Kingdom Representative, who pointed out that it would entail a much greater cut (about 50 per cent) in the armed forces of the major powers than would the Soviet proposal for a one-third reduction and would, moreover, apply (unlike the Soviet proposal) to all states having substantial armed forces. Supporting statements by the United States and French Representatives emphasized that this proposal was intended to deal with only one part of a comprehensive disarmament programme. The Soviet Representative, after giving an initially cautious reception to the proposal, has since returned to the sort of purely negative criticism to which he has subjected every Western suggestion so far made in the Commission. Fundamentally, his position has been that any discussion on reduction of armed forces should be on the basis of the Soviet proposals. He has claimed that the fixing of numerical ceilings on armed forces is not a reduction but only "legalization of the inflated armed forces of the Western powers", that sea and air forces should be explicitly mentioned (this in spite of the fact that the proposal refers to "all armed forces"), that the proportions between the three services be fixed and that the proposal should provide also for the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction, on which decisions should be taken simultaneously.

The Canadian position is that, in spite of the disappointing lack of progress so far made on the problem of disarmament, the Western powers must make every effort not only to secure effective international control of weapons of mass destruction and a balanced reduction of armaments and armed forces but also to convince both the Soviet Union and public opinion in general that this is their earnest aim. It is recognized that any real progress toward the goal of disarmament can be measured only by the extent to which agreement can be achieved between the Soviet Union and the Western powers. It is therefore Canada's main objective to bring about such agreement by any means which will at the same time safeguard national and collective security. To do this, there must be a balance of risks and safeguards on both sides and it therefore follows that no general plan of disarmament is likely to have any prospect of success unless it not only deals at the same time with both conventional and atomic armaments but also incorporates all three segments of the problem: a decision to prohibit atomic weapons and reduce armed forces and armaments; safeguards of disclosure and verification of information on such weapons, armed forces and armaments; and a system of international control to enforce the plan. In line with this approach, it has been the hope of the Canadian Government that the Disarmament Commission could be made into

a working body rather than a forum. It is believed that the Commission can do constructive work if it concentrates on its terms of reference but that the quickest way to thwart that purpose is to indulge in mere propaganda. It might therefore be preferable if the Commission could restrict its public sessions as much as possible and do its work in closed committee. While international covenants should be made public, they may often be better negotiated in confidence, provided the principles and purpose of the negotiations have been made clearly known.

Collective Measures

The study of collective measures to deter or resist aggression has its origin in the experience of the United Nations in Korea. In order to strengthen further United Nations collective security arrangements, the General Assembly at its fifth session had adopted Resolution 377 A (V) of November 3, 1950 (the "Uniting for Peace" resolution), providing means for the Assembly to act in the event of a veto in the Security Council and setting up a Collective Measures Committee of 14 members, including Canada.¹ This Committee was directed to study and report to the Security Council and the Assembly on "methods . . . which might be used to maintain and strengthen international peace and security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter, taking account of collective self-defence and regional arrangements".

In the report which it submitted to the sixth session of the Assembly², the Collective Measures Committee recognized that it could not anticipate any specific situation which would lead the Security Council or the Assembly to decide upon or recommend particular measures in any given case, and emphasized that it had concentrated on the preparedness of states and on techniques, machinery and procedures relating to the co-ordination of national and international action.

To assist it in its work, the Committee had established four subordinate bodies to study respectively (a) the problems involved in the establishment of a Panel of Military Experts³, (b) possible political measures, (c) possible economic and financial measures, and (d) possible military measures, which might be undertaken by or through the United Nations in the event of aggression or a threat to the peace. In conclusion, the Committee recommended further study on the economic and financial and on the military aspects but omitted any specific recommendation on whether or not its own mandate should be extended.

The reports on both the Panel of Military Experts and on political measures were brief and non-controversial. The first

¹The members of the Collective Measures Committee were Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Egypt, France, Mexico, the Philippines, Turkey, the United Kingdom, the United States, Venezuela and Yugoslavia. The U.S.S.R. was not included at its own request.

²Document A/1891.

³General Assembly Resolution 377 A (V) requested the Secretary-General "to appoint . . . a Panel of Military Experts who could be made available upon the request of member states which wished to obtain technical advice regarding the organization, training and equipment for prompt service as United Nations units of the elements referred to in paragraph 8".

merely defined the nature and general functions of the Panel and, pending later consideration of detailed directions to the Panel, allowed the Secretary-General to invite member states to nominate suitable officers for possible appointment. The second concluded that little or no advance planning was required in the political field, which was largely one for action by individual states. However, in both the economic and financial and the military fields, material factors were such that preliminary planning and effective co-ordination were required and these reports therefore elaborated in considerable detail various possible measures. It was emphasized that the success of the economic and financial measures would depend largely on the speed and thoroughness with which they were applied by member states and that the application of sanctions was likely to impose on some of the co-operating states serious burdens which would have to be equalized if full co-operation was to be obtained. The report on military measures, based largely on the Korean experience, concentrated on machinery which might be used to implement a United Nations decision to call on member states to take direct military action against aggression and, in particular, on the appointment, subsequent to such a decision, of an executive military authority (a state or group of states) to act on behalf of the United Nations in directing the actual conduct of operations.

The resolution adopted by the sixth session of the Assembly, on the proposal of a group of states members of the Collective Measures Committee, including Canada, took note of the Committee's report, recommended that member and non-member states should take such steps as they considered necessary to enable them to take action as suggested by the report, requested the Secretary-General to appoint members of the Panel of Military Experts, and — most important of all — directed the Committee to continue its work for another year and report to the Security Council at the next session of the General Assembly. This was a consolidation of what had been sketched out in broad terms during the previous session; it did not involve further commitments of any kind. The resolution was adopted by the overwhelming majority of 51 votes (including Canada) to 5 (the Soviet bloc), with 3 abstentions (Argentina, India and Indonesia). Thus there was very widespread support for the idea of collective security. However, no country was prepared — as replies to the Collective Measures Committee from member states had shown — to earmark forces without qualification for United Nations service in the event of aggression and there was no attempt to broaden the base of United Nations collective action in Korea. Indeed, the debate in the Political Committee of the Assembly was notable for the readiness of the sponsors of the resolution to accept amendments which were designed to ensure that the ultimate decision on participation in collective measures should rest firmly with individual states, that the Collective Measures Committee's report implied no obligations prior to a United Nations decision that action should be taken and that it should serve primarily the Security Council, and the General Assembly only in the absence of action by the Council.

Opposition to the resolution came from three main sources. Some member states, like India, regarded any attempt to organize

collective security in military terms, in face of the opposition of one of the great powers, as dangerous to the interests of the United Nations and to world peace. Some of the Latin American states regarded the existing regional arrangements of the Organization of American States as having priority over any United Nations arrangements.

The opposition of the Soviet bloc was apparently directed not so much against the resolution itself as against its origin in the "Uniting for Peace" resolution of the previous session of the Assembly and against the United Nations collective action in Korea. The Soviet Delegation submitted an opposing resolution which proposed the abolition of the Collective Measures Committee and the calling of a meeting of the Security Council "without delay" under Article 28 of the Charter to consider measures to remove international tension and examine, in the first place, what could be done to bring the Korean armistice negotiations to a successful conclusion. In spite of the reply of the Western powers that there was no useful purpose in referring the Korean question to the Security Council, because it would complicate and might even suspend the existing negotiations at Panmunjom and would only provide Soviet spokesmen with a new propaganda platform, this proposal for a Security Council meeting had sufficient appeal to warrant adoption of a further resolution. The Soviet resolution was, however, amended by deleting the phrase "without delay" and the references to Korea; a meeting of the Security Council was to be called "whenever such a meeting would usefully serve to remove such tension and establish such friendly relations in furtherance of the purposes and principles of the Charter".

As a member of the Collective Measures Committee, Canada agreed to the contents of the report to the Assembly and was one of the sponsors of the joint resolution based on that report. The Canadian position assumed that the United Nations could not remain passive in the event of a major war and still retain its moral validity. Canada therefore supported the principle of collective measures taken under the auspices of the United Nations and agreed that the United Nations could usefully review all possible measures which might contribute to this purpose, provided it did not attempt to anticipate specific situations. At the same time, it was the Canadian view that the United Nations was not the appropriate body actually to direct military operations. Canada therefore supported the approach of the Collective Measures Committee, which recognized that, while the United Nations would have to maintain some degree of supervision over any collective measures decided upon, the question of specific methods to be used and their application was one to be decided by individual governments. Moreover, it was the Canadian policy to regard collective security through regional organizations as complementary to United Nations collective measures and to recognize that such regional arrangements, if they were to be successful, must be such as to command the general support of the United Nations.

The Collective Measures Committee reconvened in New York on April 15 of this year and has since then adopted a programme of future studies. It has been agreed that only two sub-committees

should be established this time (instead of the previous four), one on economic and financial measures and one on military measures. Canada continues to be, as it was last year, a member of the military sub-committee. At the time of writing, neither sub-committee has progressed very far with its studies and it is in fact unlikely that there will be much new ground to break, with the possible exception of the question of the equitable sharing of the burdens of collective action and the question of a United Nations Legion.

The Committee itself has requested the Secretary-General to send a communication to both member and non-member states, asking for information on the steps they are taking in furtherance of the General Assembly recommendations, and also a communication to member states not represented on the Committee, asking for suggestions on subjects which the Committee might explore in its future work. The Committee has also approved certain nominations by the Secretary-General for the Panel of Military Experts. Among the appointments to the Panel is Major-General R. O. G. Morton, CBE (Retired) of Toronto and Montreal.

Free German Elections

The problem of uniting the eastern and western parts of Germany, which has for some years been an issue hotly contended between the Soviet Union and the free world, was brought before the sixth session of the General Assembly during December 1951 in the following fashion. In September 1951 the Government of the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) had proposed to the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany that representatives of East and West Germany should meet to consider the holding of free and secret elections to an all-German parliament. In his reply to this proposal Dr. Adenauer, the Chancellor of the Federal Republic, laid down 14 principles of election procedure. Dr. Adenauer also sent a note, early in October, to the Allied High Commission — the representatives of the Western occupying powers. In this note he proposed the setting up of an international commission, under the control of the United Nations, to determine whether conditions in Germany were such that free elections could be held. France, the United Kingdom and the United States requested on November 5 that this proposal be made an item on the agenda of the sixth session of the General Assembly. The request was agreed to by the General Assembly on November 13 by a majority which included Canada.

The subject of an electoral commission was first discussed in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee on December 4, in terms of a resolution put forward by the representatives at the General Assembly of the Western occupying powers. A few days later delegations from both East and West Germany presented their respective cases to the Committee. The East Germans, painting a rosy picture of conditions in the East Zone, rejected the proposal for an investigation by a United Nations commission; the West Germans and the Mayor of West Berlin welcomed an investigation and spoke of the

restoration of German unity as an urgent necessity for the peace of Europe.

The resolution of the Western occupying powers, as amended by various delegations in the course of 12 meetings between December 4 and December 19, was adopted in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee on December 19, 1951 by 45 votes in favour, including Canada's, to 6 against with 8 abstentions. The resolution was adopted in the plenary session on December 20 with exactly the same voting. Under the terms of the resolution the General Assembly appointed the United Nations Commission to Investigate Conditions for Free Elections in Germany, composed of representatives of Brazil, Iceland, the Netherlands, Pakistan and Poland, to begin simultaneous investigations immediately in both parts of Germany and to report to the Secretary-General not later than September 1, 1952 the results of its activities, for the consideration of the four occupying powers and for the information of the other members of the United Nations. Only Poland refused to accept membership in the commission.

The commission held its first meeting in Paris on February 11, 1952 and decided to transfer its headquarters to Geneva. From Geneva the chairman wrote to General Chuikov, chairman of the Soviet Control Commission for Germany, on February 22, asking him to notify the appropriate authorities in the Soviet Zone that the United Nations commission would like to discuss with them arrangements for the carrying out of its work. This and three subsequent letters to General Chuikov remained unanswered. In contrast, the commission received every encouragement from the Allied High Commission in West Germany and from the authorities of the Federal Republic and West Berlin. The members visited Bonn and Berlin in March, but since they could not make contact with the East German authorities through the Soviet High Commissioner they returned to Geneva at the beginning of April.

The commission reported to the Secretary-General on May 1, 1952 that it had been unable to carry out its terms of reference in East Germany and East Berlin, and that there was therefore little prospect of its being able to fulfil its task in the near future. It would, however, remain at the disposal of the United Nations and would make a further attempt at investigation when it considered that there was a better prospect of success.

The Balkans:

(A) Yugoslav Complaint Against the Cominform

At the sixth session of the General Assembly Yugoslavia submitted a resolution complaining of hostile activities directed against Yugoslavia by the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Hungary, Roumania, Albania, Czechoslovakia and Poland. The hostile activities mentioned in the Yugoslav statement on this resolution included economic blockade of Yugoslavia, demands for the overthrow of the Government of Yugoslavia, the sending of trained terrorists into Yugo-

slavia, provocation of border incidents and killing and wounding of Yugoslav frontier guards, forced deportation of Yugoslav minorities from border areas, abrogation of treaties and conventions, discriminatory diplomatic practices, development of armed forces by Bulgaria, Roumania and Hungary in violation of the peace treaties, and demonstrative troop movements in the frontier area bordering Yugoslavia.

The resolution itself was a very moderately worded recommendation inviting the Governments concerned to: (a) conduct their relations and settle their disputes in accordance with the spirit of the United Nations Charter; (b) conform in their diplomatic intercourse with the rules and practices which are customary in international relations; and (c) settle frontier disputes by means of mixed frontier commissions or other peaceful means of their choice.

In support of this resolution the Yugoslav Representative made a statement containing detailed evidence of these hostile activities. Delegations of the Soviet Union and all other countries in the Soviet bloc opposed the resolution and produced a number of counter-charges of hostile Yugoslav activities. The Canadian Delegation supported the Yugoslav resolution which was adopted by a large majority, both in the Political Committee and in the plenary meeting of the General Assembly.

The Balkans:

(B) Greece and its Northern Neighbours

Acting on a proposal of the Greek Government, the General Assembly decided during its sixth session to dissolve the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans (UNSCOB). This body had been set up under an Assembly resolution of October 21, 1947 (a) to assist Greece and its northern neighbours to settle their disputes by peaceful means and (b) to observe their compliance with measures recommended by the Assembly after a United Nations commission of investigation had confirmed that Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia had been assisting guerrillas to fight against the Greek Government. Because these three northern neighbours of Greece refused to have anything to do with UNSCOB, its observation teams had been obliged to confine their operations to Greece, where they had investigated border incidents and reported on the general situation, making recommendations to the Secretary-General which for the most part had been approved by the General Assembly.

In supporting the resolution to dissolve UNSCOB, which was adopted on December 7, 1951, by 48 votes to 5, with 1 abstention, the Canadian Representative observed that the end of a successful chapter had been reached in experimenting with new techniques of collective security. To have closed the northern frontier of Greece would have taken the entire Greek army. The only possible peaceful alternative was to use the force of public opinion to keep the frontier as quiet as possible "through having along that frontier United Nations observers who could at once report any violations, or any

infiltrations of men and arms". The Canadian Representative added, however, that had it not been for the valour of the fighting forces of Greece no amount of watching of the northern frontier would have kept Greece free.

The decision to dissolve UNSCOB reflected a change which had taken place in the nature of the threat to peace and security in the Balkans since the defeat of the main guerrilla forces in northern Greece in September 1949. The threat was still present, but it had now taken the form of a co-ordinated system, developed in Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland, for selecting and training subversive groups to be smuggled into Greece. With the help of the "free Greek" radio in Roumania these groups were to prepare the way for a future attempt to overthrow the Greek Government by force. Relations between Greece and Yugoslavia, however, having greatly improved, and Yugoslavia having begun to complain of pressure from Cominform countries on its own borders, what now seemed to be required was not a United Nations body based on Greece but a body which would be available at United Nations headquarters to serve the interests of peace in any part of the Balkans where its services might be requested. In a second part of its resolution of December 7 the General Assembly therefore invited the Peace Observation Commission, which was set up under the "Uniting for Peace" resolution of 1950,¹ to create a Balkan sub-commission of three, four or five members for the purpose of visiting or sending observers when requested to do so to any area of international tension in the Balkans where the states concerned consented to receive them. This proposal had been jointly sponsored by France, Greece, Mexico, the United Kingdom and the United States and had Canada's support.

In accordance with the Assembly's resolution, but over the protests of its two Soviet members, the Peace Observation Commission on January 23, 1952 created, as its first subsidiary body, the Balkan Sub-Commission of five members. Responding to a Greek request, the Sub-Commission agreed to send observers to Greece, thus ensuring that there would be no break in the continuity of United Nations observation service in that country.

Repatriation of Greek Children

During the sixth session of the General Assembly little progress was made toward securing the return to their parents of children and young people who had been abducted from Greece during the guerrilla disturbances. The General Assembly's Standing Committee on Repatriation of Greek Children secured a promise, however, from the Czechoslovak Representative that officials of the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies would be allowed to visit Prague for the first time in two years to discuss the cases of 138 Greek children for whose repatriation specific applications had been made through the Greek Government and Greek Red Cross Society. The Czechoslovak Government maintained, however, that only a few, if any, of these children qualified for repatriation and asked for additional guaran-

¹See *Canada and the United Nations 1950*, pp. 13-21.

tees concerning the conditions under which they would live if they were repatriated. On February 2, 1952 the General Assembly adopted a resolution, which Canada supported, expressing the opinion that obstacles to the repatriation of Greek children were not insurmountable and asking the Standing Committee and the international Red Cross societies to continue their efforts to have the children returned.

Representatives of the Soviet bloc failed in successive attempts to have resolutions adopted calling for the cessation of "foreign interference" in Greece or the repeal of death sentences meted out to leftist leaders by Greek courts and inviting the Greek Government to grant a general amnesty. Efforts to have the Assembly discuss the treatment of leftist prisoners in Greece were ruled out of order.

Libya

In pursuance of resolutions adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on November 21, 1949 and November 17, 1950, the process of preparing Libya for independence continued during the year 1951 with the active aid of the United Nations Commissioner for Libya, Mr. Adrian Pelt, who was advised from time to time by the ten-member United Nations Council for Libya. The National Assembly,¹ whose chief responsibility was the drafting of a constitution, had decided in December 1950 that Libya should have a federal and monarchical form of government and had invited the Senussi Amir to become King of Libya as Idriss I. On March 29, 1951 it appointed a provisional federal government of six members under the premiership of Mahmud Bey Muntasser.

The constitution adopted on October 7, 1951 by the National Assembly provided among other things for the distribution of powers between the federal and provincial governments. To facilitate the orderly transfer of these powers, the United Nations Commissioner had arranged for the creation of a Co-ordination Committee in which he was able to discuss with a legal adviser and with British and French administering authorities and representatives of the territorial administration of Tripolitania, Cyrenaica and the Fezzan the best means of effecting the necessary transition. In accordance with decisions of this committee the transfer of powers took place in four stages, beginning in October immediately after the adoption of the constitution. Not until the third stage was reached, however, did the transfers involve a considerable financial burden for the federal government. The third transfer was effected on December 15, 1951, immediately after the conclusion of provisional financial agreements with the Governments of the United Kingdom and France, which helped the Libyan administration to shoulder its new responsibilities. The final transfer of powers (relating to foreign affairs and defence) took place on December 24, 1951, when Libya's independence was declared by King Idriss I and the constitution came formally into effect. The provisional Libyan Government thereupon resigned and was succeeded by a

¹See *Canada and the United Nations 1950*, p. 24.

duly constituted government under the same Prime Minister, appointed by the King in conformity with the constitution. Application was made immediately by Mahmud Bey Muntasser for Libya's admission to membership in the United Nations in accordance with the General Assembly's resolutions of November 21, 1949 and November 17, 1950. Soon afterward the State of Libya was formally recognized by a number of foreign governments, including that of Canada. Elections were held on February 19, 1952 and Prime Minister Muntasser was confirmed in office.

When the General Assembly convened in Paris in November 1951 unsuccessful efforts were made by certain Arab representatives to have the Libyan item taken up early, in the hope that the wisdom or legality of some of the measures employed in preparing Libya for independence might be considered by the Assembly before Libya was actually declared an independent state. They also suggested that the forthcoming election should be supervised by the United Nations. The Libyan item was not taken up, however, until January 23, 1952, a month after the declaration of independence was published.

The framework of the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on February 1, 1952 was provided by a draft resolution jointly sponsored by twelve states — the United States, Iraq, Liberia, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Denmark, Greece, Chile, Nicaragua, Peru and Uruguay. This resolution congratulated Libya on its attainment of independence, noted that national elections (later amended at the request of four Arab states to read "free and democratic national elections") would soon be held in accordance with provisions of the Libyan constitution, asked the Secretary-General and the Specialized Agencies to continue to extend to Libya such technical assistance as they could if Libya asked for it, and expressed the opinion that Libya should now be admitted to the United Nations in accordance with the Charter and the General Assembly's former recommendations.

Opposition to the draft resolution centred on the issue of whether or not Libya could really be regarded as an independent state so long as foreign troops remained on Libyan soil and the national economy had to be bolstered by substantial subsidies from abroad. The Representative of the Soviet Union proposed that all foreign military forces should be withdrawn from Libya within three months and foreign military bases liquidated. The Representative of Egypt proposed that foreign military bases be turned over to the Libyan authorities and suggested a time limit of six months for the withdrawal of foreign forces. Both these proposals were defeated. The majority, including Canada, took the view that Libya as an independent state should negotiate its own formal agreements on these subjects with the countries concerned — viz., the United Kingdom, France and the United States.

Libya's poverty is great. The deficit in its ordinary administrative budgets is likely to exceed \$3 million, without taking account of urgently necessary minimum plans for economic and social development which will require several millions more. The United Kingdom Government has undertaken to meet the budgetary deficit up to March 1953 if the budget is prudently framed, except in

regard to the Fezzan where France has made a corresponding commitment. By agreement with the United Kingdom Government a chief financial officer and an auditor-general have been appointed and Libya has itself created two financing agencies to receive grants or loans from abroad to finance approved development projects. The United States has agreed to provide financial and technical assistance in addition to the very considerable technical assistance provided by the United Nations and Specialized Agencies, whose preliminary technical surveys in Libya were completed early in 1952.

To reduce the extent of Libya's dependence on bilateral financial agreements, four Arab representatives proposed the creation by voluntary contributions of a special United Nations fund from which Libya might be given financial aid at its own request, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) being asked to suggest how the fund should be administered and used. A Chilean amendment was adopted instead, however, inviting ECOSOC, with the help of the Secretary-General, to make a broader study of ways and means whereby the United Nations and Specialized Agencies might provide additional assistance to Libya with a view to financing urgent economic and social programmes. This suggestion was opposed at first by United States, Canadian and other spokesmen on the ground that it seemed to imply a degree of continued supervision of Libya by the United Nations. In the final vote, however, the twelve-power draft resolution as amended by Chile was adopted by 53 votes, including that of Canada, to none, with no abstentions.

The five members of the Soviet bloc took no part in this vote because they objected to the final paragraph of the resolution relating to the admission of Libya to the United Nations. They maintained that the Security Council should consider Libya's membership application before the General Assembly expressed an opinion on the subject. The Representative of the U.S.S.R. nevertheless included Libya among 14 states whose simultaneous admission to the United Nations he proposed to the General Assembly at the same meeting, five days before a resolution to the same effect was put forward by the Soviet Representative in the Security Council.²

On January 29, 1952 the General Assembly adopted a resolution asking the Secretary-General to complete a survey of war damages in Libya begun in June 1951 and inviting the Secretary-General and agencies participating in the Technical Assistance Board to give sympathetic consideration to Libyan requests for assistance with economic development programmes which would strengthen the Libyan economy, including requests for aid in repairing or reconstructing installations damaged during the war, which are also needed to strengthen the Libyan economy. Finally, the General Assembly adopted a resolution noting the announced intention of Egypt to enter into direct negotiations with Libya to settle on a friendly basis issues relating to their common boundary. Both resolutions had Canadian support.

²See above, p. 10.

Eritrea

Dr. Eduardo Anze Matienzo, the United Nations Commissioner for Eritrea appointed under a resolution adopted by the General Assembly on November 17, 1950, spent the greater part of 1951 discussing with leaders of Eritrean public opinion the form of that territory's prospective constitution and the arrangements to be made for putting into effect the federal act recommended by the United Nations General Assembly. It is hoped that the process of establishing Eritrea as an autonomous political unit federated with Ethiopia under the sovereignty of the Ethiopian Crown will be completed by September 15, 1952, the time limit set in the Assembly resolution. In March 1952 an Eritrean constituent assembly was elected, which began on May 3 the consideration of the draft constitution.

Only one item relating to Eritrea was considered during the sixth session of the United Nations General Assembly. On January 29, 1952 the Assembly adopted a resolution providing for the orderly transfer to Eritrean authorities of property of the Italian state and the former Italian Fascist Party. In addition, the resolution dealt with such matters as the payment by the Italian Government of civil and military pensions to Eritreans, the fulfilment of obligations of Italian social insurance organizations in Eritrea and the continuing validity of concessions and contracts granted by the former Italian and British administrations in Eritrea. The resolution also provided for the creation of a United Nations arbitral tribunal to decide disputes arising out of the interpretation of the resolution or its application. Canada was among the members which voted in favour of the proposed arrangements.

Morocco

The problem of Morocco was not formally considered by the General Assembly at its sixth session, but a debate of some importance took place on the subject of including this question in the Assembly's agenda. The matter arose from a complaint of the Government of Egypt of October 4, 1951, that France had violated in Morocco both the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Similar complaints were submitted by Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yemen.

The proposed Moroccan item was first studied by the General Committee (the Assembly's steering committee) on November 8. The Canadian Representative stated that the question was complex and suggested that many delegations including his own would like to have time to consider it more fully. He therefore proposed a recommendation to the General Assembly to defer for the time being consideration of the question of including the problem in its final agenda. The Canadian proposal was adopted by the General Committee by a vote of 6 to 4 with 4 abstentions but the recommendation which it embodied was challenged when the report of the Committee was considered by the General Assembly as a whole. The matter

was subsequently debated in plenary session on November 13 and December 13.

In the course of these debates, the Representatives of four nations — Australia, the Dominican Republic, France and the United States — argued in support of the General Committee's recommendation. The French Representative contended that France was faithful to the duty laid on it under Article 73 of the Charter to assist non-self-governing territories in the progressive development of free institutions. In the case of Morocco, joint examination of the best methods of promoting reforms to this end was continuing all the time. A debate under the auspices of the United Nations would disturb and delay these conversations and would in any case be incompatible with the provisions of the Charter. Supporting the French position, the United States Representative drew attention to the principles of the Charter that persons concerned with problems and controversies should in good faith exhaust efforts for their solution by less formal methods than debate in the General Assembly. The Australian Representative suggested that the General Assembly was not competent to discuss the problem of Morocco because of restrictive provisions in the Charter, notably Article 2 (7) relating to the domestic jurisdiction of states, and that in any case debate might embitter and make worse an already tense situation.

Sixteen nations — Afghanistan, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Iran, Lebanon, Pakistan, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, the U.S.S.R., and Yemen — argued in favour of a discussion of the proposed Moroccan item. The African and Asian states contended that they had special ties of race, language, and creed with the Moroccan people, dating back over centuries: ties which were just as important as those binding Morocco to France as a result of the partition of Africa. The Arab states were distressed about the situation in Morocco which had resulted in recent violence and repressive measures. They pointed out that the Sultan of Morocco himself had recently indicated that he wished to see Morocco's relations with France defined on a new basis; the Arab states had already approached the French Government through diplomatic channels but their notes had gone unanswered; they had then turned to friendly powers but these were unwilling to use their good offices with the French Government; thus the only course open was to have the problem discussed in the forum of the United Nations.

Arab spokesmen went on to say that even if the French contention that Morocco is a non-self-governing territory were accepted, the question clearly fell within the scope of the Charter, and Article 10 provided specifically that the General Assembly might discuss any questions within the scope of the Charter; it would, in any case, be unprecedented to refuse to admit the item on the agenda; some items affecting only one individual person had been discussed, while the proposed Moroccan item concerned the freedom and well-being of a whole people, and to postpone the issue would be to run the risk of violence and bloodshed and communist exploitation of the situation. The acceptance or rejection of the item, Arab spokesmen concluded, would be in the eyes of the people of Africa and Asia a test of the United Nations and of the sincerity of the dominant nations of the West.

When a roll call was taken the recommendation of the General Committee, favouring deferment of the item for the time being, was adopted by 28 votes to 23 with 7 abstentions.

Tunisia

During the first six months of 1952, efforts have been made by several African and Asian states to have the problem of Tunisia considered by the Security Council or by a special session of the General Assembly.

The problem is not a new one: a Tunisian Delegation pleaded its case before President Wilson and the Paris Peace Conference after the First World War. The present situation, however, arose from the gradual breakdown of collaboration between the French authorities and Tunisian nationalist leaders. In 1950 this collaboration had resulted in the formation of a government under Mr. Mohammed Chenik, including for the first time political figures from the Neo-Destour or New Constitution party, which has emerged in the last decade as the most important popular champion of Tunisian nationalist aspirations. This Government, it was announced, was to negotiate institutional modifications to lead Tunisia by successive stages to internal autonomy. In early 1951, an initial programme of reform, which provided for increased participation by Tunisians, both in government and in the civil service, appeared as the first fruit of this Franco-Tunisian co-operation. Later in the same year, however, difficulties arose concerning both practical problems of administration in Tunisia and the next stage of constitutional reform. In the closing months of 1951 Mr. Chenik, the Tunisian Prime Minister, presented a proposed programme of reform including a demand for an elective national assembly. The French Government was willing to have this question examined by a mixed Franco-Tunisian commission but emphasized that participation of the French population of Tunisia in the political institutions of the country remained an indispensable principle.

It was on this issue that negotiations broke down. On January 14, 1952, a letter from Mr. Chenik to the President of the Security Council was delivered to the office of the Secretary-General. This communication claimed that a difference had arisen between the French and Tunisian Governments because of French "determination to maintain a policy of direct administration" in Tunisia and "to oppose the democratic reform of Tunisian institutions". The letter went on to invoke Article 35 of the Charter under which a state not a member of the United Nations may, under certain conditions, bring to the attention of the Security Council a dispute to which it is a party.

Later in January, serious riots took place in Tunisia involving considerable loss of life. In the following months, at the order of the French Resident-General, Mr. Chenik and other Tunisian Cabinet Ministers were placed under house arrest and removed from the capital, while a new government was formed under Mr. Baccouche with the consent of the Head of State, the Bey of Tunis, who also

gave his agreement in principle to a new reform programme proposed by France, the details of which were to be worked out by a Franco-Tunisian commission.

Arab and Asian nations expressed concern over these developments. On January 30, 1952, the representatives of 15 of these states had requested the President of the Security Council to draw the attention of Council members to the grave consequences likely to follow from a prolongation of the disturbances then taking place. On April 2, 11 African and Asian states, noting the arrests which had occurred since January, and contending that the situation was continuing to deteriorate, requested the summoning of an immediate session of the Security Council on the ground that international peace and security were endangered. Two days later, the Council proceeded to debate the inclusion of the Tunisian problem on its agenda.

The French Representative, who spoke against inclusion, contended that the 11 states had failed to take account of the new agreement in principle between the French Government and the Bey of Tunis which eliminated any "situation" or "dispute" even if the broadest construction were placed on these terms. The United Kingdom Representative, supporting the French position, argued that a debate would almost inevitably increase tension at a time when peaceful negotiations were proceeding. He suggested, moreover, that the matter was one of French domestic jurisdiction and therefore outside the scope of the Charter. The Representatives of Greece, the Netherlands, Turkey and the United States, who indicated their intention to abstain on the issue, took the general view that, while United Nations organs should be available for the examination of any problem causing serious friction in international relations, the main function of the Security Council remained that of fostering agreement through direct negotiations between contending parties. They noted that a programme of reforms had been put forward by the French Government, and intimated that, before other action was contemplated, an opportunity should be given to the parties concerned to reach agreement. The Netherlands, Turkey and the United States wished, furthermore, to reserve their position regarding the Security Council's competence to intervene in the Tunisian question.

The other states on the Council (Brazil, Chile, China, Pakistan, and the U.S.S.R.) wished to have the Tunisian problem examined. The Pakistani Representative suggested that the Bey of Tunis had acted under duress when he sanctioned the appointment of a new prime minister to continue negotiations with France and that these negotiations were not likely to be fruitful because the true representatives of the Tunisian people were in jail.

The Representatives of Brazil, Chile, China, and Pakistan pointed to the liberal tradition of the Security Council in showing willingness to examine questions brought before it. They argued that outright rejection of the request of 11 states which represented about one quarter of the population of the world would harm the United Nations by making it appear that the organization was incapable of protecting the interests of weak nations when these ran counter to the interests of powerful nations.

When it had become apparent that the proposal to inscribe the Tunisian question on the agenda would fail, the Chilean Representative submitted a resolution providing that the item be included on the Council's agenda but that consideration of the question be deferred indefinitely. The Chilean Representative argued that this procedure, while it would allow the French Government to proceed with current negotiations, would permit the Security Council to intervene if a new and serious situation developed in Tunisia. The Chilean resolution was rejected on April 14 by a vote of 5 in favour (Brazil, Chile, China, Pakistan, U.S.S.R.), 2 against (France, United Kingdom), and 4 abstentions (Greece, the Netherlands, Turkey, the United States).

In the weeks which followed there were no further serious disturbances in Tunisia, although individual "incidents" and acts of sabotage did occur. The French authorities gave provisional, and later more complete, freedom to individual national leaders, including Mr. Chenik, who had been held in custody. No progress was made, however, towards the appointment of the Franco-Tunisian commission which was to work out the details of the programme for constitutional reform, and in the end this project was dropped. Instead, on June 19, the French Foreign Minister announced a new reform programme. This promised the immediate granting of greater powers to the Tunisian ministers (who at the time of writing hold half of the cabinet posts including that of prime minister) and the eventual development of a "homogeneous" government composed entirely of Tunisians. Furthermore, the "assentiment" or consent by the French Resident-General heretofore required for ministerial decrees was to be abolished. Instead, the Resident-General could at most suspend decrees considered illegal which would then be examined by an administrative tribunal with equal French and Tunisian representation. The French programme dealt also with reforms for the Tunisian civil service designed to recruit greater numbers of Tunisian nationals, with the creation of elective municipal councils and with the institution of two national consultative assemblies, one wholly Tunisian, the other of mixed composition.

In the meantime, representatives of Asian and African states had been conferring in New York on steps which might be taken in the light of the Security Council's unwillingness to deal with the substance of their earlier communications. On June 20, 13 of these states wrote to the Secretary-General of the United Nations requesting the summoning of a special session of the General Assembly, under Article 20 of the Charter and rule 9 (a) of the Assembly's Rules of Procedure, to consider the Tunisian problem. In accordance with this rule, a majority of member states must signify concurrence within a month of notification by the Secretary-General before a special session is convoked.¹

¹On July 16, Canada informed the Secretary-General that in its view the circumstances did not warrant the summoning of a special session at that time. On July 20, the closing date for replies to be received by the Secretary-General, 23 states had concurred in the request for a special session (including the 13 original sponsors), 27 states were opposed, 2 had formally abstained, while replies had not been received from 8 states. As the necessary 31 votes had not been secured, a special session was not summoned.

The Palestine Dispute

Thanks in part to the influence of the United Nations, the situation growing out of the dispute between Israel and neighbouring Arab states over questions relating to Palestine has been prevented from deteriorating. Although little concrete progress was made during the period under review toward settlement of outstanding issues, the means for reaching a settlement still exist and the United Nations has helped to keep the balance steady in the areas directly affected by the continuing dispute.

Both the General Assembly and the Security Council were called on in 1951 and the first half of 1952 to give their attention to questions relating to Palestine. The General Assembly considered reports submitted to it by two United Nations bodies operating in the area: (a) the Palestine Conciliation Commission, which has been trying since the summer of 1949 to help the parties concerned to settle outstanding issues; and (b) the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWAPR), which is concerned with the relief and rehabilitation of refugees.¹ The Security Council, on the other hand, was asked to consider charges of persistent violation of two of the four armistice agreements which had been negotiated with the aid of a United Nations representative during the first half of 1949. United Nations truce observers, who had been appointed originally under the terms of a Security Council resolution during the period of hostilities in Palestine, before the armistice agreements were signed, continued during 1951 and 1952 to serve as chairman and investigators for the four Mixed Armistice Commissions which watch conditions on Israel's borders.

The Task of Conciliation and Mediation

By the end of 1950 the Palestine Conciliation Commission had found it impossible to get the Arab states and Israel to agree on anything more than a plan for partial release of frozen assets of refugees in Israeli and Arab banks and a preliminary formula which might be used as a basis for negotiation of a general peace settlement. The plan for release of bank assets was halted because of technical difficulties and the formula for negotiation of a peace settlement was soon abandoned. The crux of the difficulty faced by the Commission was the fact that the Arab states wished to use past resolutions of the General Assembly as a basis for any negotiations with Israel, whereas Israel wished a peace settlement to grow out of the arrangements made under the armistice agreements, which are more favourable to Israel than the arrangements recommended in resolutions of the General Assembly.

Shortly before the sixth session of the General Assembly convened, the Conciliation Commission tried at a conference in Paris between September 13 and November 19, 1951 to get the consent of Israel and its neighbours to a plan which the Commission itself considered to be a fair compromise between their conflicting demands.

¹This subject is dealt with at pp. 63-65.

The plan outlined included: (a) mutual cancellation of war damage claims; (b) repatriation of a specified number of Arab refugees in categories which could be integrated into the economy of Israel; (c) payment by Israel of a lump sum for abandoned Arab refugee property based partly on a valuation arrived at by the Conciliation Commission's refugee office and partly on Israel's capacity to pay; (d) payment of individual Arab claims out of this lump sum to be arranged by a United Nations committee of financial experts; and (e) revision under United Nations auspices of existing armistice agreements so as to settle territorial issues and questions relating to holy places, economic development and development of water resources.

All parties rejected the plan put forward by the Conciliation Commission. The latter reported to the General Assembly in December that the events of the last three years and the unwillingness of the parties to implement Assembly resolutions fully made it impossible for the Commission to fulfil its mandate, although it felt that further efforts toward settling the Palestine question could still be usefully based on the compromise proposals outlined above.

During the sixth session of the General Assembly there was an almost immediate confrontation of Israeli and Arab points of view. A four-power proposal sponsored by the United Kingdom and the states which are members of the Conciliation Commission (the United States, France and Turkey) served as the springboard for the debate. The main purposes of this joint draft resolution had been three: that the governments concerned should accept primary responsibility for reaching a settlement; that the Conciliation Commission should nevertheless continue to be available to help them settle outstanding issues; and that the headquarters of the Commission should be moved from Jerusalem to the headquarters of the United Nations, without prejudice to the maintenance of a representative in Jerusalem.

Israel opposed the principle of active mediation by the Conciliation Commission on the ground that it served to keep alive the discussion of past resolutions of the General Assembly recommending policies now described by Israel as being out of date and impossible to accept — namely, the internationalization of Jerusalem, the repatriation of Arab refugees and a territorial division of Palestine which would imply the relinquishment of areas Israel now controls under the terms of the 1949 armistice agreements. Israel preferred that a peace settlement should grow out of the armistice agreements themselves. It hoped the Conciliation Commission might be replaced by a less active Good Offices Committee, to be called on for aid only when both parties desired. The Arabs, on the contrary, wished the Conciliation Commission to be increased to seven members by the appointment of representatives of four additional states, and maintained that it should make active efforts to secure the implementation of past resolutions of the General Assembly, including territorial provisions which the Arabs themselves formerly opposed but now said they accepted as the starting-point for discussions of a peace settlement. Headquarters of the Commission should not be in New York.

In committee the Arabs and their supporters secured the adoption of a resolution in the above sense by considerably amending the four-power draft. They were successful in having incorporated in the revised resolution, in addition to the provisions just mentioned, an expression of regret that the Assembly's past resolutions concerning the repatriation of refugees, the equitable evaluation of their property and the payment of compensation had not yet been carried out. They also incorporated in the resolution a paragraph urging the governments concerned to observe "strictly" the Assembly's past resolutions on Palestine.

Immediately after the committee adopted the resolution desired by the Arab states and their supporters, it was realized that a critical situation had to be faced. Among many states not directly concerned in the Palestine dispute there was an apparent sympathy with the view of the Conciliation Commission that strict implementation of all past resolutions of the Assembly would now be difficult to expect. For that reason the vote in committee on some paragraphs of the amended resolution had been almost evenly balanced, and it seemed unlikely that in the final vote in plenary session these passages would be supported as they stood by the requisite two-thirds majority. If they were rejected, however, there was a possibility that the resolution as a whole might fail of adoption.

Meanwhile the representatives of Arab states, who were under heavy domestic pressure to secure confirmation of the principle of repatriation of the refugees, had made it clear that if the Assembly closed the door to further efforts by the Conciliation Commission to obtain the repatriation of refugees, partly by boundary adjustments and partly by the return of certain categories of refugees to Israel as provided in past Assembly resolutions, the Arab states themselves would not be able to support the programme for rehabilitation of refugees in Arab territory put forward by the head of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees.² The resolutions relating to the Conciliation Commission and the work of the Relief and Works Agency, that is to say, were considered by the Arabs to be mutually complementary, and to have to stand or fall together. The point they made was that the refugees could co-operate in the Agency's efforts for their rehabilitation in Arab territory only if they knew that parallel efforts were continuing to be made under United Nations auspices to secure their ultimate return to their former homes.

From the outset the Canadian delegation had supported the purposes of the four-power draft resolution and had helped in the committee stage to have it expressed in a simple form which would emphasize the essential purpose of keeping the Conciliation Commission in existence. As already seen, however, it was not a resolution in this simple form which the Committee adopted. In the interval between the adjournment of the Committee and the final vote in plenary session the Canadian delegation felt that a break-down could be averted if an active effort were made to return to a resolution in a simpler form. The Canadian Representative therefore offered amendments to this effect.

²See p. 65.

Sponsors of the original four-power draft resolution found that in the interests of harmony Arab and Israeli representatives alike were now willing to modify the positions they had adopted in committee. Israel acquiesced in the proposal that the Conciliation Commission should continue to be made available to the parties, while the Arab states and their supporters agreed to Canadian amendments eliminating references to the implementation of past Assembly resolutions. These were now merely recalled in the preamble. The proposal that the Conciliation Commission should be increased to seven members was withdrawn. No mention was made of the future location of the headquarters of the Commission.

The resolution thus amended was adopted by the General Assembly in plenary session on January 26, 1952, by the votes of 47 members in favour to 5 opposed (the Soviet bloc), with only Iraq abstaining through doubt of Israel's sincerity in accepting the resolution. The other Arab states, however, supported the amended resolution, as did Israel, in a desire to be co-operative.

In April and May 1952 the Conciliation Commission met in New York and turned its attention to the possible release of blocked accounts of refugees and the consideration of the next step toward securing compensation for abandoned refugee properties.

Observance of Armistice Agreements

Meanwhile the Security Council had been called upon twice in 1951 to consider situations growing out of alleged violations of the armistice agreements. On the first occasion it was a question of the agreement between Israel and Syria. The second time the agreement between Egypt and Israel was involved.

On April 17 the Security Council had before it five complaints from Syria and three from Israel relating to a dispute over drainage operations which Israel maintained it had a right to conduct with a view to facilitating an early return to normal living conditions in the demilitarized portion of the Lake Huleh area and Jordan Valley. Syria complained of the forced evacuation of Arab villagers from the drainage area without the consent of United Nations truce observers appointed under the armistice agreement to supervise the demilitarized zone. When clashes occurred Israel refused to comply with rulings of the Chairman of the Mixed Armistice Commission, arguing that he had exceeded his authority, and there were complaints of violence and loss of life on both sides. On May 8 the Security Council found it necessary to adopt an emergency resolution calling for cessation of fighting, with which the parties complied on May 11.

On May 18 the Security Council adopted by 10 votes to none (the U.S.S.R. abstaining) a resolution which endorsed previous requests of United Nations representatives on the spot that, pending an agreement, Israel should stop all drainage operations in the demilitarized zone. The general authority of United Nations representatives in the demilitarized area was upheld and Israel was asked to comply with their requests. Evacuated Arab civilians were to be returned to their villages forthwith. Aerial action taken by Israel was condemned as a violation of the Security Council's truce

order of July 15, 1948; any other aggressive military action which United Nations truce observation personnel might find either party to have committed was similarly condemned. The parties were asked to settle their disputes by peaceful means.

On July 11, 1951 Israel lodged a complaint that Egypt had been violating international law — the Suez Canal Convention of 1888 and the Israeli-Egyptian armistice agreement of 1949 — by interfering with the passage through the Suez Canal of goods destined for Israel. Israel had raised this question with the Security Council once before, in the autumn of 1950, but had failed to get a ruling on the issue involved. On September 1, 1951, however, by 8 votes to none (with China, India and the U.S.S.R. abstaining) the Security Council adopted a resolution maintaining that active belligerency, which was Egypt's excuse for searching foreign ships for contraband, was incompatible with an armistice regime; that the practices complained of by Israel could not be justified by Egypt on grounds of self-defence; and that they represented an unjustifiable interference with the rights of nations. Egypt was asked to end the restrictions. The Council did not include in its resolution any specific reference to a counter-claim that Israel should be required to cease ignoring the Security Council's resolution of November 17, 1950 relating to the repatriation of several thousand Arabs lately expelled from the Negev into Egypt. The resolution of September 1, 1951 merely recalled in general terms that in November 1950 the Council had asked the States concerned to get on with the business of peace-making.

In general the Security Council has taken the position that the states concerned should air their grievances about non-observance of armistice agreements before the Mixed Armistice Commissions, and three of the four commissions (those handling problems on Israel's borders with Egypt, Jordan and Syria) continued to have a considerable amount of work to do up to the end of the period under review.

Iran: Nationalization of Oil Industry

On March 20, 1951 the Iranian Senate and Chamber of Deputies approved a resolution calling for the nationalization of oil throughout Iran. On May 2 a law was promulgated under which a National Iranian Oil Company was established for the purpose of extracting, processing and selling oil.

For an understanding of what this action involved, it is necessary to go back to 1908, when the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company was founded in London to exploit a 60-year concession granted by the Shah of Persia in 1901 to a financier by the name of William D'Arcy. In 1914, the British Admiralty purchased a controlling share of the company's stock and when the Shah in November 1932 cancelled the D'Arcy concession, on the ground that Iran was getting only half as much from oil royalties as it would from normal taxes on the sale of oil, the United Kingdom Government played an active part in negotiations which led to the acceptance of a new agreement on

May 28, 1933. The 1933 agreement conferred on the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company the exclusive right to develop the oil fields in an area of 100,000 square miles until December 31, 1993.

When the 1933 agreement was set aside by the law of May 2, 1951, the Government of Iran refused the request of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company for arbitration, for which provision had been made in Article 22 of the 1933 agreement. On May 26 the Government of the United Kingdom asked the International Court of Justice for a ruling that the Government of Iran should submit its dispute with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company to arbitration. The 1933 agreement, it maintained, could not be annulled or altered by unilateral action. In the hope of preventing the Iranian authorities from ejecting British employees of the company and replacing them with Iranian nationals, and from trying to take over actual management of oil production, the United Kingdom Government asked the Court on June 22 to indicate interim protective measures to ensure that no action should be taken by the Iranian Government which might prejudice the carrying out of any later decision the Court might make.

On July 5 the International Court of Justice, with two judges dissenting, complied with the United Kingdom's second request. It asked the parties to refrain from any action which might aggravate the dispute or hinder the operations of the Company as they had been carried on prior to May 1, 1951. A mixed supervisory board should see that this principle was observed and that revenue in excess of normal expenditures was deposited in banks which would undertake not to dispose of the funds except in accordance with the Court's decisions or by the agreement of the parties.

The United Kingdom Government accepted the findings of the Court but the Government of Iran rejected them forthwith.

The President of the United States then sent to Iran his representative, Mr. Averell Harriman, who attempted to bring the parties together for direct negotiations. From August 6 to 22, 1951 representatives of the United Kingdom and Iranian Governments tried to find an acceptable formula. It had been hoped that if the principle of nationalization were accepted by the United Kingdom Government, actual operations might be entrusted by the Iranian Government to a British company. No agreement along this line was reached, however, and on September 27 the great refinery of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company at Abadan was occupied by Iranian troops. On the following day the United Kingdom drew the matter to the attention of the Security Council for its urgent consideration.

At its meeting on October 1 the Security Council decided to hear the complaint of the United Kingdom Representative, although some members questioned the Council's competence to deal with the issue on the ground that nationalization of oil, even if it involved cancelling an agreement with a foreign commercial company, was a matter falling within the domestic jurisdiction of Iran. The Representative of the United Kingdom proposed to the Council that Iran should be called on at least to act in conformity with the provisional measures outlined by the International Court of Justice on July 5 and in particular to permit the continued residence at

Abadan of the British staff affected by recent expulsion orders, or the equivalent of that staff. The Security Council then adjourned in order to give an Iranian delegation time to reach New York. Before the delegation arrived all British staff of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company had been forced to leave Iran as part of the new policy of nationalization on which the Iranian Government had embarked.

On October 19, after three more meetings, the Security Council adopted by 8 votes to 1, with 2 abstentions, a motion of the French Representative to adjourn the debate until the International Court of Justice had considered the matter further. The Soviet Representative voted against the motion because he opposed the consideration of the dispute by the Security Council at all on the ground that this would constitute intervention in the domestic affairs of Iran. The Representative of the United Kingdom abstained from voting because his Government was a party to the dispute. The Yugoslav Representative also abstained. He thought that the Security Council should do what it could to help settle the dispute, but that the motion for adjournment ought not to imply, as it seemed to do, that the Security Council's functions depended on a decision of the International Court of Justice.

In December 1951 the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development offered to discuss with the Iranian authorities the possibility of reviving the oil industry on a provisional basis, without prejudice to the rights of the parties to the dispute. A mission of the International Bank spent January, February and half of March 1952 in Iran for this purpose. The International Bank was willing on certain conditions to supply the necessary capital, but agreement could not be reached on detailed arrangements and the mission withdrew on March 18.

During June 1952 the International Court of Justice heard counsel for both parties. The Iranian delegation elaborated the thesis that Iran was not under obligation to submit to the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice in this case. Counsel for the United Kingdom argued that Iran was bound to accept the competence of the Court. Judgment on the question of competence had not been rendered by June 30.¹

Indians in the Union of South Africa

Complaints by the Government of India, that the Government of South Africa discriminates on racial grounds against people of Indian origin living in South Africa, have been before the United Nations since 1946. Since the partition of India in 1947, Pakistan has also been a party to the complaints. It is India's contention that South Africa's racial segregation policy is a violation of the human rights provisions of the Charter and creates, in the words of Article 14 of the Charter, a situation "likely to impair the general

¹On July 22, 1952 the International Court of Justice, by 9 votes to 5, found that it had no jurisdiction in the case. The President of the Court (a United Kingdom judge) voted in favour of this finding. Those who voted against were judges appointed by Brazil, Canada, Chile, France and the United States. The Court also declared that its interim order of July 5, 1951, outlining measures of protection to be adopted pending judgment in the dispute, would no longer have validity.

welfare or friendly relations among nations". India's concern over the question was increased when the South African Government enacted the Group Areas Act, under which the various racial groups in South Africa would be restricted to specific areas of residence and economic activity. This Act came into force early in 1950.

In reply to the Indian case, South Africa claims that racial policy is a matter essentially within its own domestic jurisdiction, as defined in Article 2(7) of the Charter and that the General Assembly is therefore not competent to deal with the question. South Africa further maintains that the living conditions of non-European peoples in the Union have been misrepresented by India in the Assembly debates.

It had been hoped that the General Assembly's resolution of December 2, 1950 would bring some progress in the dispute. This resolution recommended that India, Pakistan and South Africa hold a round-table conference; if the conference were not held by April 1, 1951, or if it failed to produce agreement within a reasonable time, a three-member commission would be created to assist in carrying through negotiations; one member of this commission was to be nominated by South Africa, another by India and Pakistan, and the third by the first two or, failing agreement, by the Secretary-General.

In March 1951 the South African Government informed the Secretary-General that it was unable to accept this resolution as the basis for a round-table conference, since the resolution constituted intervention in a matter essentially within South Africa's domestic jurisdiction. The South African Government was unable, moreover, to accept the part of the resolution relating to the establishment of the three-member commission. In spite of these objections, the South African Government was willing to convene a round-table conference (although not on the basis of the Assembly resolution), without prejudice to its position on domestic jurisdiction. This offer was not acceptable to India.

The question came before the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee at the sixth session of the General Assembly in December 1951. The South African Delegate reasserted his Government's position on the question of domestic jurisdiction. He said that India was preventing any progress towards a solution of the problem by insisting that, as a preliminary step, South Africa should abandon its position on the domestic jurisdiction issue and in the meantime refrain from taking any administrative measures to implement the Group Areas Act.

Only one resolution, sponsored by Burma, India, Indonesia, Iran and Iraq, was proposed in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. This resolution was largely a repetition of the December 1950 resolution, but recommended the setting up of the three-member commission described in the 1950 resolution within 60 days. The resolution called upon South Africa to suspend the enforcement of the Group Areas Act pending the conclusion of negotiations. In support of this resolution, the Indian Delegate said that South Africa's policy was designed to make the position of people of Indian origin untenable and thus force their repatriation to India

and Pakistan, although they had contributed greatly to the national life of South Africa and knew no other home. He argued that his Government could take part in round-table discussions only on the basis of Assembly resolutions. The Delegate of Pakistan did not associate himself with the sponsorship of the resolution. His Government was prepared to meet South Africa in round-table discussions, provided only that they were carried out in the spirit of the Charter and that administrative measures for putting the Group Areas Act into effect were not taken before the negotiations began or while they were going on. The main thing, he said, was to get negotiations started as quickly as possible even if they were not formally based on Assembly resolutions.

The sponsors of the resolution accepted an amendment put forward by Israel to the effect that if the commission of three were not established, the Secretary-General should lend his assistance to the three governments, with a view to facilitating negotiations, if he thought such assistance would be helpful. The resolution, incorporating the Israeli amendment, was adopted by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee on January 5, 1952 by a vote of 41 in favour, 2 against (South Africa and Australia), with 13 abstentions (including Canada). When the resolution came before the plenary session of the General Assembly on January 12, 1952 it was adopted by a vote of 44 in favour, none opposed, with 14 abstentions (including Canada). Australia had changed its vote from opposition to abstention and South Africa was absent.¹

After the adoption of this resolution, there was no progress towards a settlement of the dispute during the period under review. The South African Government again told the Secretary-General that it was unable to accept the Assembly's resolution, but was willing to participate in a round-table conference without prejudice to the question of its domestic jurisdiction. India stated that it was not prepared to enter into negotiations on this basis, and Pakistan declared that these irreconcilable views made it clear that no useful purpose would be served by the nomination of the joint three-man commission. The Secretary-General had made no move to lend his assistance to the three Governments in order to get negotiations under way. At the same time, while South Africa has not recognized the authority of the United Nations to place any restraint on its implementation of the Group Areas Act, it does not appear to have carried the enforcement of the Act's segregation clauses much beyond the planning stage.

While Canada abstained on the resolution of January 12, 1952, it supported the substance of the paragraph authorizing the Secretary-General to lend assistance to the three Governments in order to facilitate negotiations, since it was the Canadian view that this proposal offered a new and conciliatory approach. The usefulness of this new suggestion seemed to be vitiated, however, by the fact that it was embodied in a resolution which was entirely unacceptable to South Africa. Failing a settlement by these means, Canadian policy has been to favour referring the dispute to the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion since, in the

¹See p. 128.

Canadian view, the law and the facts are in doubt. Canada has indicated that it is satisfied that the question can be discussed by the United Nations (under Article 10 of the Charter), but is uncertain whether the United Nations can properly intervene. A reference to the International Court of Justice would clear up this controversial point. If the Court found that the United Nations is competent to deal with the question it could, under Article 50 of its Statute, send a commission of inquiry to South Africa to ascertain the facts of the dispute.

Kashmir

The dispute between India and Pakistan over the State of Jammu and Kashmir still had not been settled by the middle of 1952. The problem had confronted the United Nations since December 30, 1947, when the Government of India lodged with the President of the Security Council a complaint against the Government of Pakistan, alleging that Pakistan nationals and tribesmen had invaded Kashmir, which, it held, had legally acceded to India. India's action was followed by a counter-complaint by Pakistan.

Throughout the ensuing four and one half years — although a cease-fire was achieved on January 1, 1949 — the religious, economic, political and military ramifications of the Kashmir situation prevented the prolonged efforts at mediation carried on by the United Nations from reaching a solution. But although a settlement had not been achieved, there was no renewal of hostilities during the period under review and the United Nations had succeeded in bringing the dispute within a well-established framework of negotiation.

The matter was discussed in the Security Council many times during Canada's term of office in 1948 and 1949, and a Canadian President twice presided over the Council's attempts at mediation. The United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) was set up by resolution of the Security Council in April 1948, and although it failed to bring the two parties together on a number of issues fundamental to the settlement of the dispute, it did bring about the cease-fire. A cease-fire line was agreed to by both India and Pakistan in July 1949.¹ (For more than three years, Canada has been one of several states providing military observers to aid the United Nations in its surveillance of the area.)

In March 1950, in consequence of a resolution of the Security Council, UNCIP was replaced by a United Nations Representative who was to arrange for, and act as mediator in, a demilitarization programme which would clear the way for a free plebiscite in the whole of Kashmir. Sir Owen Dixon of Australia, who was appointed to this post, spent four months on the sub-continent, but his efforts brought no results. Agreement between India and Pakistan was not obtained for a settlement based on either a plebiscite in the whole of Kashmir, or on partition combined with a plebiscite in the Vale of Kashmir — the area which has been most in dispute.

¹A map showing the cease-fire line appears at p. 36 in *Canada and the United Nations 1950*.

The Kashmir issue then lay dormant in the United Nations until March 21, 1951, when a joint resolution on the subject was submitted to the Security Council by the Representatives of the United Kingdom and the United States. The resolution, which was adopted on March 30, provided for the appointment of a United Nations Representative to replace Sir Owen Dixon. Again, an agreement for demilitarization as a prerequisite of a plebiscite was to be the main objective of the Representative.

Dr. Frank P. Graham, at that time Defence Manpower Administrator in the United States, was appointed as Representative. He arrived in the sub-continent on June 30, and in his first report to the Secretary-General, submitted on October 15, reported that he had found a general desire to settle the Kashmir problem as soon as possible. Nevertheless, the 11-week period spent by Dr. Graham on the sub-continent was marked by great tension between the two Governments.

On June 30, India alleged a series of violations of the cease-fire line by Pakistan. Shortly after this, Pakistan informed the Security Council that heavy concentrations of Indian armed forces were taking place in East Punjab and in Jammu and Kashmir, and stated that this constituted "a grave threat to the security of Pakistan and to international peace". The exchange of telegrams between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan which followed these accusations provided a subject for heated debate on the sub-continent throughout Dr. Graham's stay.

The outcome of consultations with the two Governments was a draft agreement prepared by Dr. Graham and presented to India and Pakistan on September 7. The draft agreement consisted of 12 proposals. Four of these set forth general principles, and the remaining eight dealt with the actual details of a programme of demilitarization.

Dr. Graham left the sub-continent to prepare his report, which was made public in October. His report showed that agreement had been reached on four general principles. In substance, these were that both Governments were willing: (a) to reaffirm their determination not to resort to force; (b) to restrain warlike statements about Kashmir within their countries; (c) to reaffirm their will to observe the cease-fire; and (d) to reaffirm their acceptance of the principle that the question of the accession of Kashmir would be decided by a plebiscite held under the auspices of the United Nations.

However, in spite of this agreement on general principles, the two Governments differed in their approaches to the operative proposals. India, for example, doubted that effective demilitarization could be carried out in the 90-day period recommended. Also, the attitudes of the two Governments towards the basic question of the number and character of the troops to remain on each side of the cease-fire line were still far apart.

Dr. Graham considered, however, that sufficient progress had been made to justify a renewed effort to obtain agreement. Accordingly, on November 10, the Security Council asked Dr. Graham to continue his efforts to obtain the agreement of India and Pakistan

to a demilitarization plan. By this time the tension which had existed during the summer had somewhat abated.

Dr. Graham had further discussions with representatives of India and Pakistan in Paris (where the General Assembly was meeting) and in his second report, submitted to the Security Council on December 18, he stated that agreement had been reached on four of the eight operative proposals for an integrated plan of demilitarization. He reported, however, that at that stage of the negotiations the parties could not achieve agreement on the 12 proposals as a whole; and that, in dealing with the remaining four points at issue, he had concentrated on what in his opinion were the two fundamental points of difference: (a) the number of forces to be left on each side of the cease-fire line at the end of the period of demilitarization; and (b) the day on which the Government of India would cause a Plebiscite Administrator to be formally appointed to office. The related problems still outstanding were the scope of demilitarization and its duration. Dr. Graham expressed certain views on the points of difference but made no specific recommendation as to the next step.

Early in 1952, the Security Council authorized Dr. Graham to return to the sub-continent and continue his negotiations. He did so and on April 25 submitted his third report. He informed the Security Council that he had again discussed the remaining differences with the two Governments. He was unable to report agreement on the remaining points at issue. Pakistan agreed that the forces remaining should be the lowest number possible, based in proportion to the numbers on each side of the cease-fire line at the time of the cease-fire in January 1949; but India maintained its position that such a proportion was unsatisfactory. Pakistan agreed to Dr. Graham's proposals regarding the duration of demilitarization and the date of the Plebiscite Administrator's appointment; India considered that agreement on these points could be reached without difficulty providing agreement were reached on the ratio of forces and on the scope of demilitarization. On the latter point Dr. Graham had been unable to put forward proposals entirely satisfactory to either country. Dr. Graham recommended that his negotiations be continued, and the discussions were renewed in New York in June.

Dr. Graham gave his views on the urgent need for a settlement to the Kashmir dispute, in his report of April 1952 to the Security Council, in the following terms: "A settlement is important not only for the sake of the approximately 4,000,000 people in Kashmir but also for the sake of over 400,000,000 people in India and Pakistan whose peaceful progress is of vital importance to the peoples of the world."

II

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL

Survey of the Economic and Social Council

The Economic and Social Council, as one of the principal organs of the United Nations, is broadly responsible for United Nations activities in the economic, social and humanitarian fields. Its functions are to encourage international collaboration for economic and social progress throughout the world and to attempt to find solutions for those international economic and social problems which threaten peace or the enjoyment of peace. The Council is also responsible for the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms and for international cultural and educational co-operation.

Canada's second term of membership in the Council began January 1, 1950 and will end at the close of 1952. Canadian delegations have attended the two Council sessions in 1951 and one session in 1952. These delegations have tried to give practical evidence of the importance which Canada attaches to the work of international economic and social co-operation which the United Nations carries out through the Economic and Social Council.

The twelfth session of the Council met during February and March 1951, in Santiago, Chile. The four-week meeting dealt largely with routine questions or items of a continuing nature. The Delegations of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Poland, which had "walked out" of the Council in 1950, returned at this session. The ensuing debates were characterized by bitter propaganda battles, largely the result of political attacks against the United States by the delegations of the Soviet group. One of the positive achievements of the session was to establish a joint United Nations-International Labour Organization commission of enquiry to determine the nature and extent of large-scale forced labour systems, particularly in the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries. On the economic side the important achievements were resolutions designed to ease the problems of under-developed countries in importing commodities in short supply and to emphasize the need for further study of means to finance the economic development of under-developed countries.

At the thirteenth session of the Council, held in Geneva from July 30 to September 21, 1951, the political differences between the Cominform nations and the Western world found expression again in a series of long, repetitive propaganda exchanges. Despite the time and energy spent in political argument, the session had a number of accomplishments to its credit. Much of the Council's work consists of long-term projects in which it is hard to point to specific achievements; the thirteenth session nevertheless brought a number of projects of this kind notably closer to their goals. Other problems were attacked for the first time. A few projects — and

this too is important, considering the vast field the Council attempts to cover — were recognized as being unattainable in the near future. Moreover, certain international economic problems, formerly dealt with outside the framework of the Economic and Social Council, were given serious attention at this session and, as a result, one or two of these matters may in future be handled by international machinery operated in a form of relationship with the Council. Most of the important items on the Council's agenda, in fact, were of an economic nature. Detailed discussion of some of these subjects appears elsewhere in this chapter and it is sufficient to note here that the session's chief achievements lay in the fields of economic development of under-developed countries, technical assistance, land reform, commodity arrangements and measures to combat restrictive business practices.

The social agenda of the thirteenth session was composed largely of items of a routine nature but it contained two items of considerable importance — the Draft Covenant on Human Rights and the Draft Convention on Freedom of Information. These two questions are dealt with in detail elsewhere in this chapter.

The Council normally holds two sessions in each year. In 1952, however, because of the unusually long duration of the sixth session of the General Assembly, it was decided to compress the two meetings into one. The Council's fourteenth session will accordingly be the only session in 1952. It met in New York on May 20 and was expected to last about twelve weeks. The most important item before this session was a General Assembly resolution requesting the Council to submit a detailed plan for establishing a special fund for grants-in-aid and for low-interest, long-term loans to under-developed countries. As this volume was being prepared, the indications were that the Council would wish to gather more information, particularly from governments, before submitting such a plan to the Assembly. Other items of importance on the agenda were the world economic situation, full employment, the United Nations technical assistance programmes, problems of development of arid land, human rights and the report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

During the first half of the fourteenth session, there was a greater measure of agreement than many delegations had expected after the discussion of economic and social questions which took place at the sixth session of the Assembly. To some extent this was the result of restraint, on the part of members of the Soviet bloc, in indulging in propaganda statements. More significant, however, was the degree of harmony which was apparent between the representatives of developed and under-developed countries not belonging to the Soviet bloc.

In 1951 and 1952 a great deal of attention has been given by the Council to organizational questions. One of the functions of the Economic and Social Council is to act as co-ordinator of the work of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies. Detailed arrangements have been worked out for this purpose and there is general recognition that the work of co-ordination and the prevention of duplication or over-lapping has achieved great success.

At recent meetings, particularly at the thirteenth session, the Council has given serious thought to the need for and the effectiveness of the operations of its functional commissions and sub-commissions. As a result, certain of these bodies have been eliminated and the number of meetings reduced. A proportion of the work previously done by the functional commissions has been passed to the Council itself, the United Nations Secretariat and the Specialized Agencies. This action has been taken with the aim of increasing efficiency and reducing expense.

The Council at the thirteenth session gave the question of its own organization much attention. An *ad hoc* committee, set up to study this matter and report to the Council, recommended that instead of two annual sessions the Council should hold three, each of which would consider questions of a related nature. The first would begin early in February and discuss social and humanitarian questions; the second would meet early in April to discuss economic questions; the third session would begin as late in the year as possible but before the session of the General Assembly and would be primarily concerned with problems of co-ordination and priorities and the consideration of reports of the Specialized Agencies. A good deal of opposition developed in the Council to this suggestion for a rather drastic change in the Council's method of operation. The Council eventually decided to continue to hold two regular sessions annually but that the second session would be adjourned until during or after the General Assembly session, at which time the Council would take up matters arising from the decisions of the Assembly. This resumed session would also plan the Council's basic annual work programme. It was also decided that, without any rigid allocation of items, an effort would be made to group subjects of a similar nature. As far as possible major economic items would be considered at the first session of the year and all others would be taken up at the second session.

Technical Assistance

One of the most significant developments in international affairs since the Second World War has been the emergence of the idea of technical assistance to under-developed countries. The technical assistance activities of the United Nations, the United States "Point Four Programme", and the Colombo Plan have all grown from the concept that the under-developed countries of the world should be helped to help themselves, that they should be able to call on the more economically advanced countries for the technical knowledge and skills which would enable them to make the best use of their own resources.

The United Nations and most of the Specialized Agencies, from their inception, gave technical assistance as part of their regular activities, financed out of their ordinary budgets. These activities were so successful that a more ambitious programme was called for. The United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, drawn up by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), was

endorsed by the General Assembly in November 1949, and a Technical Assistance Conference, meeting at Lake Success in June 1950, laid the basis for an initial 18-month period of operation ending December 31, 1951. Contributing countries pledged more than \$20 million for this initial period.

Canada pledged \$850,000 for the first 18 months of the Expanded Programme. At the same time, the Technical Co-operation Programme of the Colombo Plan, designed to give technical assistance to the countries of South and Southeast Asia, was being launched by the countries of the Commonwealth. To the first year's operation of this programme — which the Canadian Government regarded as supplementary to technical assistance in this area under the auspices of the United Nations — Canada contributed \$400,000.

Under the Expanded Programme, the Specialized Agencies and a new Technical Assistance Administration set up by the United Nations itself were to co-ordinate their assistance to under-developed countries under the general supervision of a Technical Assistance Board made up of representatives of these agencies and under the chairmanship of the Secretary-General or his representative. They were, wherever possible, to extend help on request in such varied fields as public administration, agriculture, health, education, fisheries, vocational training and social welfare. The methods to be employed were equally varied, including: fellowship programmes for the training abroad of technicians and students from under-developed countries; advisory surveys in those countries by outside experts or missions; assistance to governments in obtaining technical personnel, and in the dissemination of technical information; and the organization of seminars on special problems of economic development.

The contributions to the Expanded Programme went into a special account, administered by the Secretary-General, from which allocations were made to the Technical Assistance Administration of the United Nations and to the Specialized Agencies for their parts in the Programme. The first \$10 million and 70 per cent of the second \$10 million were allocated automatically to the participating agencies on a percentage basis with by far the largest percentages, 29 per cent, 23 per cent, and 22 per cent, to the Food and Agriculture Organization, the Technical Assistance Administration and the World Health Organization respectively.

The thirteenth session of ECOSOC in the summer of 1951 provided the first opportunity for a review and assessment of activities under the Expanded Technical Assistance Programme during its initial period of operation. The dimensions of the Expanded Programme were such as to augment by 50 per cent or more the regular budgets of some of the Specialized Agencies. It was inevitable that a programme of this magnitude should give rise to administrative and operational difficulties which could not be overcome immediately. One of the chief difficulties was that the under-developed countries did not make applications for technical assistance which might have been made available. Even isolated requests were fewer than had been expected, and there was little sign of the planned and integrated programmes which had been hoped for. This difficulty appeared to arise from the uncertainty of the under-developed coun-

tries about their actual requirements for technical assistance and from a lack of the administrative machinery necessary to handle applications for technical assistance, let alone to draw up integrated programmes. The Technical Assistance Administration devoted considerable attention to the development of programmes for training in public administration, in an effort to eliminate this stumbling block to the successful operation of the whole programme. On the other hand, more developed countries, such as Canada, had experienced difficulty in recruiting experts who could meet the qualifications demanded in many of the requests made. Up until the end of July 1951 only some \$3.6 million of the amount available for the first financial period actually was spent, although it was then estimated that by December 31, 1951, nearly \$11 million would have been spent and most of the remainder of the contributions would have been committed for expenditure in 1952.

It was apparent that it was necessary to re-emphasize the principles upon which the Programme was originally based, and at the same time perhaps to broaden the interpretation of those principles. The sending out of highly qualified experts at the request of receiving countries was unlikely to absorb more than a small amount of the funds or facilities available. It was clear that the emphasis might better be shifted to training programmes in the receiving countries and to the provision of demonstration units or pilot projects. In response to the suggestions of representatives of several underdeveloped countries, the Economic and Social Council asked the Technical Assistance Board to study, in the light of the experience of the participating organizations, the practicability of meeting the need for supplies and equipment designed to increase the effectiveness of teaching institutions and research centres. At the same time, the participating organizations were asked to give special consideration to establishing demonstration projects and training centres in recipient countries. Canadian Delegations, both at ECOSOC and at the subsequent session of the General Assembly, supported proposals that the participating organizations be permitted to be more generous in the provision of equipment and supplies for technical assistance projects, but insisted that the Expanded Technical Assistance Programme should not become a supplies programme. Canada especially favoured proposals for demonstration, training and pilot projects, and for assistance in the field of public administration.

In an important step to increase the efficient operation of the Programme and to co-ordinate the activities of the participating agencies, ECOSOC recommended that only \$10 million out of the first \$20 million of new contributions for 1952 should be allocated automatically in accordance with the established formula already mentioned; the remainder should be allocated by the Technical Assistance Board for projects approved by the Board. A working party (of which Canada is a member) was set up to study the organization of the Technical Assistance Board with a view to the further co-ordination of technical assistance activities.

Canada supported, both in ECOSOC and in the General Assembly, proposals for the appointment of full-time resident representatives

of the Technical Assistance Board to co-ordinate the technical assistance activities of participating agencies in countries receiving assistance. Canada urged the creation of a United Nations office in Colombo to help to co-ordinate technical assistance under the Colombo Plan with technical assistance under the jurisdiction of the United Nations Technical Assistance Board.

In an effort to co-ordinate its own participation in the Expanded Programme, Canada sought to obtain the agreement of all the participating organizations to channel their activities in recruiting experts or in placing trainees in Canada through the Technical Co-operation Service which had been set up in the Department of Trade and Commerce. By June 1952 a total of 54 trainees had been sent to Canada by the Technical Assistance Administration for training in fields which included public administration, agriculture, hydro-electric power development and social welfare. These students have come from such countries as India, Pakistan, Cuba, Finland, Brazil, Uruguay, Burma, Venezuela and the British West Indies. By that date 24 experts had been recruited from Canada by the Technical Assistance Administration and the Specialized Agencies.

Many problems meriting serious consideration in the future arose out of the operation of the United Nations Expanded Programme in its first period. At all the discussions in ECOSOC and in the General assembly it was assumed that the Expanded Programme was a continuing programme. It was important, therefore, to consider questions of organization and administration during this first period. Other problems, however, forced themselves forward. In addition to the question of the emphasis which should be placed on various forms of technical assistance, there appeared the problem of the basis on which technical assistance should be apportioned to various countries. The method of estimating and budgeting programmes in advance and the method of raising money each year have been continuing problems. It is apparent that as the Expanded Programme gets into full swing it will become increasingly difficult to find experts for service abroad. The necessity for inter-agency co-ordination increases as the projects in the receiving countries grow in number, and as the United Nations Expanded Programme, the Technical Co-operation Programme of the Colombo Plan and the United States Point Four Programme develop their activities, problems of co-ordination will assume even greater importance.

Economic Development of Under-Developed Countries

The United Nations Charter recognizes that the appallingly low standards of living among hundreds of millions of people throughout the world must be raised, if a solid basis for lasting peace and stability is to be created. Under the Charter's provisions, member governments have obligated themselves to co-operate in the promotion of conditions of economic and social progress and development.

Since the early days of the United Nations, under-developed countries have been seeking its assistance in promoting their

economic development, and in the course of the past six years the problem of economic development has come to be looked upon as the major economic issue, and one of the most important of all issues facing the United Nations. When it is considered that the under-developed areas of the world comprise most of the countries of Asia, Latin America, Africa and the Middle East, the magnitude of the task becomes apparent. Nonetheless, the progress which has been made, while inevitably slow in comparison to the needs to be filled, is an encouraging proof of the willingness of the more economically advanced countries of the free world to co-operate in the development of the resources of the under-developed areas.

During the past year and a half, the problem of economic development has continued to engage the close attention of the United Nations and especially of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). The Council's greatest practical achievement in this field has been its large-scale programme of technical assistance to under-developed countries¹. The inter-relation between technological know-how and economic development is self-evident and a real and lasting contribution is being made towards sound and well-conceived programmes of economic development through the technical assistance activities of the United Nations.

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development² has been playing an increasingly important role in the field of economic development through its loans to governments for specific projects designed to accelerate the economic progress of under-developed countries. By the spring of 1952, the International Bank had made loans totalling more than \$1,300 million; of this total almost \$1,000 million had gone to aid economic development in under-developed areas.

The important role which private capital can play in economic development has been emphasized by the more economically advanced countries, who contend that a favourable investment climate in under-developed countries will automatically attract a greater flow of such capital. Because of discriminatory treatment against foreign capital, imposed by certain governments, or because of the wide-spread political and economic instability which has characterized the post-war period, private investment has dwindled to negligible proportions in most of the under-developed areas. The advisability of establishing a new inter-governmental agency aimed at stimulating the flow of private capital to under-developed countries is now receiving active consideration in the United Nations. The proposal is that an international finance corporation, capitalized by government subscriptions, should be set up as an affiliate of the International Bank for the purpose of helping to finance productive private enterprise in the under-developed areas through equity investment and through loans without government guarantees.

At the request of ECOSOC, the International Bank made a preliminary study of the feasibility and desirability of setting up an international finance corporation, and its report was considered by ECOSOC at its 1952 session. The report indicated that the

¹See pp. 45-48.

²See pp. 95-98.

initial reaction of the management of the Bank was that a finance corporation would fill an important gap and should be effective in stimulating investment from private sources. It was stressed, however, that the report was based on a very preliminary study and that further examination and consultation with governments and investment communities would be required before the Bank could decide whether the scheme was practicable. ECOSOC agreed that the proposal was well worth pursuing and requested the Bank to undertake additional study and consultation looking towards a final decision by governments members of the Bank on the establishment of an international finance corporation.

Although substantial assistance in various forms has been provided for economic development over the post-war years, the under-developed countries in the United Nations have concentrated their efforts mainly on obtaining international grants-in-aid. Indeed, during the past 18 months, in spite of increased lending by the Bank, an accelerated technical assistance programme, and a fairly encouraging move toward the establishment of an international finance corporation, as well as bilateral arrangements for grants-in-aid outside the United Nations, the pressure has been stronger than ever for an international fund to disburse grants and long-term, low-interest loans. This campaign culminated in a resolution adopted at the sixth session of the General Assembly which called upon ECOSOC to draw up, for the following session of the General Assembly in 1952, a detailed plan for establishing, as soon as circumstances might permit, a special fund for grants-in-aid and for low-interest, long-term loans to under-developed countries.

The developed countries, while willing to co-operate in various ways in the promotion of economic development, are unanimous in their conviction that an international development fund is not a practical means toward that end. In particular, the United States — without whose participation a fund would be of negligible value — has steadfastly refused to depart from its policy of giving foreign aid through bilateral arrangements. It is not surprising, therefore, that the General Assembly resolution was opposed by all of the industrialized and economically advanced countries, including the United States, Western Europe, Canada and certain other members of the Commonwealth. These countries urged strongly, but in vain, that this resolution should not be forced upon the United Nations against a minority, without whose active support it could not be put into effect. They pointed out that since they were not prepared to contribute to an international development fund, it would be unrealistic and would give rise to false hopes to proceed with the drafting of a plan. However, the resolution was carried by a substantial majority.

When ECOSOC met at its fourteenth session in the spring of 1952, a group of the under-developed countries sponsored a resolution calling for the appointment of an *ad hoc* committee of experts to prepare the detailed plan required by the General Assembly and to submit their report to the Council in 1953. The resolution did not concern itself with the question of principle, but rather laid down a procedure for the execution of the General Assembly directive.

The proposed referral of this task from ECOSOC to an *ad hoc* committee involved a delay of one year in the presentation of the plan to the General Assembly. In putting it forward, the sponsors reaffirmed their demands for the establishment of a fund as soon as possible but recognized that the drafting of a detailed plan would require considerable time and expert knowledge, and that it would hardly be practicable for the Council itself to undertake the work in the first instance. The proposal may also have reflected a realization on the part of the chief proponents of a fund that their real interests might best be served at that point by Council action which would keep the issue alive and in the forefront and which at the same time would command the support of the advanced countries. In fact, the resolution as put to the vote was adopted unanimously except for the abstention of the three Cominform members, Czechoslovakia, Poland and the U.S.S.R.

The Canadian position on the question of the financing of economic development has been made clear on many occasions in the United Nations. Canada recognizes the tremendous needs, sympathizes with the peoples of the under-developed areas in their efforts to improve their living conditions, and is willing to help. Practical proof of this interest and goodwill has been shown by contributions to the United Nations Technical Assistance Programme, full support of the International Bank and participation in the Colombo Plan. The Canadian Delegation to the latest session of ECOSOC also expressed a positive interest in the proposal for an international finance corporation; if, on further examination, it is decided to set up this institution along the general lines set forth in the Bank's preliminary report, Canadian participation in it can be expected. It is Canada's considered view, however — and this view is shared by all the more economically advanced countries and, indeed, by a few of the under-developed countries —, that a central fund for international grants-in-aid, to be distributed for general economic development purposes, is an impractical scheme and would not provide for the most effective use of available financial resources. It is recognized that, in certain circumstances, grant aid is necessary but the funds which Canada is prepared to give in grants will, in the Government's view, do more to assist economic development if used for programmes worked out bilaterally with the receiving governments than if contributed to a common fund, administered internationally.

Moreover, in the problem of economic development, other factors besides the provision of finance are of vital importance. Unless financial aid is accompanied by sound internal fiscal policies and certain legal and social conditions, no amount of foreign capital will achieve its objective. Thus, appropriate measures of land reform, tax systems based on the national interest, and efficient public administration are just as essential to sound economic development as is financial support. Some progress is being made in these fields, with United Nations help and encouragement, but much more remains to be done if the available capital is to be put to the most effective use.

World Economic Situation

It is customary during sessions of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) to hold a general discussion of the world economic situation. These discussions provide an occasion for an exchange of views on main developments in the international economic field and their impact on national economies. During the period under review debates of this sort took place at the twelfth and thirteenth sessions of ECOSOC in 1951 and at the fourteenth session in 1952. The changes and fluctuations which occurred in the world pattern of prices, trade and payments after the outbreak of hostilities in Korea and the undertaking of rearmament programmes in many countries were described in various reports prepared by the United Nations Secretariat, and these reports provided the background for the discussions in the Council. Three separate points of view could be distinguished, depending on whether the speakers represented industrialized nations, under-developed countries or the Soviet bloc.

At the two sessions in 1951, representatives of the under-developed countries expressed grave concern that the demands of rearmament in the industrialized countries would make it impossible for the under-developed countries to obtain the capital goods necessary for their development. They urged that the more advanced countries take special measures to meet the requirements of the under-developed countries, to assure stability in the prices of their exports and to maintain a continuous outflow of capital investment.

The industrialized countries represented at the 1951 sessions of ECOSOC (excluding the Soviet bloc) recognized with regret that in the circumstances defence must have first call on their resources and that this might temporarily limit their ability to contribute substantially to the development of other countries. They were worried about the effects of high raw material prices and emphasized the need to control inflation and to ensure the equitable distribution of commodities in short supply. At the end of the twelfth session of ECOSOC, a resolution was adopted which recommended, among other things, that all members of the United Nations:

- (a) take measures to bring about adequate production and equitable international distribution of capital goods, essential consumer goods and raw materials especially needed for the maintenance of international peace and security, the preservation of standards of living and the furthering of economic development;
- (b) take measures, direct or indirect, to regulate at equitable levels and relationships, the prices of essential goods moving in international trade;
- (c) take all steps in their power to prevent the development of inflationary pressures.

At its thirteenth session in the summer of 1951, the Council considered reports from various countries on the action they had taken to carry out the terms of this resolution. The general debate closely followed the pattern set at earlier sessions. However, the

Representatives of Canada and the United States, while giving warning that the acceleration of their defence efforts might increasingly limit their ability to meet other demands, were able to point out that production in their countries had expanded to such an extent that they had been able to provide for defence requirements, to maintain their civilian economies, and also to help meet some of the essential needs of less developed states for machinery and equipment. Countries of Western Europe expressed their continuing anxiety about shortages of some commodities. Several of them were worried about the deterioration in their trading position resulting from increases in the cost of the raw materials they must import as compared with the prices received for the manufactured goods they exported.

By the time the Council met for its fourteenth session in 1952, the picture had changed. The boom in raw material prices had largely run its course, the demand for consumer goods had eased throughout the world and, despite defence requirements, some unemployment had appeared in a number of countries. The report of the Secretariat showed that in 1951 the under-developed countries, despite their earlier misgivings, had by and large been able to obtain as much capital equipment for development as their economies were ready to absorb.

At the fourteenth session the fears expressed by many delegates were less of shortages and high prices than of the danger of a serious decline in business activity throughout the world when defence expenditures were reduced. The Representatives of the United States and Canada were inclined to discount fears of imminent recession. They expressed the view that world trade would continue to expand when it became possible to release resources being absorbed by defence programmes. They were happy to note that during 1951, despite the defence requirements of industrialized countries, it had been possible for the under-developed countries to obtain the capital equipment they needed. The under-developed countries, while continuing to stress their need for capital equipment and financial assistance, increasingly emphasized the importance of introducing international arrangements to stabilize prices of raw materials. This reflected the anxiety of the under-developed countries about the decline in raw material prices which had succeeded the boom of the months following the outbreak of hostilities in Korea. During this session also, a number of European countries and Canada expressed their growing concern about the import policies of the United States and the domestic pressure being brought to bear on the United States Government for measures to restrict and hinder the admission of foreign goods. These countries emphasized that it was important for the future stability of international trade that the United States be willing to accept imports from countries which would otherwise be unable to obtain their full requirements of goods from the United States.

The speeches of the representatives of Soviet bloc countries on the world economic situation, at all three sessions, were largely political. The Soviet bloc representatives attributed the economic difficulties of other countries to what they described as the aggressive

war preparations of the industrialized countries of the West, particularly the United States. They maintained that capitalist groups in the United States and other countries were extracting enormous profits from rearmament at the expense of the standard of living of the masses in advanced as well as in under-developed countries. All this was contrasted with the alleged expansion of production for peaceful purposes in their own countries. It was apparent that their tactics were to create as much dissension as possible among the industrialized countries outside the Soviet bloc and between these countries and the under-developed areas of the world.

Discounting the political content of the debates on the world economic situation, there remained a useful core of discussion on the real economic problems facing the countries of the world. Canada took part in all these debates and explained the policies which had been followed in Canada to expand production and control inflation and to meet other special difficulties. The debates also provided an opportunity for Canada to emphasize the importance it attaches to the elimination of trade restrictions and other practices militating against economic stability and the expansion of world trade.

Land, Productivity and Non-Agricultural Resources

During 1951 and the first half of 1952 the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and the General Assembly considered a variety of special questions on the development and utilization of the world's natural resources. These included land reform, productivity, the conservation and utilization of non-agricultural resources, and the control and use of water resources.

Land Reform

A General Assembly Resolution of 1950 had called for the preparation of a report on defects in agrarian structure as they related to the process of economic development. The report was considered by the thirteenth session of ECOSOC and the sixth session of the General Assembly in 1951. It described the main features of the agricultural systems in under-developed countries and included studies of land tenure, agricultural indebtedness, taxation policies, research and experimental stations, marketing co-operatives, credit facilities and educational and technical services. The report made a number of recommendations on the various problems under consideration.

The debates on the report showed general agreement on a number of important principles: first, that land reform was fundamental to an effective programme of economic development in under-developed countries; second, that the main responsibility for carrying out land reform must rest with the countries concerned; and, third — although this was disputed by the Soviet bloc representatives —, that land reform should be carried out, wherever possible, within the framework of existing political and social institutions. Resolutions were adopted by the Council and the Assembly recommending that governments take action in respect of security of

tenure, agricultural credit, reasonable rates of interest, moderate rentals, equitable taxes, co-operative organizations, diversification of agricultural production, cottage industries, agricultural experimental and research stations and other related matters. Delegates recognized that no one measure or group of measures could be expected to meet all situations and it was therefore agreed that countries should take action, within the range of activities listed, which would be appropriate in their particular circumstances.

The resolutions also directed the Specialized Agencies to keep the subject of land reform under review and to give high priority to it in their technical assistance programmes. The General Assembly, in addition, resolved to place the subject of land reform on the agenda of its 1952 session and directed the Secretary-General to report to that session on progress achieved.

Canada supported the resolutions of both the Council and the General Assembly. Canadian statements in the debates stressed the need to deal with land reform on a country by country basis, and the fundamental importance to agricultural development generally of a system of land tenure providing for private ownership of the land by farmers.

Productivity

The General Assembly at its sixth session in 1951 also considered methods to increase productivity throughout the world — that is, methods which might increase the value of the product of a given amount of labour. It was recognized that more rapid economic progress in the world would require closer international co-operation to facilitate the best use of the world's manpower resources, natural resources and productive equipment. In the resolution adopted on the subject, the Assembly expressed its belief that an important increase in the rate of growth of world production could be achieved by the application of the latest available scientific knowledge and techniques to production. ECOSOC was directed to study ways in which productivity could be increased by the application of existing scientific and technical knowledge. The resolution provided that the results of these studies should be made available to under-developed countries on request. The Assembly is to consider the subject again at its seventh session in 1952.

Conservation and Utilization of Non-Agricultural Resources

The Secretary-General presented a report on this subject to the twelfth session of ECOSOC in 1951. He suggested that the United Nations, in the light of the findings of a United Nations Scientific Conference on Conservation and Utilization of Resources held in New York in August 1949, should initiate a programme for promoting a systematic survey and inventory of the world's non-agricultural resources — that is, natural resources other than land. He proposed that the United Nations should consider the possibility of calling conferences for the exchange of information on particular types of resources or on special problems common to a group of countries.

A resolution embodying these two proposals was adopted by the Council with Canadian support. Among other things, the resolution called upon the Secretary-General to inform each session of the Council of any action taken and of future plans for the implementation of the programme. The first report of this kind was made to the thirteenth session later in 1951. The Council was informed that iron ore was the first resource chosen for survey.

Arid Lands and International Co-operation for Water Control and Utilization

The fourteenth session of ECOSOC, early in 1952, considered two reports submitted by the Secretary-General — one on international co-operation for water control and utilization, and one on the activities of the United Nations and Specialized Agencies with respect to development of arid land. The Council, because of the close relationship of these two reports, considered them together.

Discussion centred on a United States-Philippine draft resolution which requested the Secretary-General to assume the leadership in the promotion of joint planning for international activity on the development of water resources, to promote the development and exchange of basic water data, to report on the activities of international and national organizations dealing with the development of water resources, and to make recommendations for the better co-ordination of the work of existing international organizations and for work which might be carried out in areas not adequately served by international organizations.

Several delegations, including those of the United Kingdom, France and Canada, considered that the programme set forth in this draft resolution was over-ambitious and would cost a good deal in money and effort. These delegations proposed a series of amendments, many of which were incorporated in a compromise resolution eventually adopted by the Council. The final resolution gave the Secretary-General responsibility for co-ordinating activities on water control and development but limited the amount of work which the United Nations Secretariat would itself have to perform or initiate. ECOSOC will take the question up again in 1954 when the Secretary-General will report on the activities of international organizations with respect to water resources. The report may include recommendations for better co-ordination and balanced development of these activities. The resolution also provided that the Council would continue to give careful attention to the work of the Specialized Agencies, particularly the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the Food and Agriculture Organization, on the development of arid lands.

Famine

The problem of famine was taken up by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) at its twelfth session in 1951. The Council adopted a Chilean-United States resolution recommending that the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) keep the world food situation under review and make immediate reports to the

Council when critical food shortages or famine occurred or became imminent. Canada supported this resolution, recognizing that emergencies might arise which would require action by both national governments and international agencies. At the same time, however, the Canadian Representative emphasized that a real solution to the problem of food shortages could only be found in more rapid development of the world's agricultural resources.

Food and famine were discussed also by the General Assembly at its sixth session at the end of 1951. The Assembly adopted a resolution requesting the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Specialized Agencies concerned, to prepare recommendations for prompt, concerted and effective action which might be taken by governments, inter-governmental organizations and voluntary agencies in the event of actual or threatened famine. The Secretary-General submitted his report to the fourteenth session of ECOSOC in 1952. His suggestions did not include the possible establishment of an emergency food reserve, a proposal which was being studied by FAO.¹

The first part of the Secretary-General's report listed specific tasks which might be undertaken by voluntary agencies, national governments, Specialized Agencies, and the United Nations itself. These suggestions were designed generally to improve administrative and organizational machinery and to ensure effective co-ordination of activities in the event of famine. The second part of the report proposed that funds should be made available to the Secretary-General to be used by him to help meet the initial impact of a disaster. In addition, the report envisaged a programme which went far beyond food requirements to include medical supplies, clothing, emergency shelters and other relief activities.

It became apparent, in the course of the Council's debate on the Secretary-General's report, that most Council members were prepared to accept the administrative measures proposed. There was little inclination, however, to support the establishment of funds of the kind suggested by the Secretary-General or to plan for wide United Nations relief activities. The debate was a useful one, bringing out the responsibilities of recipient as well as donor countries. A resolution was adopted recommending that national governments make arrangements in advance for the designation of ministries or agencies to be responsible for famine relief activities. The resolution specified a number of measures which these agencies should take. It called on governments to arrange for the suspension of customs duties and other barriers to the emergency importation of food. It asked that encouragement and support be given to local and international voluntary agencies such as the Red Cross and Red Crescent organizations which, in the past, had provided timely assistance. It recommended that FAO perfect its arrangements for investigating and reporting famine conditions and that the Secretary-General arrange, as circumstances might require, for the co-ordination of the famine relief activities of inter-governmental organizations, governments and voluntary agencies. The resolution concluded with a paragraph commending FAO for the study it had

¹See p. 94.

undertaken on the possibility of establishing an emergency food reserve to assist peoples threatened by famine. The resolution, which had been introduced by the United States, Iran and Uruguay, was adopted unanimously.

Full Employment

Under Articles 55 and 56 of the Charter, members of the United Nations are pledged to promote full employment within their national boundaries and to co-operate with other states for the attainment of this purpose throughout the world. In this context, full employment does not mean the complete absence of unemployment, but rather the maintenance of conditions which provide opportunities for gainful employment for all those willing and able to work. The eleventh session of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), in 1950, adopted a resolution which was subsequently endorsed by the fifth session of the General Assembly. The resolution listed a variety of national and international measures which might be taken to ensure the maintenance of full employment. Among other things, member governments were asked to publish annual statements outlining their economic objectives for the following year, to be accompanied, wherever possible, by a statement of quantitative goals or forecasts of employment, production, consumption, investment, and other measurable economic factors which might indicate trends in their economies. Governments were also invited to formulate policies and adopt measures to promote steady economic expansion, to combat recessionary tendencies, to meet unemployment emergencies and to avoid inflation and excessive price increases.

The Council recognized that many of the policies affecting trade which were adopted by governments during the 1930's, in an effort to protect their own economies, tended to spread unemployment from country to country. The resolution therefore recommended that governments avoid policies of this sort. In addition, it emphasized the importance of maintaining a high and stable level of international investment for development purposes, and of achieving balance of payments equilibrium at the highest possible level of mutually beneficial trade. In this connection, governments were called upon to avoid policies likely to have seriously adverse effects on the balance of payments or employment levels of other countries. The resolution urged the reduction of quantitative restrictions on international trade, imposed for balance of payments reasons, and the elimination of exchange restrictions on current account transactions. It also directed the Secretary-General to appoint groups of experts to prepare reports on various aspects of the problem of full employment. One report, for example, was to include an analysis of "alternative practical ways of dealing with the problem of reducing the international impact of recessions". The Council decided to consider each year, beginning in 1951, the problems of achieving and maintaining full employment.

The thirteenth session of ECOSOC, in 1951, was the first occasion when full employment questions were considered under the terms of this resolution. Because, at that time, the state of employment

in most of the developed countries did not raise serious problems, the debate consisted largely of an examination of the employment situation in member states and of the progress achieved by the Secretary-General and by member states in implementation of the 1950 resolution.

The debate provided a useful occasion for a further exchange of views on the maintenance of full employment. Most representatives recognized that, while it was not at the moment a crucial issue, it was important for ECOSOC and for members of the United Nations to keep the problem under review so that speedy action could be taken if it became necessary. The Canadian Delegation emphasized that full employment should be regarded as one objective of economic policy, among many others, on the same plane as improved standards of living, increased productivity, economic stability and related objectives. The Delegation pointed out that Canada was a country which had wide regional differences within its economy and which depended heavily on international trade; it was impracticable for such a country to agree, as some delegations had proposed at the eleventh session, to bring into play arbitrarily prescribed administrative measures whenever unemployment rose to a given percentage. The Canadian Representative suggested that the timing and nature of compensatory action would be better left to the discretion of national governments acting in the light of conditions prevailing in their particular economies.

A good deal of attention was also devoted, at the thirteenth session of the Council, to conditions of under-employment in some of the less industrialized countries. It was agreed that a discussion of under-employment in these countries should take place each year as part of the Council's debate on economic development generally.

In the full employment resolution of 1950, the Secretary-General had been asked to prepare a report on the long-term balance of payments prospects of individual countries. At the thirteenth session, he pointed out that a study of this kind was unlikely to produce useful results in the uncertain world conditions then prevailing. The justice of this view was recognized by the Council which passed an amending resolution leaving the Secretary-General free to carry out the study when, in his judgment, this would serve a practical purpose.

The question of full employment was again on the agenda of ECOSOC at its fourteenth session in 1952. The debate, however, was not completed during the period covered by this volume. This meeting of the Council had for consideration, in addition to the annual reports of governments, the experts' study on ways of reducing the international impact of business recessions, called for by the 1950 resolution.

Restrictive Business Practices

The thirteenth session of the Economic and Social Council, in September 1951, decided to establish a committee to collect and analyse information on restrictive business practices in international trade. The committee was also to study measures taken by governments to deal with such practices and to restore freedom

of competition. It was to prepare for the Council's consideration, not later than March 1953, proposals for an international convention on restrictive business practices.

In introducing the resolution on this subject, the United States Delegate pointed out to the Council that increasing attention had been given by many governments, in the post-war years, to the question of restrictive business practices in both domestic and international trade. Appropriate legislation had been adopted or was under consideration in a number of countries. The Canadian Delegate, supporting the resolution, referred to the extended consideration which had been given to the subject during the preparation of the Havana Charter for an International Trade Organization¹. He also recalled that a committee had been appointed in Canada in 1944 to study international cartel practices; the results of the committee's work were contained in a report entitled "Canada and International Cartels", which recommended international action to curb the harmful effects of restrictive practices.

The resolution was opposed only by the members of the Soviet bloc, who contended that it would provide a smokescreen behind which American cartels and monopolies would operate unhindered all over the world.

The *Ad Hoc* Committee on Restrictive Business Practices, which was set up as a result of this resolution, was composed of representatives of Belgium, Canada, France, India, Mexico, Pakistan, Sweden, the United Kingdom, the United States and Uruguay. It held its first meeting in New York from January 29 to February 6, 1952. The Council's resolution had reaffirmed the principles of Chapter V of the Havana Charter, which deals with restrictive business practices, and had recommended to member states that they take appropriate measures to prevent practices which had harmful effects on the expansion of production or trade, on the economic development of under-developed areas, or on standards of living. The Committee therefore undertook a detailed examination of this Chapter. It also prepared a letter to governments and to interested Specialized Agencies and non-governmental organizations, requesting information on restrictive practices in international trade, and legislative and other measures designed to deal with them.

The Committee's second session was held at United Nations Headquarters from April 28 to May 9, 1952. At this meeting, the Committee considered various points in Chapter V of the Havana Charter with which it had not dealt at its previous session, and began a consideration of the structure, functions and procedures of an international body which might be set up under an international agreement on restrictive business practices. These matters are also to be the subject of further study and examination by individual members of the Committee before the next session is held, probably in the early fall of 1952. In the meantime, the information requested from governments, Specialized Agencies and non-governmental organizations will be received by the Committee's secretariat, which will have the initial task of organizing this material for the consideration of the Committee.

¹Not yet in force. See p. 108.

Newsprint

Early in 1951, the International Materials Conference (IMC) was established in Washington. This is an independent association of states which is not allied with the United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, or any other international organization. Its formation was originally sponsored by the United States, the United Kingdom and France, and the object of the conference was to provide international co-ordination in the distribution of scarce raw materials. Separate committees were established to deal with a number of specific commodities or related groups of commodities, each committee being composed of the principal producing and consuming countries for the commodity in question.

In April 1951, a pulp-paper committee of IMC was formed to study supply and demand problems for newsprint and for kraft pulp and dissolving pulp (materials used in the production of newsprint). The committee was to make recommendations to the member governments for appropriate action in connection with the distribution of these commodities. Canada, which is the world's largest producer of newsprint, became a member of the pulp-paper committee.

Newsprint itself proved to be the greatest problem facing the committee. Although demand exceeded supply by only three or four per cent, a number of countries faced serious deficits. The committee immediately set to work to devise means of meeting the emergency needs of all countries. A special emergency allocation was made to France in May 1951, and this was followed in June 1951 by the first general emergency allocation to a number of countries. By the end of 1951, 33,650 tons of newsprint had been allocated to 18 countries. This action, it may be emphasized, had no connection with the United Nations.

In the meantime, however, the subject of newsprint had been raised in various Specialized Agencies of the United Nations, initially by France and Belgium, beginning at the sixth session of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in Paris in June 1951. At that session the preliminary discussion showed that several countries were in favour of calling an international conference, under the sponsorship of UNESCO, to consider international action to increase world production of newsprint and to ensure fair distribution. Canada was, of course, keenly interested in the newsprint situation; it sympathized with countries experiencing shortages, and was anxious to see these shortages alleviated as quickly as possible through international action. At the same time, Canada recognized the substantial progress already achieved through IMC. For this reason, and to avoid duplication of effort, Canada opposed the calling of an international conference under UNESCO. Instead, recognizing that there were long-range aspects of the problem which were more suitable for study by the United Nations than by an organization such as IMC, Canada supported a resolution which was adopted by the sixth session of UNESCO inviting the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), in its capacity as co-ordinating agency for the various United Nations organs and agencies concerned, to "draw

the attention of these organs and agencies to the importance of technical research in the use of substitute raw materials, of increased production of wood pulp and of related economic and financial problems, including those involved in research, the increase of production, international trade and balance of payments".

A resolution adopted by the thirteenth session of ECOSOC in September 1951 endorsed the appeal made by UNESCO and asked that the problem be given further study in the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the regional economic commissions of ECOSOC, the United Nations itself and UNESCO. This resolution, as well as resolutions of the sixth session of the FAO Conference in November 1951 and the General Assembly of the United Nations in January 1952, recognized both the short-term importance of the work being done by IMC and the need for further study of the long-term aspects of the problem by the United Nations and its agencies.

By the end of April 1952 the newsprint supply situation had eased sufficiently for the pulp-paper committee of IMC to recommend no further allocations of newsprint. This improved situation was reflected in the ninth session of the timber committee of the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) in May 1952. This committee, which had been instructed by the seventh session of ECE in March to assist in efforts designed to increase the production and supply of raw materials required for newsprint, decided that as a result of the improvement in the supply of pulpwood no further action was required by the committee at that time. It is expected, however, that the long-term problem will continue to be studied by ECOSOC, and the IMC pulp-paper committee is prepared to consider further allocations should the necessity arise.

Aid for Korea

From the beginning of hostilities in Korea, the United Nations has been conscious of the need for relieving the distress caused to the civilian population by the fighting and the consequent dislocation of the Korean economy. In 1950 the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA) was set up by the General Assembly for this purpose. It was at first intended that UNKRA should only begin to operate when hostilities came to an end and it is still true that the chief present responsibility of UNKRA is to make long-term plans for the relief and rehabilitation of Korea rather than concentrate on the provision of emergency assistance.

In the meantime, insofar as the needs of the Korean people transcend the resources of their own government, relief is given by the United Nations Civil Assistance Command for Korea (UNCACK) which is a unit within the United Nations Command in Korea and is thus under military control. The funds for this emergency relief are provided by the United States Government.

Nevertheless, some limited responsibilities were fairly early in the war given to UNKRA and lately these have been re-examined and a clear understanding reached with the United Nations Command. Where military security has not been established the military authorities remain primarily responsible for the operation of relief

projects and economic aid to Korea. However, such projects as, it is agreed, will not interfere with military requirements will be carried on by UNKRA. For example, plans are being studied or have been implemented for: the establishment of hospitals and the purchase of mobile clinics; the importation of fishing nets; a programme for improving seed; the repair and equipment of school classrooms and the provision of paper and text books; the equipment of a metallurgical laboratory; the provision of coal briquetting machines; and other practical projects.

In the next phase of operations, after the end of hostilities, UNKRA will be responsible for all aspects of relief in Korea. Long-range reconstruction and rehabilitation plans and programmes are being devised so that there will be no interruption of relief work when full responsibility is eventually transferred to UNKRA.

For the limited tasks so far facing UNKRA there has been no lack of funds. More than \$(US)200 million was pledged to UNKRA, and as of June 20, 1952, \$(US)18,120,420 (including the full Canadian pledge of \$(Canadian)7.25 million) had actually been paid. Further amounts will, of course, be available as required. More than \$(US)240 million has also been pledged or contributed in cash or kind for emergency relief in Korea by governments (chiefly the United States), Specialized Agencies of the United Nations, and private and non-governmental organizations (including the United Church of Canada). The total amount of cash and commodities so far pledged or contributed from all sources to Korean relief and rehabilitation is approximately \$(US)450 million. From March 3, 1952 all offers of assistance to Korea are to be channelled through UNKRA, instead of partly through that Agency and partly through the Secretary-General of the United Nations, as had been done previously.

Canada is a member of the Advisory Committee of UNKRA which also includes the United States, United Kingdom, Uruguay and India. The principal function of the Committee is to advise the Agent General of UNKRA with regard to major financial, procurement, distribution and other economic problems pertaining to the Agency's plans and operations. The Canadian Government accepted the chairmanship of the Committee for 1952.

Assistance to Palestine Refugees

On June 30, 1950 General Howard Kennedy, a Canadian citizen who had been appointed head of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWAPR),¹ reached the end of his term of office. He was succeeded by Mr. John Blandford of the United States, who had been a member of General Kennedy's advisory commission and was therefore able without loss of time to build on the foundation which had already been laid by General Kennedy in pursuance of the General Assembly's decision to combine relief for more than 875,000 Arab refugees with a works programme to render as many of them as possible self-supporting.

¹See *Canada and the United Nations 1949*, pp. 56-60 and *Canada and the United Nations 1950*, pp. 26-30.

Mr. Blandford's report to the Assembly outlined what the Arab governments most concerned with the refugee problem had done on their own initiative in the past to cope with the problem and their contributions since the inception of international co-operation to support the refugees. It continued with an analysis of the present problem and a comprehensive statement of what has been done by the United Nations and Specialized Agencies to keep the refugees fed, clothed and sheltered, prevent the outbreak of epidemics and avoid the recurrence of large-scale disturbances in protest against the continued displacement of so large a proportion of the Palestine population. The report was couched in positive and constructive terms, emphasizing business possibilities in the areas now open to refugee resettlement. It also referred to the growing willingness of Arab governments to co-operate actively in the reintegration of refugees provided this did not prejudice in any way the right of the refugees to repatriation should a political agreement on repatriation be worked out under the auspices of the Palestine Conciliation Commission or otherwise.

Mr. Blandford presented at the sixth session of the General Assembly a \$250 million programme of assistance to Palestine refugees for the three-year period of July 1, 1951 to June 30, 1954. Of this amount \$50 million would be for relief on a diminishing scale and \$200 million for reintegration of refugees into the economy of Arab countries through their absorption in agricultural and other development programmes elaborated by the governments concerned in consultation with UNRWAPR. National governments of the countries of refuge would be asked to assume maximum administrative responsibility at the earliest possible date, particularly responsibility for the administration of relief. Mr. Blandford said that while the refugees were waiting for a decision on their right to repatriation they should be enabled by a programme of training and development to become rehabilitated as individuals, so that without further delay they might have employment which would restore their self-respect, and decent shelter in which family life might be resumed. They would retain their freedom to move elsewhere whenever political conditions permitted, taking with them their belongings and their newly acquired skills. The success of the plan would depend, however, on the willingness of states members of the United Nations to make actual contributions and on the administrative co-operation of Arab states.

The United States, the United Kingdom, France and Turkey had prepared a draft resolution supporting the Blandford plan. Immediately after Mr. Blandford spoke Arab representatives asked that the draft resolution should not be discussed until it was revised so as to eliminate references to "assistance to Near East Governments" and "the welfare . . . of the countries in the area concerned", which were regarded as infringing the sovereignty of the Arab states. They argued that independent states in the area could not permit their internal development to become the object of general, unsolicited discussion by other members of the United Nations General Assembly; what was under discussion was only assistance to refugees.

In consultation with Arab representatives the sponsoring powers accordingly revised the draft resolution and on January 21 produced an agreed text which not only eliminated the references quoted above but made clear the understanding that any assistance given toward fulfilment of the Blandford plan by the Arab states must be based on their own constitutional processes. The revised draft referred to the concern of the United Nations in the refugee problem and included a new paragraph recalling certain safeguards of refugee rights embodied in Assembly resolution of December 1948 and December 1950 which seemed to the Arabs to provide an additional guarantee that the co-operation of their governments with the Agency would not have the effect of prejudicing basic interests of the refugees. The revised draft refrained from setting an arbitrary date for transfer of relief administration to all the Arab states concerned. UNRWAPR would discuss with each government separately the possibility of its assuming administrative responsibility for reintegration projects and relief at the earliest possible date. The Agency would continue to carry the cost of the supply programme and to give assistance to the health, welfare and education programmes and to carry out inspections and verify accounts. On this basis Arab representatives were able to come forward one by one to pledge their governments' co-operation provided the Assembly approved the parallel resolution to continue the work of the Conciliation Commission.²

On January 26 the Assembly adopted by 47 votes to none the resolution to put the three-year Blandford plan into effect. There were 7 abstentions (Burma, Chile and the Soviet bloc). Although Canada voted in favour of the resolution it reserved its position with respect to financial contributions to the three-year programme. The Canadian Representative explained that his Government attached great importance to securing a broader financial response in the future from Assembly members who voted in favour of resolutions of this nature but made no actual contributions. He said that Canada would also be interested in the degree of administrative co-operation given to UNRWAPR by Arab Governments.

Canada served in 1951 and 1952 on the Negotiating Committee which interviewed members of the United Nations and non-members about contributions to UNRWAPR for 1951-52 and 1952-53. For the year 1951-52, for which a total of \$77 million was required under the Blandford plan, the major contributions were pledged by the United States (\$50 million), the United Kingdom (\$12.4 million) and France (\$2,571,400). Other contributions and pledges for 1951-52 totalled \$2,144,000. In the first week of July 1952 the Canadian Parliament approved a contribution of \$600,000 to UNRWAPR for the period July 1, 1952 to June 30, 1953. The Negotiating Committee was informed that the Canadian Government was prepared to ask Parliament for a further contribution early in 1953 if the Agency's programme was meeting with operative success and if other nations came forward with comparable contributions.

²See p. 33.

Aid for Children

The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) was set up in December 1946, and began operations in 1947. Its immediate aim was to continue the assistance previously given to the children of war-devastated lands by UNRRA. The work has since been extended in scope and area.

From the beginning Canada has been closely associated with UNICEF's activities. The Canadian representative on the Executive Board of UNICEF has been Mrs. D. B. Sinclair of the Department of National Health and Welfare. Chairman of the Executive Board during 1951, she was elected to this office again for 1952. Canada has been a member of the Board since the inception of UNICEF.

From the establishment of the Fund until the beginning of 1952 the Canadian Government had contributed \$7,293,000 (United States dollar equivalent) and private contributions from Canadians amounted to \$1,486,000: a total of \$8,779,000. In July of this year Parliament approved a Canadian Government contribution to UNICEF for 1952 of a further \$500,000 (Canadian). Canada has been the third largest contributor to the Fund, only the United States and Australia having given more. On a per capita basis Canada ranks as fourth among UNICEF contributors, coming after Iceland, New Zealand and Australia. A very large number of countries which receive UNICEF aid have also made contributions to the Fund.

The Children's Fund has proved to be one of the most successful and at the same time one of the most popular undertakings of the United Nations. Evidence of public appreciation in Canada of the valuable work accomplished by UNICEF is the fact that whereas internationally the general relation of private to governmental contributions to UNICEF is in the ratio of one to ten, in Canada two private dollars have been given for every ten government dollars. UNICEF was the only United Nations body on whose behalf the United Nations Association of Canada made representations in 1952 before the House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs.

Since UNICEF had been established as an emergency organization to meet the desperate needs of children in the aftermath of war, the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1950 took up the question whether the emergency for which UNICEF had been established had passed or whether the Fund should continue its work. The Assembly decided that UNICEF should carry on for a further three years and that the Assembly should review this question at its session in 1953. Following instructions from the fifth session of the Assembly, UNICEF has shifted its emphasis from post-war emergency feeding to long-range programmes designed to assist governments in developing their own child health and welfare services. These long-range programmes fall under the following main headings:

- (1) Maternal and child welfare, which includes
 - (a) supplies and equipment to set up maternal and child welfare centres, particularly in rural areas;
 - (b) training programmes to provide local personnel to operate the centres;
 - (c) mass health campaigns against diseases which particularly affect children, e.g., tuberculosis, yaws, malaria and other insect-borne diseases.

- (2) Nutrition programmes, which include
 - (a) assistance in establishing child feeding programmes as demonstration projects;
 - (b) assistance in milk processing to ensure larger supplies of safe local milk.

Emergency assistance continues as required. Recent examples are emergency food supplies following the Italian floods and the Philippine typhoons, during the droughts in Madras and Northern Brazil, and assistance to the Palestine refugee programme.

All health programmes are developed with the co-operation and technical approval of the World Health Organization (WHO). The Food and Agriculture Organization assists similarly in nutrition and milk processing, and the United Nations Department of Social Affairs is consulted in welfare matters. Particularly in the case of WHO, there is danger of duplication since the fields of work of UNICEF and WHO overlap to some extent. The Director-General of WHO has stated, however, that as a result of the very close co-ordination which has been maintained between the two Agencies, there is no duplication of effort between UNICEF and his Organization. Very close co-ordination has similarly been achieved between UNICEF and the other bodies.

All programmes continue to require considerable effort on the part of the receiving governments. Except in emergencies, help is given only to long-range government plans in which the recipient government contributes at least as much as UNICEF and, in many cases, considerably more. There must also be some assurance of the intention of the recipient governments to continue the programmes when UNICEF aid ends.

One of the most useful aspects of UNICEF is that it is a supply organization and can accompany its technical advice with sufficient supplies to initiate programmes and place them on a sound operating basis. In view of the efforts which have to be made by each government requesting assistance and the time required to work out satisfactory programmes, there is a practical limit to the rate at which worth-while projects can be undertaken.

The present target budget is \$20 million for the year ending June 30, 1953. Allocations for the year ending June 30, 1952, have amounted to \$18.8 million. At the April meeting of the Executive Board, allocations of \$8.6 million (included in the \$18.8 million above) were voted for 55 programmes in 39 countries and territories

as well as for Palestine refugee children. In the health programmes, the benefits will reach:

anti-tuberculosis vaccination campaigns	16,400,000 people
yaws, syphilis and bejel campaigns	3,035,000 people
anti-malaria and other insect control campaigns	7,245,000 people
whooping cough, diphtheria and other immunizations	200,000 people

Nearly one million children will benefit from special feeding programmes.

Report on the World Social Situation

A report on the world social situation, drafted for eventual consideration by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), was given preliminary study by the Council's Social Commission at its eighth session in May 1952. The report was prepared by the Secretariat in response to a request from ECOSOC for a study which would have special reference to standards of living and which would be based on information already in the possession of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies.

The report is by far the most ambitious undertaking which has ever been attempted in this field. Its preparation took the best part of a year, and in the form in which it was submitted to the Social Commission by the Secretary-General it runs to more than 400 mimeographed pages.

The essence of the world's social problem is contained in the following passage from the report: "More than half the population of the world is still living at levels which deny to these people reasonable freedom from preventable disease; a diet adequate to physical wellbeing; a dwelling that meets basic human needs; the education necessary for improvement and development; and conditions of work that are technically efficient, economically rewarding, and socially satisfactory." Moreover, the difference in living standards between the richer and poorer countries has been increasing rather than decreasing. These facts, coupled with the growing realization by the inhabitants of backward areas of the extent of the disabilities under which they live, both explain the current unrest and dissatisfaction in many under-developed areas and emphasize the importance and timeliness of a report which even attempts to assess the problem.

The report has shortcomings and limitations — mainly the result of the terms in which ECOSOC requested its preparation. Since it was to be written with special reference to standards of living, it could not give adequate attention to religions, systems of belief, and other cultural factors which have an important bearing on the social situation in many countries. Since it was to be prepared on the basis of information already in the possession of the United Nations and Specialized Agencies, it was bound to reflect any gaps or inadequacies in the statistical and other material available.

Actually, much of the material available was already out of date, and there was the least reliable and adequate information for the areas on which the report had to concentrate most — the under-developed areas. In spite of these drawbacks — and the report frankly acknowledges its own limitations — it is a remarkably comprehensive and useful document.

Perhaps the most significant fact the report brings out is the complex inter-relation between the various factors involved in the world social situation. This can be seen in the way that attempts to solve one problem sometimes bring other problems in their wake. Disease, for example, may be successfully attacked. (An example is Ceylon, where residual spraying with DDT reduced the morbidity rate for malaria by 77.5 per cent in the years 1946-49, and the mortality rate by 82.5 per cent.) But lower death rates mean more population, and bigger populations need more food. Yet in many areas food production has not only failed to keep pace with population growth but has actually declined. Where disease becomes less of a problem, therefore, malnutrition may become more of a problem. Similarly, the solution of one problem may only be possible through the solution of another problem. One obvious answer to a food problem, for example, may be the use of food which is rejected for a variety of reasons. Education is often the answer to such problems as it may be for those of health and housing. The realization of this fact, indeed, has led many countries to undertake programmes of the simplest kind of mass education in an effort to break one link in the chain of poverty, ignorance, disease and malnutrition.

While the report stresses both the magnitude of the problem and its complexity, it does not preach defeatism. It shows that the efforts being made by the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies, limited and scattered though these efforts are, have already achieved noteworthy results. Progress may appear to be slow, but it is only slow in relation to the fantastic rate of progress which is desired and which is being attempted in many of the under-developed areas. The task these areas have set themselves is to overtake in months the advances made by other countries in years and even in centuries. The result is an often bewildering mixture of the old and the new. The aeroplane flies over terrain devoid of roads, penicillin is employed immediately after folk remedies, and radio is brought into villages that have never known the telegraph. In this scene of far-reaching social change, the technical aid of the Technical Assistance Administration, the activities of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies in the fields of health, food production, education, conditions of labour and social welfare, and the aid given by the United Nations relief agencies are all playing their part.

The report made a great impression on the members of the Social Commission. The majority felt that it could only be considered fully at a later date, after various organizations, government departments, and others concerned, had had an opportunity to study it and make appropriate observations. The Social Commission accordingly asked the Economic and Social Council for an opportunity to deal finally with the report at a special session in 1953.

Human Rights

During 1951 and the first part of 1952 the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and the Commission on Human Rights have devoted a great deal of time and effort to the task of formulating fundamental human rights and freedoms in an international instrument which would be binding upon all signatories. The name originally chosen for the instrument was the International Covenant on Human Rights. Subsequently a majority of the United Nations decided that there should be two instruments rather than one, each to be known by the term Covenant. Because of the novelty of trying to protect and extend the enjoyment of human rights by international action, the effort to draft satisfactory treaties has been complicated by the submission of a multitude of suggestions, frequently reciprocally contradictory, for inclusion in the Covenants. It is, however, not surprising that the members of the United Nations — with widely different legal, economic and social backgrounds, various philosophical and intellectual approaches, differing or opposed ideologies, each country preoccupied with peculiar problems of its own within its national framework — have found it difficult to arrive at a formula which will provide even the necessary minimum of satisfaction for all.

Those countries which have been able to vouchsafe to their citizens the enjoyment of the civil liberties which have become traditional in the western world have been anxious lest the international enunciation of these liberties should fall short of the standard they already possess and thus restrict rather than expand freedom. These countries, including those of Western Europe, the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States, also happen to be more economically advanced than most of the nations of the world and are under less compulsion to attempt to codify man's economic and social rights. Furthermore, the nations which consider that the economic system of free enterprise best meets the needs of their inhabitants are concerned that the international formulation of economic and social rights may lead to widespread intervention by governments in the economic and social life of the individual. For such nations a move in this direction would be retrogressive. This same group of nations, to which Canada belongs by reason of historical traditions and background, is more concerned than others that whatever instrument or instruments the United Nations may adopt should be in a form capable of precise legal interpretation and with clearly defined measures of implementation. The respect for law which is inherent in the legal and constitutional traditions of the Commonwealth, the United States and Western Europe strongly argues against the inclusion in the Covenants of articles which are essentially declaratory in nature and which do not impose a precise, practical, enforceable legal obligation on the signatory.

Another and perhaps larger body of opinion in the United Nations ardently supports the insertion of economic, social and cultural rights in the Covenants, preferably in one single Covenant which also embraces political rights. Support for this view is drawn principally from the nations of Asia and Latin America. These

countries, most of which are economically less developed than the countries of Europe or North America, attach the greatest importance to the formulation of the economic and social rights of mankind. The argument is that an International Covenant of Human Rights, setting out standards of living which all men have a right to enjoy (for this is what the formulation of economic and social rights amounts to), would constitute a great step towards securing these rights to men and women everywhere; not only would such a Covenant be a signpost for national governments, which citizens could insist that their governments follow, but it would also impose a firm moral obligation on all governments to take international action to ensure that all men in all countries enjoy the economic and social rights enunciated in the Covenant. The countries which advocate the formulation of economic and social objectives in a Human Rights Covenant are unpersuaded by the arguments of other countries that these economic and social rights are of a very different nature, requiring very different measures of application and implementation, from traditional civil and political liberties; they are unconvinced by the objection that no government could seriously undertake a precise and binding treaty obligation to pass laws to grant such rights. This group of nations has also provided the bulk of support for inserting in one or both Covenants an article regarding the right of self-determination of peoples. The countries of Western Europe, part of the Commonwealth and the United States, maintain that self-determination, although a commendable ideal, is not a right which can be enjoyed by an individual as an individual, and has no place in a Covenant which sets out to protect the rights of men as individuals. Moreover, these last named countries find it hard to know what action a signatory state would have to take to carry out an obligation to secure self-determination of peoples.

A third discernible body of opinion in the United Nations exists in the Soviet Union and the countries which follow its lead. This group has pressed for a single Covenant, for formulation of economic and social rights and for inclusion of the right of self-determination in the Covenants. However, the Soviet Union and its associates have consistently opposed even the mildest proposed measures of implementation of a Covenant or Covenants. The suggestion that the Covenant should have teeth in it to provide for its enforcement is repugnant to the U.S.S.R., allegedly on the grounds that enforcement measures would be an encroachment on the rights of sovereign nations. In other words, the Cominform countries would be prepared to accept a Covenant on Human Rights if there were no provision for enforcement of its articles within their borders. In the circumstances, the attitude of the U.S.S.R. and its satellites is regarded as merely cynical by many other states.

The foregoing may serve to explain the course which discussion of human rights has taken in the United Nations during the period under review. The fifth session of the General Assembly had decided in 1950 that economic and social rights should be included in the same Covenant with traditional civil and political rights. The Canadian Delegation had opposed this resolution of the Assembly, in the company of the United Kingdom, United States, Australia, New Zealand and most of the Western European countries, among

others. The views of the Canadian Government on this question were included in a memorandum which was sent to the Secretary-General of the United Nations in a note of March 14, 1951¹. The extract relating to economic, social and cultural rights reads:

12. The General Assembly decided to include economic, social and cultural rights in the covenant and the Commission is to be instructed to make provision for them in the draft covenant. It is to be hoped that the General Assembly will reconsider, and indeed reverse, this decision.

13. The advancement of economic, social and cultural rights is a matter of great importance. The traditional civil liberties cannot be fully exercised in the modern world, unless economic and social rights are also promoted and enjoyed. There is therefore a close relationship between the two categories of rights. Generally speaking, however, economic and social rights cannot be protected and encouraged in the same way as civil and political rights. The latter involve limitations on the powers of governments and legislatures to interfere with the rights of the individual. Economic, social and cultural rights, on the other hand, are not so much individual rights as responsibilities of the state in the field of economic policy and social welfare which usually require for their effective implementation detailed social legislation and the creation of appropriate administrative machinery. There is thus a fundamental difference in the nature of the two categories of rights.

14. An attempt to include economic and social rights in the first covenant will jeopardize, if not make impossible, its completion. It will be extremely difficult to reach any general agreement, at least without lengthy delays, on the formulation of these rights in a way that will give rise to workable and enforceable legal remedies.

The Economic and Social Council at its thirteenth session in 1951 recognized the difficulty of including economic and social rights in the same Covenant as civil and political rights, as well as the problems of establishing different implementation procedures for these two different sets of rights. The Council requested the General Assembly to reconsider its decision to include the two types of rights in one instrument. After a long and sometimes emotional debate the sixth session of the General Assembly decided by a close vote to instruct the Commission on Human Rights to draft two Covenants, one to contain civil and political rights, the other to contain economic, social and cultural rights, and to present the Covenants simultaneously to the seventh session for approval and opening for signature. The Commission on Human Rights was able to complete the substantive articles for both Covenants but had insufficient time to begin to draft the articles concerning implementation. Since the Commission was unable to complete its task, the fourteenth session of the Economic and Social Council requested the Commission to complete its work on the two Covenants in 1953. It will therefore be the eighth session of the General Assembly in 1953, and not the seventh session in 1952, which will be called upon to open the two Covenants for signature.

¹The full text of this memorandum appears in U.N. Document E/CN.4/515/add.13 of 16 March, 1951.

The Commission was able to discharge the task set it by the General Assembly of drafting an article on the self-determination of peoples. The text as adopted by the Commission is as follows:

Article for Inclusion in the International Covenants on Human Rights

The Commission on Human Rights

Resolves to insert in the draft Covenants on Human Rights, the following article on the right of peoples and nations to self-determination:

1. All peoples and all nations shall have the right of self-determination, namely, the right freely to determine their political, economic, social and cultural status.

2. All states, including those having responsibility for the administration of non-self-governing and trust territories and those controlling in whatsoever manner the exercise of that right by another people, shall promote the realization of that right in all their territories, and shall respect the maintenance of that right in other States, in conformity with the provisions of the United Nations Charter.

3. The right of the peoples to self-determination shall also include permanent sovereignty over their natural wealth and resources. In no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence on the grounds of any rights that may be claimed by other States.

As noted above, the Canadian view is that there is a strong objection to including such a "group right" in a Covenant on individual rights. Moreover, the wording of the resolution is so vague and insusceptible to legal interpretation and enforcement that it must raise grave doubts as to whether a Covenant containing this article could be accepted by a large number of nations.

Another task entrusted to the Commission, which it was unable to attend to because of pressure of time, was the framing of a "federal state clause" for the Covenants. In a country with a federal constitution, the central government, which assumes treaty obligations for the whole country, may have no legislative right to implement obligations in fields which are assigned to the legislatures of the country's constituent parts. The object of a federal state clause would be to meet the constitutional problems of federal states while at the same time extending the effect of the Covenants as far as possible to the constituent units of the states. Canada, of course, attaches a great deal of importance to an article of this kind. The Canadian memorandum of March 14, 1951 states: "Indeed . . . in the absence of a satisfactory federal clause, Canada, because of the nature of its constitution, which distributes legislative powers over the field of human rights between the national parliament and the provincial legislatures, could not become a party to the Covenant". The drafting of the federal state clause is still on the agenda of the Human Rights Commission and it is hoped that the Commission will be able to carry out this task in 1953.

The prospects for completion, signature and ratification of generally satisfactory Covenants on Human Rights continue to be far from bright. In a world divided ideologically, with widely varying historical patterns and disparate economic and social advantages, it is indeed little wonder that immediate agreement has not been reached on something as revolutionary as international action to bind nations to respect and assure to man his fundamental rights. However, there remains hope that with conscientious and deliberate concentration on the ultimate purpose to be achieved and with patient understanding of the many and real problems facing each country, the United Nations may in time succeed in finding an adequate and satisfactory formula for protection of the rights of man.

Freedom of Information

Because of political tensions and differences in national attitudes towards freedom of the press, the United Nations has made little headway in advancing the cause of freedom of information. Nevertheless the subject received a good deal of attention in 1951 and the first half of 1952, at the thirteenth and fourteenth sessions of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), at the sixth session of the General Assembly, and at the fifth and final session of the Sub-Commission on Freedom of Information early in 1952. (This latter body, now discontinued, was a Sub-Commission of the Commission on Human Rights. It consisted of journalists and other experts from various countries, not including Canada.)

The draft of a Convention on Freedom of Information had been prepared at the United Nations Conference on Freedom of Information which met in 1948. This text was revised by a special 15-nation committee which met early in 1951. In essence, it was to provide a guarantee to the people of the signatory states of the freedom to seek, receive, and impart information without government interference, subject, however, to certain limitations which might be imposed for reasons of national security, public order and other causes. The Economic and Social Council, however, at its thirteenth session, decided not to convene a Conference to complete the Convention and open it for signature. The majority of the members of ECOSOC agreed, although against vigorous opposition, that the confusion of ideas and principles relating to freedom of information, and increasing international tensions, left little hope that a Conference would be successful. The essence of the problem is the fact that there is no uniformity in what different countries mean by "freedom of information". In debates it has become clear that in some countries, including Canada, it connotes a minimum of interference with the press. In others, however, it means freedom from the abuses of the press, that is the freedom of the government to impose controls and restrictions. To the countries of the Soviet bloc, it appears to mean only "freedom" of the press to devote its total support to one ideology.

ECOSOC's decision had Canadian support. In United Nations discussions, Canadian Delegations had made it clear that freedom of information, as a fundamental human right, is part of the accepted traditions of this country, a freedom guarded with the greatest

vigilance. The Canadian Government would welcome international action which would genuinely promote and protect this fundamental freedom universally, and has consistently shown an interest in the drafting of a convention to this end. In the Canadian view, however, serious and even irreconcilable differences of opinion exist on the principles underlying a convention on freedom of information. The Canadian Delegation to the thirteenth session of ECOSOC told the Council that the Canadian Government had consulted with the principal information agencies and associations and other interested bodies in Canada. It had found opinion to be unanimous that the text of the draft Convention was unsatisfactory, that it would tend to restrict rather than to promote freedom of information, and that the many failures in recent years to reach agreement internationally on the basic principles of freedom of information should be taken as convincing evidence of the impossibility, for the time being at least, of arriving at a generally acceptable text.

One of the main obstacles to agreement was the article in the draft Convention which set forth limitations on press freedom. This article permitted governments to restrict freedom of the press for a variety of reasons involving national security, defamation of reputation, literary rights and other matters. Many delegations considered that such an enumeration of limitations amounted to an open invitation to governments to impose or increase restrictions.

Recent consideration has also been given to a draft Convention on the International Transmission of News and the Right of Correction. The purpose of this Convention would be to implement the right of peoples to be fully informed. It dealt with specific questions connected with the transmission of news and laid down safeguards designed to guarantee certain basic freedoms to news correspondents and agencies. Under its terms, contracting states would have the right to issue corrections on news despatches which, in their opinion, were false or distorted and which might injure their relations with other states or damage their national prestige or dignity. The government of the country in which the despatch had been published would be obliged to release such corrections to the press and information agencies within its borders. At the fourteenth session of ECOSOC, France urged the adoption of a resolution which would have invited the General Assembly to open for signature that portion of the Convention which dealt with the right of correction. In this case, too, as in the case of the Convention on Freedom of Information, most members of the Council feared that the Convention would be likely to lead to rather than prevent abuses, and the French resolution was defeated by 9 votes against (including Canada), 5 in favour, with 4 abstentions.

The fourteenth session of ECOSOC also considered a revised draft of an International Code of Ethics, submitted by the Sub-Commission on Freedom of Information. This Code would establish a standard of professional conduct for journalists in such matters as accuracy, devotion to the public interest, responsibility and respect for confidences. Canada has never become closely associated with this proposal since, in the Canadian view, a code of this kind is largely a concern for professional journalists and should not be imposed by an inter-governmental body. The majority of Council

members shared this view and arranged to refer the draft Code to national and international professional associations for such action as they might wish to take. On the insistence of France it was agreed that, if these organizations wished to hold an international conference, the United Nations might help in organizing it.

The Sub-Commission on Freedom of Information also submitted various suggestions for new machinery by which the study of problems on freedom of information could be continued. Its proposals were rejected by the fourteenth session of ECOSOC, however, which decided instead (Canada agreeing) to appoint a rapporteur who, in association with the Secretary-General, the Specialized Agencies, and the chief journalistic organizations, would prepare a report for submission to the Council in 1953 on problems and developments in the field of freedom of information.

Other action taken by ECOSOC included the adoption, at the thirteenth session in 1951, of a resolution sponsored by the United States, expressing 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". It was clear that this resolution was directed at the imprisonment of William N. Oatis, Associated Press correspondent, by the Government of Czechoslovakia. Canada supported the resolution.

At its fourteenth session ECOSOC passed a resolution urging states to do everything within their power to ensure that resolutions of the General Assembly reached the largest possible public within their borders. A further resolution was adopted which invited the Secretary-General, in conjunction with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, to study ways and means of encouraging and developing independent domestic information agencies. Canada voted in favour of the first of these resolutions. It abstained on the second, believing that domestic information agencies are the concern of individual states rather than of an international organization.

At the same session, the Soviet Union introduced a resolution calling for steps to prohibit the misuse of freedom of information and the spread of fascist ideology. The countries outside the Soviet bloc, including Canada, voted the resolution down. They spoke of the thought control and the government interference with the press which occur in the countries of the Soviet bloc, and expressed the opinion that a resolution of this type, whose obvious purpose was propaganda, could not further the cause of freedom of information.

Refugees and Migration

As the work of the International Refugee Organization (IRO) drew to an end,¹ the United Nations and interested governments gave thought to the steps which should be taken to ensure that continuing problems which had been the responsibility of the IRO would still

¹See pp. 106-108.

receive attention when IRO operations ceased. Thus in 1950 the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees was established to provide international protection for refugees. An effort was also made to ensure that refugees would be able to benefit from projects for resettlement through migration.

After comprehensive preparatory work, the International Labour Organization (ILO) sponsored a migration conference which was held in Naples in October 1951. The conference did not approve proposed plans for a migration administration within the framework of the ILO, considered by most governments to be a more elaborate project than the situation warranted. The Naples conference did, nonetheless, provide a useful forum for discussion which was of benefit to a group of interested governments which met in Brussels later in the same year to consider plans for a migration organization with more modest terms of reference. Canada was represented at the meetings in Naples and Brussels, and is a member of the Provisional Inter-governmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe (PICMME) which was set up at Brussels. PICMME is primarily concerned with the transportation of migrants, but the governments responsible for the organization of PICMME did make provision for the movement of refugees.

Now that the refugee problem has been reduced to more manageable proportions, thanks largely to the devoted efforts of IRO, it is hoped that the protection offered by the High Commissioner for Refugees, the migration opportunities provided by PICMME, and the continued good will of governments, inter-governmental organizations and voluntary societies, will meet the needs of those unfortunate persons who cannot look to their countries of origin or of former residence for protection or assistance.

When IRO formally ceased operations on March 1, 1952, the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees became the principal international organ concerned with refugees. The competence of the High Commissioner extends to persons considered to be refugees under certain international conventions and other documents such as the Constitution of IRO. The competence of the High Commissioner also extends generally to "any person who, as a result of events occurring before January 1, 1951, and owing to well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear or for reasons other than personal convenience, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence, is unable or, owing to such fear or for reasons other than personal convenience, is unwilling to return to it".

Representatives of the High Commissioner have been located, with the consent of the governments concerned, in Austria, in Belgium for the Benelux countries, in Colombia for Latin America, in the Federal Republic of Germany, in Athens for Greece and the Near East, in Italy, in the United Kingdom, and in the United States. It is expected that a representative of the High Commissioner will soon

²General Assembly Resolution 428 (V).

be established in France. Moreover, the High Commissioner has arranged with PICMME for joint representation in Hong Kong to provide for the care and maintenance and resettlement of refugees from China. The High Commissioner also maintains liaison with international and inter-governmental organizations and with voluntary agencies interested in refugees.

The High Commissioner takes all possible measures within his competence to facilitate the voluntary repatriation of refugees, or their assimilation within the countries in which they have found refuge. When repatriation or assimilation are not possible, the High Commissioner encourages projects which will provide for the resettlement of refugees in other countries. The High Commissioner's Office also assists refugees in obtaining satisfactory travel documents.

In accordance with the Statute under which the High Commissioner operates,² he may not appeal to governments for funds, or make a general appeal, without the prior approval of the General Assembly. The High Commissioner requested the sixth session of the General Assembly to authorize him to appeal for funds to provide emergency aid to the most needy groups of refugees for which he was responsible. He estimated that \$3 million would be necessary during the year 1952 to prevent great hardship and tragedy among these refugees. The General Assembly authorized the High Commissioner to appeal for funds and he is now engaged in communicating with governments and non-governmental organizations on this subject.

Canada abstained on the resolution authorizing the High Commissioner to appeal for funds as no commitment could be given with respect to the Canadian attitude towards such an appeal prior to consideration by the Government, and it was believed that to vote for the resolution might constitute a moral commitment. Moreover, it was feared that another general appeal might render less effective responses to previously authorized pleas for assistance, and that a general relief fund for refugees might, in certain areas, encourage national governments to rely on international assistance. The United States and some other countries also abstained on this resolution. Consideration is now being given to the action which Canada should take on the appeal for funds which has been launched.

Another of the High Commissioner's functions is to promote the conclusion and ratification of international conventions for the protection of refugees. The High Commissioner is, therefore, encouraging countries to sign or adhere to the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees which was completed at a conference, in which Canada participated, held in Geneva in July 1951. The Convention establishes minimum rights for refugees, including rights concerning wage-earning, employment, education, public relief and religion. It also establishes a procedure for the issuance of travel documents to refugees. Eighteen countries have now signed the Convention and some signatory states have indicated their intention to ratify it at an early date. The Convention enters into force on the 90th day after the deposit of the sixth instrument of ratification or accession. The Canadian Government has not yet decided what action should be taken with respect to the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, but this matter is receiving consideration.

²General Assembly Resolution 428 (V).

Non-Governmental Organizations

The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) maintains a system of consultation with a large number of non-governmental organizations (N.G.O.'s), to which it accords special recognition; these organizations, which do not represent governments, have in many cases a very large international membership. The Council and its bodies are enabled by this means to secure expert information and advice from organizations having special competence, and to obtain the views of organizations which represent important elements of public opinion. Under the arrangements worked out by the Council with the assistance of its N.G.O. Committee, organizations granted consultative status are classified according to three categories: Category A organizations, which have a basic interest in most of the activities of the Council; Category B organizations, which have a special competence in only a few specialized fields; and organizations which are listed in a special register because they have a significant contribution to make to the work of the Council, but are not, in the Council's opinion, qualified for listing in either of the other two categories.

One of the main tasks of the N.G.O. Committee during the period under review was to complete a survey of the more than 200 organizations in consultative relationship with the Council and to confirm or revise their classifications. No change was made in the very small list of nine organizations in Category A.¹ The Committee did, however, raise a number of organizations from the register to Category B and it reclassified some Category B organizations for listing in the register.

Two problems considered by ECOSOC were of particular interest. The first was the reconsideration of a decision taken at the eleventh session in 1950 to withdraw consultative status from the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, and the International Organization of Journalists. The Soviet Delegation had objected very strongly to this decision, which it regarded as discriminatory, and had requested that their original status be restored, and further that Category A status be given to the World Federation of Democratic Youth. At the thirteenth session of ECOSOC in 1951, the United States and United Kingdom Delegations replied to Soviet charges by pointing out that these organizations had made no contribution to the work of the Council, and that they were political and propagandist bodies whose activities were not related to the economic and social work of the United Nations. It was decided to maintain the original decision. (However, ECOSOC includes in its register organizations which are in consultative status with Specialized Agencies; the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Organization of Journalists are still in consultative status with UNESCO.)

The second important question faced by the Council was the request of the International Islamic Economic Organization to be

¹The nine organizations in Category A are: International Chamber of Commerce; International Confederation of Free Trade Unions; International Co-operative Alliance; International Federation of Agricultural Producers; International Federation of Christian Trade Unions; International Organization of Employers; Inter-Parliamentary Union; World Federation of Trade Unions; World Federation of United Nations Associations.

granted consultative status in Category A. Several delegations, particularly Middle Eastern ones, had supported this application. After a careful consideration of the nature, purpose and constitutional status of the Organization, however, the Council found it impossible to accede to the request and the Organization was placed in Category B. The Canadian Delegation supported this decision, basing its stand primarily on the obvious regional nature of the Organization. It was generally considered in the Council that since the Organization was relatively new, it was somewhat premature to assume that its activities were of the scope necessary to warrant classification in Category A.

Another question which arose during the period under review related to the application of the Headquarters Agreement between the United Nations and the United States Government to representatives of non-governmental organizations. The problem had first been raised in 1950 when a representative of the World Federation of Trade Unions had been denied entry into the United States to attend meetings of the General Assembly. Consultations between the United Nations and the United States Government revealed that there was a difference of opinion on the interpretation of the Headquarters Agreement. According to a legal opinion submitted to the eleventh session of ECOSOC by the Secretary-General, representatives of N.G.O.'s should be entitled to enter the United States, on the initiative of the organization concerned, to consult with the Secretariat or to attend General Assembly meetings dealing with matters in the economic and social fields. The interpretation of the United States Government, however, was that N.G.O. representatives could enter the United States to attend meetings of ECOSOC and to consult with the Secretary-General, by agreement between the Secretary-General and the organization, and that they could enter the United States to attend meetings of the General Assembly only at the Assembly's invitation. At its thirteenth session in 1951, ECOSOC requested the Assembly to take up the question.

The sixth session of the Assembly adopted a resolution authorizing the Secretary-General, upon the request of ECOSOC or its N.G.O. Committee, to make arrangements to enable the representative designated by any N.G.O. in consultative status to attend public meetings of the General Assembly, when economic and social matters were discussed which were within the competence of the Council and of the organization concerned. Representatives of Soviet bloc countries would have preferred a resolution condemning the United States Government for its past actions and setting forth precise conditions under which representatives of N.G.O.'s could proceed to United Nations headquarters. These views did not find acceptance, however, and the fourteenth session of ECOSOC in 1952 adopted a resolution similar to the Assembly resolution.

Functional Commissions of the Economic and Social Council

Article 68 of the United Nations Charter calls upon the Economic and Social Council to establish such commissions as may be required for the performance of the functions of the Council.

From time to time, as the Council has thought it necessary, various commissions have been brought into being to serve the regional and functional requirements of the United Nations in the economic, social and cultural fields and in respect of human rights. By the beginning of 1951 there were three regional economic commissions (for Europe, for Latin America, and for Asia and the Far East),¹ and the following functional commissions and sub-commissions:

- (1) Economic, Employment and Development Commission
(now discontinued)
- (2) Transport and Communications Commission
- (3) Fiscal Commission
- (4) Statistical Commission, with its
Sub-Commission on Statistical Sampling
- (5) Population Commission
- (6) Social Commission
- (7) Commission on Human Rights, with two Sub-Commissions:
Sub-Commission on Freedom of Information and of
the Press (now suspended)
Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and
Protection of Minorities (to be suspended after one
meeting in 1952)
- (8) Commission on the Status of Women
- (9) Commission on Narcotic Drugs.

The Commission on Narcotic Drugs is composed of representatives of member states of the United Nations. The other commissions are composed of persons who have been nominated by member states which have been elected by the Council to make such nominations. These commissions are, therefore, made up of experts from rather than representatives of member states.

At July 1, 1952 Canadians were serving on the following functional commissions: the Fiscal Commission (term ending December 31, 1952), the Statistical Commission (term ending December 31, 1952), the Social Commission (term ending December 31, 1953), and the Commission on Narcotic Drugs (indefinite term). Canada's term on the Economic, Employment and Development Commission concluded at the end of December 1951.

At the eleventh session of the Economic and Social Council in 1950 a resolution was adopted establishing an *ad hoc* committee of eight members, together with the President of the Council, to study the organization and operation of the Council and its Commissions. The committee was asked to report to the thirteenth session of the Council in 1951. All member states were invited to submit their observations and suggestions and, in accordance with this request, the Canadian Government submitted a memorandum which suggested rather radical changes in the organization and operation of the Council and its Commissions.

The memorandum (which was reproduced as United Nations document E/AC.34/7 of March 19, 1951) made the following recommendations concerning the functional commissions. Certain functional commissions of a non-technical character, the memorandum

¹See pp. 89-92.

suggested, might be suspended during a test period and their duties performed by the Council itself. The work of the Social Commission, the Economic, Employment and Development Commission, and the Transport and Communications Commission might, for example, be suspended. Consideration might also be given to the suspension of the Commission on the Status of Women and the transfer of its functions either to the Commission on Human Rights or to the Council itself, which could devote a portion of its time each year to problems relating to the status of women.

The Canadian memorandum declared that the wisdom of appointing functional commissions composed of experts nominated by member governments, but not responsible to them, did not appear to have been corroborated by past experience. A number of these commissions had not, in practice, operated as technical and non-political bodies, and they had in many instances found themselves unable to accomplish the task for which they were originally established. Moreover, there had been a tendency for these commissions to meet on a semi-permanent and regular basis, even at times when there were no urgent or vital problems calling for their attention. It seemed preferable, in the Canadian view, for the Secretary-General to appoint *ad hoc* groups of experts, in their individual capacity, to undertake specific studies of an economic or a social nature and to prepare objective reports of their findings for submission to the Council. Once the task of a committee of experts had been completed, the committee would be dissolved.

Thus the Canadian proposal was that a large percentage of the functional commissions of the Council should, at least experimentally, be discontinued and their work taken over by the Council itself with the assistance of the Secretariat and *ad hoc* groups of experts appointed when necessary for specific purposes.

The report which the *ad hoc* committee submitted to the thirteenth session of the Council, insofar as it dealt with functional commissions, contained recommendations which were a compromise between the rather radical suggestions proposed by Canada (and supported by the United Kingdom) and the conservative views of those who favoured no change in the operation of the Council and its Commissions. In brief, the recommendations of the Committee were to discontinue the Economic, Employment and Development Commission, the Transport and Communications Commission and the three Sub-Commissions. Even this compromise proposal of the committee was not wholly acceptable to the majority of the Council. In the end the Council decided that the Economic, Employment and Development Commission, the Statistical Commission's Sub-Commission on Statistical Sampling, and the Human Rights Commission's Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities would be discontinued. The Sub-Commission on Freedom of Information would also be discontinued, after a final meeting in 1952. It was further decided that all the remaining commissions, with the exception of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs, would meet every two years instead of annually as in the past. There was an understanding in the Council that these decisions were trial ones and would be reviewed after further experience had been gained. The questions of the continuance of

one of the sub-commissions and of reversion to annual meetings for two of the commissions were raised at the fourteenth session of the Council; as this volume was being prepared, no decision had yet been reached.

Transport and Communications Commission

Canada is not a member of this Commission.

The fifth session of the Transport and Communication Commission was held in New York from March 19 to March 28, 1951. Eight resolutions were adopted for transmission to the Economic and Social Council. These resolutions dealt with such varied topics as licensing of motor vehicle drivers, road traffic accident statistics, customs formalities for road traffic and touring, the transport of dangerous goods, the pollution of sea water, and discrimination in transport insurance.

This Commission has worked in great harmony with the regional economic commissions in the field of transport and communications and with the Specialized Agencies concerned. Although a number of nations, including Canada, voted for its discontinuance, this was not on grounds of its ineffectiveness but rather because it had successfully completed many of the basic tasks allotted to it and had co-operated so closely with the regional economic commissions and Specialized Agencies, that these other bodies were in a position to carry on the Commission's work.

Fiscal Commission

The third session of the Fiscal Commission was held in New York from May 7 to May 17, 1951. Dr. A. K. Eaton of the Department of Finance was the Canadian member at this meeting. The Commission adopted a series of resolutions for submission to the Economic and Social Council. The subjects of these resolutions included: international tax agreements and their effects on foreign trade and investment; double taxation; taxation of foreign nationals, assets and transactions; national accounting and budgetary practices; problems of provincial and municipal finance; and the fiscal status of international civil servants (exemption from national taxation, etc.).

The Commission established for itself and for the United Nations a set of priorities in fiscal matters aimed at concentration of efforts and resources on the most important projects.

The main controversial question during the session arose in connection with a request of the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) that the Fiscal Commission examine a draft resolution on the taxation of the income and flight equipment of international air transport enterprises, to ensure that the resolution did not contain principles in conflict with the views of the Commission. In the end, the Commission decided that it could not accept responsibility for the wording of the ICAO resolution; in reaching its own decision, however, ICAO might be guided by the Commission's resolution on international tax problems and by the various views which had been expressed in the Commission in the course of the debate while the ICAO resolution was being examined.

Statistical Commission

The sixth session of the Statistical Commission met at Lake Success from May 7 to May 18, 1951. Mr. Herbert Marshall, Dominion Statistician, served on the Commission as a Canadian expert. The agenda of the meeting was comprehensive. It included items of first importance to which, however, final consideration could not be given. Studies and reports on these items were critically examined by the Commission with a view to guiding the statistical office of the United Nations in its task of further exploring and preparing final reports for discussion at a subsequent session. Some of the important items were definitions for trade statistics, principles for a vital statistics system, wholesale price statistics, and basic industrial statistics.

The Commission adopted several resolutions entrusting the Secretary-General of the United Nations with responsibilities in the fields of international trade statistics, transport statistics, vital statistics, price statistics, basic industrial statistics, capital formation statistics, distribution statistics and the improvement of national statistics, particularly in under-developed countries.

The Commission recommended several resolutions to the Economic and Social Council. One of these invited the Secretary-General to prepare, with the concurrence of each country concerned, a summary of the official definitions made by governments themselves of their customs areas. It further requested members of the United Nations to use these definitions in compiling their "trade-by-country" statistics. Another resolution asked the Council to take note that the Statistical Commission had endorsed a resolution on criminal statistics adopted by the Social Commission. The Statistical Commission declared its willingness to assist in the task which the Social Commission had undertaken.

The Commission established a system of priorities for its work programme and for the functions performed by the United Nations in statistical matters.

Population Commission

The sixth session of the Population Commission was held at Lake Success from April 23 to May 4, 1951. Canada was not a member of this Commission during 1951 and 1952, although it had been a member from 1947 to 1949.

The Commission devoted most of its time to reviewing the work done by the Population Division of the United Nations Secretariat. It made several recommendations to the Secretary-General, entrusting him with responsibilities such as the completion of studies already begun and the undertaking of new studies. These concerned: the relationship between population trends and economic and social factors; the demographic aspects of migration; the demographic aspects of the problems of retired and aged persons; the convening of regional seminars and the arrangement of training courses on population problems; mortality rates; the recent trends of the birth rate; the question of selecting some under-developed

country in which a census had recently been taken, and undertaking a pilot analysis of the results of that census with a view to examining the demographic aspects of the country's development problems; the development of standards for registration and compilation of vital statistics; and the improvement of migration statistics. The Commission recognized that these projects should be conducted within the limits of available resources and that a system of priorities was required.

The Commission recommended three resolutions for adoption by the Economic and Social Council. The first asked the Secretary-General to prepare from time to time, for submission to the Population Commission, a summary of the results of the various studies and research activities on migration made by the United Nations and Specialized Agencies. The second requested the Secretary-General to consult with Specialized Agencies, non-governmental organizations and governments on the possibility of convening a world conference on population which would, among other things, examine the findings of the various censuses taken in or around 1950. The Secretary-General would be asked to submit a report on the results of his enquiries to the fourteenth session of the Council. The third resolution recommended that the membership of the Population Commission be increased from 12 to 15. The Council subsequently approved this proposed increase in membership.

Social Commission

The Social Commission held its seventh session in Geneva from March 19 to April 13, 1951, and its eighth session in New York from May 12 to May 30, 1952. Mr. R. B. Curry of the Department of National Health and Welfare attended both sessions as the Canadian expert on the Commission.

The report of the seventh session contained several draft resolutions prepared for the approval of the Economic and Social Council. One of these, dealing with training for social work, requested the Council, *inter alia*, to recommend to governments that they give due attention to a set of principles which the Commission had worked out in detail. Another resolution dealt with the establishment of community welfare centres. The Secretary-General was requested to invite the Technical Assistance Board "to give favourable consideration to any applications by governments in this field". A third resolution urged governments to give favourable consideration to the adoption and development of probation as a major instrument of policy in the prevention of crime and treatment of offenders. A fourth concerned assistance to indigent aliens and a fifth sought to initiate steps leading to the formulation of a model convention or a model reciprocal law on the recognition and enforcement abroad of family maintenance obligations.

At the eighth session the Commission considered a report on advisory social welfare services covering the years 1947 to 1951. It heard the Secretary-General's report on the progress made, particularly by Specialized Agencies and non-governmental organizations, in the field of rehabilitation of the physically and visually handi-

caped. The discussions of the Commission brought out the need for the preparation of a programme for the welfare of the deaf and deaf-mutes. The Commission also pointed out the need for a generally accepted definition of blindness and for accurate statistics on blindness. There followed a general review of family and child welfare activities.

The Commission expressed satisfaction at the work which the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF)² had been doing and urged that UNICEF be given adequate financial support.

A report on the value of in-service training for social welfare personnel as compared with formal training was discussed. The report covered information received from 49 countries and territories. The desirability of simplifying administrative immigration procedures in the interest of the welfare of migrants was discussed and recommendations were made to governments. A good deal of attention was given to housing and town and country planning. Emphasis was laid on the problem of financing housing development.

One of the major documents before the Commission was a comprehensive report on the world social situation.³ The report, the first project of the kind ever undertaken, brought into focus the total social situation in the world and emphasized the gross inequalities that exist. As there was insufficient time to study this report at the eighth session, the Commission asked the Council for permission to hold a meeting in 1953 to review this matter thoroughly.

Commission on Human Rights

The Commission on Human Rights held its seventh session in Geneva from April 16 to May 19, 1951, and its eighth session in New York from April 21 to June 13, 1952. Canada is not a member of this Commission.

At its seventh session the Commission was faced with instructions from the General Assembly (Resolution 421B(VI)) to:

- (a) complete the draft Covenant on Human Rights before the sixth session of the Assembly,
- (b) study a federal state clause and make recommendations thereon,
- (c) include economic, social and cultural rights in the draft Covenant, together with civil and political rights,
- (d) consider, in connection with measures for implementation of the Covenant, the possibility of petitions from individuals or organizations,
- (e) study means of ensuring the self-determination of peoples and report to the General Assembly at its sixth session.

The Commission was unable to complete all these tasks. It drafted articles on economic, social and cultural rights and on proposed measures of implementation. It was unable to complete its work on revision of the first 18 articles dealing with civil rights, its work on petitions, the federal state clause or self-determination.

²See pp. 66-68.

³See pp. 68-69.

At its eighth session, the Commission was under instructions from the General Assembly to prepare two draft covenants and suitable measures of implementation, the first draft covenant to formulate civil and political rights, the second economic, social and cultural rights. Again, the Commission had insufficient time to complete the task set it. The substantive articles, setting forth the rights themselves, were drafted for both covenants but the measures for implementation were left untouched. Once more, the Commission was unable to deal with the federal state clause. The Commission has asked to be allowed to convene a further meeting (or possibly two meetings) in 1953 to carry on with its work.⁴

Commission on the Status of Women

This Commission, on which Canada is not represented, held its fifth session at Lake Success from April 30 to May 14, 1951, and its sixth session in Geneva from March 24 to April 5, 1952.

The Commission at its fifth session drafted a convention for submission to the Economic and Social Council on the political rights of women. The Council deferred any decision until the views of member governments had been received. The Commission's sixth session, in possession of these views, amended the draft convention slightly and submitted it once more to the Council for action.

The fifth session recommended the distribution of a pamphlet prepared by the Secretary-General on education of women for public life. It also recommended that women should be appointed as members of visiting missions to trusteeship territories.⁵ Another resolution requested the International Law Commission to complete during 1952 the drafting of a convention on the nationality of married women. The status of women in public law was the subject of another resolution. The final paragraph of this resolution expressed the hope that member states would take steps to remove all discrimination in connection with the employment of married women in public service. The final resolution urged member states, not members of the International Labour Organization (ILO) which already has a convention on this subject, to give effect to the principle of equal pay for equal work without discrimination on grounds of sex.

At the sixth session, the Commission recognized that in some trust and non-self-governing territories women were deprived of some human rights. The Trusteeship Council was invited to take appropriate action to improve the situation. A resolution sought to ensure for women the right to work on an equal footing with men and to guarantee women and girls equal access to vocational training and apprenticeship. Once again, great emphasis was placed on the question of equal pay for equal work and governments were urged to introduce legislation to implement the ILO Convention on this subject. Other resolutions dealt with the problems of older women workers and with part-time jobs for women.

⁴See also pp. 70-74.

⁵See pp. 120-121.

Commission on Narcotic Drugs

The Commission on Narcotic Drugs held its sixth session in New York from April 10 to May 24, 1951, and its seventh session in New York from April 15 to May 9, 1952. Colonel C. H. L. Sharman of the Department of National Health and Welfare, represented Canada at both sessions.

The most important item discussed by the sixth session was the formulation of principles for a proposed protocol on limitation of the production of opium. The Commission had earlier tried to reconcile various conflicting views in an effort to draft a convention limiting the production of opium through the establishment of an international opium monopoly. It became evident during the Commission's session that, despite prolonged efforts to reach agreement on the basic principles involved, no generally acceptable agreement could be found at that time. Therefore, the idea of an international monopoly was put aside for the time being and the Commission spent most of its sixth session drafting principles for a proposed protocol, on the limitation of the production of opium, based on the "free order" system of the 1931 Convention for Limiting the Manufacture and Regulating the Distribution of Narcotic Drugs. Substantial agreement was reached on these principles and they were submitted by the Commission to the thirteenth session of the Economic and Social Council.

The seventh session of the Commission passed a number of resolutions for adoption by the fourteenth session of the Council. One of these recommended international co-operation for control of the illicit traffic in narcotics and urged governments to take immediate steps to establish direct communication between national administrations controlling the illicit traffic.

Another resolution, dealing with illicit trafficking by the crews of merchant ships and civil aircraft, requested the Secretary-General to compile a list of merchant seafarers and members of civil air crews convicted of offences against narcotic laws and to send the list to the governments of all states with the recommendation that they take appropriate measures to revoke the certificates and licenses held by these persons. The proviso was added that, if such a course did not accord with national law or usage, the recommendation to the government concerned should be to send the "black list" to all competent authorities and to take such legal measures as might be possible to prevent the seamen or airmen convicted of narcotics offences from carrying out their professions.

The problem of the chewing of the coca leaf (which has alleged narcotic effects) was the subject of another resolution. In this the technical assistance services of the United Nations were asked to study the possibility of undertaking experiments which had been proposed in this connection within the framework of existing technical assistance programmes in Bolivia and Peru. It also requested the governments of Bolivia and Peru to take steps to limit the production of coca leaf to the amounts required for lawful

manufacture and consumption and to prevent the introduction into trading channels of coca leaf and cocaine which could form the source for illicit manufacture and export of narcotic drugs.

Still further resolutions made recommendations regarding the control of synthetic drugs. All governments were requested to bring synthetic drugs under the control of national legislation.

Regional Economic Commissions

The regional economic commissions of the Economic and Social Council — the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE), and the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) — were set up to facilitate concerted action for economic reconstruction after the war, to raise the level of economic activity in these regions, and to maintain and strengthen economic relations among the countries of the regions and with other countries of the world. ECE and ECAFE were established in 1947 and ECLA in 1948. At the thirteenth session of the Economic and Social Council in 1951, the activities and the terms of reference of the regional economic commissions were reviewed and it was decided that the commissions should be continued indefinitely. At the same time, the terms of reference of ECAFE and ECLA were broadened to place more emphasis on questions of economic development and to provide for increased co-operation with the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration.

Economic Commission for Europe

ECE consists of European states, both members of the United Nations and non-members, including all European members of the Soviet bloc, plus the United States. The Commission remains one of the few economic organs of the United Nations in which the countries of Eastern and Western Europe continue to work together towards a solution of specific problems of common concern. In the present state of East-West relations, however, the comprehensive nature of the Commission's membership has tended to hinder rather than to help its work. As long as deep-seated political cleavages continue to cut across the common economic interests of member countries, ECE is unlikely to be able to deal realistically and effectively with some of the more chronic economic problems confronting Europe.

Despite the political factors which tend to impede the activities of ECE, technical committees of the Commission have maintained a consistently high standard of performance. A similar high level of competence has characterized the work of the ECE Secretariat. This is well reflected in the annual and quarterly economic surveys which are prepared by the Research and Planning Division of ECE and which give a comprehensive picture of European economic trends and prospects.

ECE has co-operated closely with its sister commissions in Asia and Latin America, and has initiated studies on inter-regional trade and commodity problems. An example is the study on trade between Europe and Latin America which was undertaken by ECE and ECLA. More recently, ECE prepared a note for the ECAFE Trade Promotion Conference which was held in Singapore in October 1951, on the position of Europe in regard to the supply of certain categories of capital goods in which the countries of Asia and the Far East were experiencing shortages. ECE has also collaborated fruitfully with the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations, notably with the Food and Agriculture Organization. In this process of collaboration, ECE has been careful to avoid as much as possible the duplication of effort which is an almost inevitable result of the allocation of economic functions under the United Nations to agencies established to serve, on the one hand, regional and, on the other, functional needs.

Consultations have been carried on under the auspices of ECE, during the period under review, with the object of promoting the expansion of East-West trade in Europe by means of mutually satisfactory agreements. At the seventh session of the Commission in March 1952, the Executive Secretary was invited to continue to explore with interested governments the practical possibilities of trade expansion, as a possible preliminary step to convening a meeting of trade experts in the autumn of 1952. As long, however, as the countries of the Soviet bloc insist that a substantial proportion of the goods supplied to the Soviet bloc by western countries should be made up of strategic raw materials and capital goods at present subject to export control in Western Europe, it is probably futile to expect ECE to achieve tangible results in this sphere of its activities.

Two meetings of the Commission were held during the period under review, the sixth session in Geneva from May 29 to June 13, 1951, and the seventh session, also in Geneva, from March 3 to March 18, 1952. While Canada is not a member of ECE, it closely follows the more important phases of the Commission's activities through the Canadian Delegation to the European Office of the United Nations in Geneva, in which city ECE has its headquarters. A Canadian observer also normally attends the periodic meetings of the ECE Timber Committee in whose statistical surveys of timber production and consumption trends Canada participates.

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East

The work of ECAFE has progressed steadily, and increasingly useful assistance and advice has been given to the governments of the region. This has been particularly true in the fields of flood control, river basin developments, trade promotion, cottage and small scale industries, and industrial development generally. These questions are under continuing consideration by the Commission and its Secretariat. In October 1951 a Conference on Trade Promo-

tion was convened in Singapore. This meeting, the first of its kind to be held in the area, was well attended and successful. A number of useful studies have been published by the Commission, and the work of evaluating and disseminating statistical information has continued. The annual *Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East* and the quarterly *Economic Bulletin for Asia and the Far East*, published by the Commission, fill an important statistical need of the member governments.

The reports of the Commission show that progress has been made in allocating priorities to various approved projects and in concentrating attention upon those of major importance. Moreover, there has been an increase in ECAFE's co-operation with the other regional commissions and with the Specialized Agencies. Close co-operation has also been maintained with the Technical Assistance Administration.

Canada does not participate in the work of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. However, as a member of the United Nations and a country bordering on the Pacific, Canada is keenly interested in the work of the Commission. Canada also has a special interest as a participant in the Colombo Plan and in the United Nations Expanded Programme for Technical Assistance. While emphasizing the need to consider ECAFE's activities in relation to the whole of the United Nations economic programme, Canada has generally approved of the work being done by the Commission.

Two sessions of ECAFE were held during the period under review, the seventh in Lahore from February 28 to March 7, 1951, the eighth in Rangoon from January 29 to February 8, 1952. Mr. Nik Cavell, Director of the International Economic and Technical Co-operation Division of the Department of Trade and Commerce, attended the eighth session as a Canadian observer.

The Economic and Social Council, at its meeting in 1952, decided to extend the geographic scope of the Commission to include Japan, and to admit Japan as an associate member.

Economic Commission for Latin America

The fourth session of ECLA was held in Mexico City in June 1951 and a meeting of the Committee of the Whole took place in Santiago, Chile, in February 1952. At both these meetings the programme of work of the Commission was reviewed. The Committee of the Whole agreed that the work of the Commission should be concentrated in the fields which give best hope of early and substantial achievement. The Commission has undertaken the preparation of technical studies and has called together experts to consider various economic problems common to the area. Studies have been undertaken on: the general problems and financing of economic development; the development of particular industries; transportation questions; immigration; the influence of taxation on private capital exports; the economic and legal status of foreign investments in Latin America; agricultural production and develop-

ment; trade between Latin America and the United States and Europe; and the economic integration of Central American countries. Work is going forward on the preparation of the *Economic Survey of Latin America* for 1951-52.

ECLA's reports show that during 1951 there was an increase in co-operation with the Specialized Agencies and with the Economic Commission for Europe. Arrangements have been made for close liaison with the Inter-American Economic and Social Council.

Canada is not a member of ECLA. Canada is, however, interested in the economic progress of the area and in the development of the work of the Commission, and follows its activities with close attention.

III

SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

Co-ordination

As the scope and variety of the work performed by the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies have increased, it has become a matter of concern to these United Nations bodies and to member states that there should be a minimum of overlapping, duplication and consequent waste. Canadian representatives at meetings of the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and the various Agencies have called for the closest co-operation between the different organizations in order to achieve the maximum results from available resources. One specific measure of co-ordination which has been urged is the adoption, wherever possible, of uniform financial and administrative practices, and considerable progress has been made in this direction. Joint systems of audit and pensions have been established, for example, and the most important Agencies now have comparable systems of salaries and allowances. The adoption of permanent staff regulations by the United Nations makes it probable that the personnel policies of the Agencies, which have been modelled on United Nations policies, will become even more uniform.

The many and detailed debates which have taken place on co-ordination have revealed one danger: that over-ambitious and over-elaborate schemes of co-ordination would be adopted and that the machinery of co-ordination would become so cumbrous that it would defeat its own simple objective.

There is certainly room for further progress in co-ordinating United Nations activities, but it is the Canadian view that the machinery which has evolved up to the present is generally satisfactory, and that further improvement in co-ordination could take place within this established framework. The Administrative Committee on Co-ordination (the Secretary-General, the Heads of the Specialized Agencies and of the various United Nations programmes) meets regularly to discuss matters of general concern. The Assem-

ble's Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions now reviews not only the annual budgets of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies but also the administrative portions of the budgets of the special programmes, and submits its recommendations to ECOSOC and to the Assembly.

ECOSOC, and particularly its Committee on Co-ordination, occupies a key position in the co-ordination of United Nations activities. The extent of its responsibilities, particularly over the Agencies, has been the subject of controversy. Canada considers that ECOSOC's function can best be discharged by efforts to provide general policy guidance to the Agencies and by direction of the work of the Council's functional and regional commissions. It is inevitable, in the Canadian view, that a major part of the responsibility for co-ordination must rest, in the final analysis, with the governing bodies and assemblies of the various Agencies and with their secretariats.

ECOSOC's Committee on Co-ordination has also devoted much study to the question of priorities — the concentration of effort and resources by the various organizations on the most important projects and activities. This work has helped to clarify the criteria by which priorities must be determined, and to standardize procedures for drawing up and presenting projected programmes of activity in terms of priorities.

Thus, the problem of co-ordinating the work of the United Nations, the Specialized Agencies and the special programmes has received a great deal of study and consideration. Another aspect of the question, however, has not been overlooked. This is the co-ordination of national policies. Because of the vast number of subjects dealt with by the United Nations, there is a danger that a country's representatives may adopt an attitude in one United Nations body which is inconsistent with the attitude of other representatives of the same country in another United Nations body. This can only lead to confusion. The Assembly has urged governments to take steps to ensure that their own national policies are co-ordinated for the various United Nations bodies of which they are members, and the Secretary-General has carried out a survey of the administrative practices adopted by different governments to ensure this co-ordination. The Canadian Government's reply to the Secretary-General, outlining its own procedures for handling United Nations questions, to ensure that policies will be mutually consistent, appears as Appendix 3 to this volume.

Food and Agriculture Organization

In most countries of the world, food production has not kept pace with population growth. The result is that inequalities in food supplies, which had been great before the war, have become greater. The gravity of this situation was recognized by the sixth session of the Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) which met in Rome from November 19 to December 6, 1951. The Conference agreed that member countries should adopt agricultural

development plans suited to their own circumstances and conditions, having as an objective a balanced increase in world production of basic food and other essential agricultural products of at least one to two per cent per year in excess of the rate of population growth for the next five years.

It was agreed that the accomplishment of this objective would be facilitated by:

- (a) the establishment of adequate extension and educational programmes to ensure that technical knowledge necessary to achieve increased production is conveyed to the individual farmer;
- (b) the provision of adequate capital for agricultural development through national and international efforts;
- (c) the adoption by member countries of reforms in agrarian structure, including conditions of land tenure and size and distribution of agricultural holdings.

A working party on the programme of work and associated long-term problems, which was set up by the Conference in 1950, established a set of principles to serve as a guide in the planning of future programmes of work and recommended the creation of a co-ordinating committee of seven members, to be selected on the basis of personal qualifications, to give advice on the co-ordination of the undertakings of FAO. When the programme of work for the technical divisions of FAO for 1952-53 was being framed, special consideration was given to points (a), (b) and (c) above. Progress reports on these undertakings were considered by the FAO Council, which acts as the executive body of the Organization, at its fifteenth session in June 1952.

The sixth session of the Conference considered the problem of food shortages and famine in many regions, which had been referred to FAO by the thirteenth session of the Economic and Social Council, and recommended a procedure to be followed by the Director-General for detecting impending food shortages or famine in member countries. The Conference also decided that the FAO Council should study and explore suitable means whereby an emergency food reserve could be established and made available promptly to member states threatened or affected by serious food shortages or by famine.

An International Plant Protection Convention, designed to strengthen and co-ordinate international efforts to prevent the spread and to facilitate the control of plant diseases and pests, was approved by the Conference. Thirty-seven member nations, including Canada, have already signed this Convention.

A progress report to the fifteenth session of the FAO Council, on the activities of FAO under the Expanded Technical Assistance Programme, gave evidence of FAO's important contribution to the development of the under-developed areas. By the end of May 1952, more than 300 agreements for the provision of technical assistance had been entered into or were under negotiation with member governments. These agreements involved 774 technical experts and, when fully implemented, would represent financial commitments

exceeding \$17 million. These agreements also provided 482 fellowships. Of these, 134 had already been awarded; the selected candidates were studying in some 27 different countries.

On instructions from the Conference, the FAO Committee on Commodity Problems, at meetings held in Rome in February and June 1952, continued its study of problems of the supply and distribution of agricultural commodities. These discussions revealed widespread interest in and concern about the limited supplies of coarse grains in international trade. Attention was also given to the rice supply situation, which presented perhaps the most serious commodity supply problem.

Canada continued its active support of the work of FAO. Canada serves as a member of the FAO Council and of the Committee on Commodity Problems. Many Canadian technicians — specialists in agriculture, fisheries, forestry and nutrition — are playing a prominent part in the development work being carried on by FAO under the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance.

The year 1951 saw FAO settled in its new permanent headquarters in Rome, where the sixth session of the Conference was held. The Conference extended its membership to include Argentina, Japan, Laos and Nepal, and accepted the resignations of Hungary and the National Government of China, thus bringing the membership to 68 nations. Elections were held to fill all of the 18 seats on the Council. Mr. Norris E. Dodd, who has been Director-General of FAO for the past three years, was re-elected to the post for a further term of two years. Viscount Bruce of Melbourne, who had served as independent chairman of the FAO Council from its establishment in 1947, retired from this office and was replaced by Professor Josue de Castro of Brazil.

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

Canada has continued to participate in the work of the two Specialized Agencies which emerged from the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference at Bretton Woods in 1944: the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund. In the main, the Canadian representatives on the Boards of Governors and the Boards of Directors of the Bank and the Fund have been in general agreement with the major policies and measures adopted by these two institutions since their inception.

Operations of the International Bank

Established to assist in the reconstruction and development of the economies of its member countries by the granting of loans for productive purposes, and to promote the international movement of private capital, the International Bank has in the space of five years made loans which aggregated \$(U.S.) 1,346,183,000 as of May 31, 1952.

The first Bank loans were made to France, the Netherlands, Denmark and Luxembourg, countries whose economies had been impaired by the war. In making these early loans the Bank assisted in the initial phase of post-war reconstruction, before the European Recovery Programme came into operation. Since then, the Bank's lending operations have been for the most part concerned with the less developed countries. By far the larger portion of the loans for development has been applied to the expansion and improvement of electric power supplies, communications and transportation.

Bank Lending 1951-52

During 1951 and the first quarter of 1952, loans were placed by the Bank to a total of more than \$322 million. In addition the Bank continued to provide its members with technical assistance in the preparation and execution of development projects and programmes.

In Africa, the Bank made loans to the Belgian Congo, Ethiopia, the Union of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. On September 13, 1951, two loans aggregating \$(U.S.)70 million were made to assist the Ten-Year Development Plan of the Belgian Congo. One of these loans, \$40 million, was made directly to the Belgian Congo with the guarantee of Belgium. The other, \$30 million, was made to Belgium, to help finance imports which Belgium needed as a result of increased production of goods for the Congo. A loan of \$1.5 million was made to Ethiopia in February 1951 to finance the importing of telecommunications equipment needed to expand and improve telephone communications within the country and links with other countries. On January 23, 1951, the Bank made a loan of \$30 million to the Electricity Supply Commission of South Africa for electric power development; this loan was guaranteed by the Government of the Union of South Africa. At the same time a loan of \$20 million was made to the Government of South Africa for the expansion of transport facilities. On February 27, 1952, the Bank made a loan of \$28 million to the Government of Southern Rhodesia. This loan, guaranteed by the United Kingdom, was designed to aid in financing the importation of electric power equipment.

In Asia, on March 27, 1952, the Bank made its first loan, equivalent to \$27.2 million, to Pakistan. This loan was designed to assist in the rehabilitation of the separate railroad systems in the western and eastern parts of the country. The loan was expected to finance the importation of diesel locomotives, locomotive boilers, freight and passenger cars, workshop equipment and cross ties.

In Europe, loans were placed in Iceland, Italy, the Netherlands, Yugoslavia and, as mentioned above, in Belgium. On June 20, 1951, a loan of \$2.45 million was made to Iceland for electric power development. Subsequently, on November 1, 1951, the Bank loaned the equivalent of \$1,008,000 to Iceland. The purpose of this second loan was to provide foreign exchange for the importation of materials to modernize farms and to build or modernize farm buildings, and to improve grass lands. On October 10, 1951, the Bank made a loan of \$10 million, guaranteed by the Italian Government, to a government agency, Cassa per il Mezzogiorno, charged with the administration of a ten-year plan for the economic and social advancement of Southern

Italy. On March 20, 1952, a loan of \$7 million was made to KLM Royal Dutch Air Line, to help finance a programme to replace part of its air fleet. Chase National Bank of New York City was a participant in this loan, which is guaranteed by the Netherlands Government. On October 11, 1951, the Bank loaned Yugoslavia the equivalent of \$28 million for a series of development projects; most of the proceeds of the loan were to be used for the expansion and modernization of existing facilities or for projects close to completion.

In Latin America, Bank loans were placed in Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay and Peru. In January 1951, the Bank increased by \$15 million its loan of January 1949 to the Brazilian Traction, Light and Power Company Limited. This was the second instalment of a \$90 million loan which the Brazilian Congress, in 1948, authorized the Minister of Finance to guarantee. On October 10, 1951, the Bank made a loan of \$1.3 million to the Corporacion de Fomento de la Produccion, a government agency, with the guarantee of the Government of Chile. The loan was intended to finance the foreign exchange cost of equipment and technical services necessary to determine the amount of underground water in the Rio Elqui Valley. On April 10, 1951, the Government of Colombia received a loan of \$16.5 million for highway construction and rehabilitation. On November 13, 1951, the Bank made a loan of \$2.4 million for electric power development in Colombia; this loan, guaranteed by the Government of Colombia, was made to the Central Hidroelectrica de Rio Liberija Ltda. The project involves the erection of a hydroelectric plant, the construction of transmission lines, and enlargement of the existing distribution system. When completed, the project is expected to relieve an acute power shortage in Bucaramanga, one of the expanding cities of Colombia and centre of the tobacco processing industry. On January 11, 1952, the Bank made a loan of \$29.7 million for electrical power development in Mexico. The joint borrowers were the Federal Electricity Commission and Nacional Financiera, the financing agency of the Mexican Government. Two hydroelectric plants, four steam electric stations, and increased distribution facilities are among the projects to be financed by this loan, which is guaranteed by the Mexican Government. Three loans were made during the period in Nicaragua. In June 1951, a loan of \$3.5 million was made for highway construction; at the same time a loan of \$1.2 million was made to the Banco Nacional de Nicaragua to finance the importation of agricultural machinery. On October 29, 1951, the Bank made a loan of \$550,000 to Nicaragua for the construction of a plant for drying and storing grain. On December 7, 1951 a loan of \$5 million was made to Paraguay. This loan was to be used to finance imports of farm machinery and supplies, as well as road building equipment. A loan of \$2.5 million to finance facilities for handling general cargo and the unloading and storage of bulk grain at the Port of Callao was made to Peru on January 23, 1952.

Bank Borrowing

The resources available to the Bank for lending purposes have come from: (1) the 2 per cent capital subscriptions in United States dollars or gold which all members contribute; (2) the 18 per cent

capital subscriptions in the form of local currencies which can be used by the Bank for lending only with the consent of the member governments; and (3) the proceeds of borrowing operations. The United States has been the most important source of funds for the Bank up to the present time.

During 1951 and the first half of 1952, six new bond issues were floated by the Bank. On February 28, 1951, the Bank offered in the United States a new issue of \$50 million, 3 per cent bonds due in 1976. This issue was well received by investors. In May 1951, the Bank offered £5 million of 3½ per cent Loan Stock due 1966/71 on the London market. This issue was successfully distributed to institutional investors in the United Kingdom. On July 3, 1951, the Bank offered publicly for the first time some bonds in Switzerland. Two previous issues had already been placed privately with institutional investors in that country. The issue consisted of \$50 million 3½ per cent Swiss franc bonds due in 1963. This issue was offered at par and was substantially oversubscribed. On September 12, 1951, an issue of \$100 million, 3¼ per cent 30-year bonds was offered by the Bank in the United States. The first issue of International Bank bonds in Canada was made on February 5, 1952, when an amount of \$15 million, 4 per cent Canadian dollar bonds due in 1962, was offered to the public through 170 Canadian dealers and chartered banks. This offer was successful, with institutional purchasers taking some 50 per cent of the issue. On May 15, 1952, the Bank offered an issue of \$50 million, 3⅜ per cent bonds due in 1975, to United States investors through a syndicate managed jointly by Morgan Stanley & Company and the First Boston Corporation. This issue was oversubscribed.

In May 1952, Canada released \$(Can.)41 million — the balance of the 18 per cent capital subscription, \$17.5 million having been previously released — to the Bank for use in the Bank's lending programme. With this release, Canada made available the whole (\$58.5 million) of its original Canadian dollar subscription to the Bank's capital. On becoming a member of the Bank, Canada subscribed to 3,250 capital shares valued at \$(U.S.)325 million; at that time Canada paid in 2 per cent \$(U.S.)6.5 million) of its subscription in United States dollars or gold and 18 per cent \$(U.S.)58.5 million) in Canadian dollars. Next to the United States, Canada has put the largest amount of capital at the disposal of the Bank for loans.

Sweden and Burma became members of the Bank during the period under review, increasing the number of member countries to 51. Sweden subscribed to 1,000 capital shares of stock valued at \$100 million; Burma subscribed to 150 capital shares of stock valued at \$15 million. The subscribed capital of the Bank presently stands at \$8,453.5 million.

The International Monetary Fund

In the post-war design for orderly inter-governmental economic relations, the International Monetary Fund was established to serve two main purposes. First, it was to be a trustee holding custody of a relatively large supply of foreign exchange which could be used

as a revolving fund to meet the temporary needs of member governments for international reserves. Second, it was to be the supervisor of an international covenant which had as its purpose the development of harmonious international relations through restraint — mutually accepted by the members — in the use of exchange rate adjustments and exchange restrictions. During the early years of the post-war transitional period, the activities of the Fund, both as trustee and as supervisor, were somewhat restrained. This was partly because Marshall Plan aid was at that time available to meet the rehabilitation needs of many member governments, and partly because the Fund Agreement provided for a settling-down period during which various “earlier-imposed” exchange restrictions might, if necessary for balance of payments reasons, be retained. There were indications during 1951 and the first half of 1952, however, that the pace of activity in the Fund was gradually being accelerated.

Use of Fund's Resources

After an initial exchange transactions volume of \$(U.S.)467 million in 1947, transactions dwindled to \$208 million in 1948 and to \$101 million in 1949. No transactions occurred during 1950, and a substantial part of the Fund's resources remained unused — apart from a small drawing from Brazil — when, in the spring of 1951, the Executive Board of the Fund began a review of the Fund's policy on exchange transactions.

Under the Fund's procedure, when a member purchases from the Fund another member's currency, it pays in to the Fund the equivalent amount of its own currency and the transaction may accordingly increase the Fund's holdings of the purchasing member's currency in excess of its quota. The greater the excess and the longer it lasts, the higher the interest rates. In addition, the Fund makes a flat service charge for all transactions.

By the fall of 1951, several changes had emerged as a result of the review conducted by the Executive Board. In an effort to encourage short-term drawings, the customary transaction charge of three quarters of one per cent was reduced to one-half of one per cent, and instead of commencing to pay interest at the end of three months, the member drawing the first 25 per cent of its quota was given a six-month interest-free use of the Fund's resources.

The interest rate was, however, to be increased by one-half of one per cent semi-annually instead of annually, as had previously been the case, so that increased pressure to repurchase the amount drawn within a reasonable time was a feature of the new arrangement. Other steps towards an accelerated use of the Fund's resources took place in February 1952 when the Board of Executive Directors adopted some modifications to the exchange transaction procedure. In effect, the Fund announced that in future drawings upon the Fund's resources were to be repurchased within three to five years. The Fund also indicated that it would be prepared to arrange special short-run drawings in which the repurchase would be expected to occur in a period not exceeding 18 months. Although it is too early to know whether these modifications will materially affect the use

of the Fund's resources, the Fund has already had five exchange transactions since the beginning of 1952 — with Iran, Brazil, Australia, Paraguay and Belgium.

The Fund's Gold Policy

In 1947, the Fund had recommended to its members that they should take effective action to prevent external gold transactions at premium prices — in excess of \$(U.S.)35 per fine ounce — because such action tended to impair monetary reserves and to undermine exchange stability. In September 1951, the Fund concluded that the difficulties which had been experienced with its policy towards premium gold transactions — under which the Fund, in effect, attempted to screen the gold marketing arrangements of its members — justified a revision of the policy. Fund members were asked to continue to support the basic principles underlying the Fund's earlier policy, but member governments were to be left to decide for themselves what measures they should undertake to implement the Fund's recommendations. Under the terms of the revised policy, Canada allowed Canadian gold purchasers access to the premium market. In response to a proposal from Canada for a two-year renewal of the system of gold subsidy, the Fund, on December 21, 1951, approved the renewal as not inconsistent with the Fund's position on gold subsidies.

Exchange Rates and Other Adjustments

During the period under review, initial par values acceptable to the Fund were proposed by Ceylon, Finland and Sweden. In addition, a new par value for the Yugoslav dinar was accepted. The Fund was also called upon to consider various governmental measures affecting the exchange control practices of Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Ecuador, Finland, Greece, Iceland, Iran, Lebanon, Paraguay, the Philippines and Thailand. On March 25, 1952, Canada notified the Fund that as a result of the abolition of exchange control it had ceased to avail itself of the post-war transitional arrangements provided in Article XIV of the Fund Agreement; this willingness to forego the exceptional privileges of the transitional period drew comment from the Managing-Director of the Fund who described the event as "both significant and gratifying". Some 40 members of the Fund, however, continued to avail themselves of the transitional arrangements; with each of these governments, the Fund will enter into consultations during 1952 as to the need for the continued retention of exchange restrictions.

Members and Organization

As of March 31, 1952, 51 countries had accepted membership in the Fund. Sweden became a member on August 31, 1951; Burma joined on January 3, 1952; and the Board of Governors has given a favourable response to the applications for membership of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Japan. On August 3, 1951, Mr. Ivar Rooth, formerly Governor

of the Sveriges Riksbank, assumed his duties as the successor of Mr. Camille Gutt who, on May 5, 1951, had completed five years service as the Fund's first Managing-Director and chairman of the Executive Board.

Canadian Representation on Fund and Bank

Mr. D. C. Abbott, Minister of Finance, continued to represent Canada on the Boards of Governors of both the Fund and the Bank. Mr. G. F. Towers continued as Alternate Governor of the Fund, and Mr. J. J. Deutsch replaced Mr. R. B. Bryce as Alternate Governor of the Bank in September 1951. Mr. L. Rasminsky continued to be Executive Director for Canada and Iceland of both the Bank and the Fund, while Mr. H. L. Wolfson replaced Mr. J. F. Parkinson as Alternate Executive Director of both institutions in August 1951. Mr. Wolfson was succeeded by Mr. G. Neil Perry on April 1, 1952.

International Civil Aviation Organization

The exceptional and accelerating growth of air travel during 1951 and the first half of 1952 was both testimony to the effectiveness and influence of the work of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) during the past five years, and a source of new problems and challenges for the Organization. Total passenger movement, both domestic and international, as recorded by ICAO members during 1951, was fully 25 per cent greater than in the preceding year. While figures are not available for the first half of 1952, it is believed that this remarkable growth has continued at about the same rate. Expansion of this magnitude could not have occurred except over a very large area of the world. In the international field at least, and in the several areas of the world where civil aviation has not previously been well established, it could not have occurred without the standardization of methods, procedures and equipment, and the widespread acceptance of these standards which it has been ICAO's responsibility to obtain.

The year 1951 was marked by the completion of an important phase of the work programme drawn up for ICAO by the International Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago in 1944. The last in a series of technical annexes then envisaged for the Chicago Convention, Annex 14 on Aerodromes, was adopted. The now completed body of 14 annexes to the convention comprises a set of standards and procedures covering the more important aspects of civil aviation. Its widespread adoption, by providing necessary uniformity at high technical levels, has improved the safety and efficiency of international airline operations and has already helped to clear the way for the extension of air services to some parts of the world not previously served. With the technical annexes completed, and with a growing need for their implementation in various parts of the world, ICAO is likely to place increasing emphasis, henceforth, on its responsibilities for their promotion and implementation.

In line with this shift of emphasis from the creation of a body of technical standards and procedures to their implementation, ICAO carried out in 1951 and the first part of 1952 the first general review ever made of the adequacy of the world's air navigation services. Some fifty deficiencies of major importance were revealed. Recommendations for remedial action were made to the states concerned, and in June 1952 there were good prospects that about three quarters of the deficiencies would soon be corrected.

At the same time increased experience and the rapid introduction of larger and faster aircraft have revealed problems not foreseen at Chicago and have required that the standards and procedures already laid down in accepted annexes be constantly reviewed in the light of new conditions. Amendments, running into the hundreds for some annexes, have been produced; in 1951 and the first half of 1952 no less than 468 amendments, affecting 11 annexes, were adopted. Technical research, therefore, as reflected in the annexes, still constitutes an important part of ICAO's responsibilities. The introduction of commercial jet aircraft on international airways in 1952 has raised new considerations which are being studied, while the imminent development of helicopter services has opened up a new and interesting field of research.

On the economic side, a conference on the facilitation of international air transport was held in Buenos Aires in November 1951, and some progress was made in persuading member states to reduce the difficulties created for international air operators by national customs, immigration and other regulations. The Organization adopted certain principles on the subject of national taxation as applied to international airlines and studied problems created by national insurance requirements. Work on a convention on the liability of international air carriers for injury to passengers and goods, to replace the Warsaw Convention of 1929, was carried on throughout the period under review. Another convention concerning damage caused by foreign aircraft to persons and property on the ground was completed in draft and will be offered for signature at Rome during September 1952.

There were most encouraging developments in ICAO's part of the United Nations Expanded Programme for Technical Assistance to Under-Developed Countries. In the field of civil aviation, this programme not only promises to be of considerable economic value to recipient countries, but is likely to prove for ICAO a most effective instrument in discharging its responsibility for facilitating the development and increasing the safety of international civil aviation. Sixteen countries are now receiving assistance which will both speed the development of their domestic aviation and increase their ability to participate in and provide adequate facilities for international aviation. An example is the assistance provided to Ethiopia, where an ICAO mission of four experts headed by a Canadian, Mr. Stuart Graham, is now engaged in training Ethiopians in radio communications, aeronautical meteorology, aircraft maintenance and the organization of civil aviation. In addition to the mission, ICAO has provided nine fellowships for the training of candidates nominated by the Government of Ethiopia. Five of these are in advanced flying, three in aircraft services and one in civil aviation administration.

The fifth and sixth sessions of the Assembly of ICAO, held in Montreal in 1951 and 1952, were limited sessions dealing for the most part with financial and administrative questions. Faced with urgent demands for economies, ICAO was able to hold its budgets to relative stability in the face of rising costs, while making no important reductions in its work programmes.

A headquarters agreement between the Canadian Government and the Organization was signed on April 14, 1951. It is the function of a headquarters agreement to provide for the legal status in the host country of the headquarters of an international organization, persons employed by it, and persons accredited by member states to it. The international practice is to accord such organizations and persons limited privileges and immunities — similar to but not as comprehensive as those enjoyed by sovereign states and diplomats — which may be necessary for the discharge of the organization's functions. The headquarters agreement between the Canadian Government and ICAO generally follows the pattern of agreements which have been concluded between other host states and Specialized Agencies of the United Nations.

No new states joined the Organization during the period under review. Spain took the twenty-first seat on the ICAO Council in 1951. Canada has been a member of the Council since the Organization's inception.

International Labour Organization

When the International Labour Organization (ILO) was founded in 1919 within the framework of the League of Nations, its main emphasis was on protective labour legislation. Thus it adopted Conventions setting forth standards for national legislation designed to limit hours of work, protect women and children from night work, eliminate child labour, and establish various conditions for the protection of seamen. ILO problems have changed, however, with the passing years, and of special interest now is the development from framing standards for labour legislation towards practical assistance in their implementation, particularly in underdeveloped countries.

Having early established a set of standards for labour legislation, ILO has endeavoured to keep it up to date by revisions and the adoption of new Conventions. There have been other fields of interest such as discussions on unemployment, which began at the first ILO Conference, and an important subsequent development was the adoption of a series of social security Conventions establishing, among others, standards for workmen's compensation, old age insurance, sickness insurance and unemployment benefits. Moreover, through technical committees ILO has been able to perform careful and detailed work in fields such as accident prevention and uniform labour statistics, and to give special continuing attention to particular problems and groups of workers. In the post-war period a major task of ILO has been the adoption of standards in the field of employer-employee relations, involving difficult but important subjects such as freedom of association, the right to organize and bargain collectively, and the question of forced labour.

ILO Conventions are formulated at annual Conferences of the Organization. A significant feature of these conferences, as indeed of other ILO meetings, is the fact that they are attended by representatives of employers' and workers' organizations as well as by government delegates from the various member countries. Non-government delegates participate in the framing of Conventions and other documents and vote on equal terms with government representatives.

International Labour Conventions are subject to ratification by member countries and by June 1952 a total of 1,301 ratifications had been registered by ILO member states with respect to the 100 Conventions so far adopted. By ratification a country assumes the obligation of maintaining in force the labour standards laid down by the Convention, generally by means of legislation, and of submitting annual reports on the manner in which it is applying the Convention, for appraisal both an international committee of experts and by the Conference.

The 100 Conventions so far adopted constitute an international labour code which serves as a target for social progress and which contains valuable technical information on labour standards. The experience which has gone into the construction of this code has helped ILO in undertaking a new role developing from needs of recent years. One of ILO's functions has always been to supply experts to member governments on request to help them draft legislation or set up administrative agencies. After the war this work was expanded, and when the United Nations embarked on its Technical Assistance Programme designed to help the less developed countries in their struggle against poverty, ignorance and disease, ILO was well equipped to do its share in this field of activity. Experts from Canada have been and will continue to be active in the ILO programme of technical assistance.

Since the emphasis is on helping under-developed countries to improve their productivity, ILO has concentrated its technical assistance efforts in the field of training. For 1953, 240 training experts will be employed and grants of 800 fellowships of trainees have been approved.

Apart from activities which are obviously of direct assistance in raising productivity, ILO is also helping under-developed countries to raise their labour standards by assisting in the framing of appropriate protective and social security legislation, in the improvement of Labour Department administration, and in the development of labour inspection services. The Organization is also giving assistance in the development of employment services and in programmes of industrial safety. The Director-General reported to the 1952 session of the International Labour Conference that ILO had at that time received requests for 277 technical assistance projects.

In the 18-month period from the beginning of 1951 to the middle of 1952, some two dozen ILO meetings were held, at most of which Canada was represented. In addition to the two regular sessions of the annual Conference, there were regional conferences for the Near and Middle East and for American states. There were meetings of committees dealing with the labour problems of special industries such as construction, coal, inland transportation, metal trades and iron and steel. Other committees dealt with the special problems

of maritime workers and of white collar workers. A meeting of experts on "payment by results" has paved the way for a forthcoming meeting to deal in broader terms with the subject of labour productivity. A migration conference was held in Naples in October 1951. These, and in fact all activities of ILO, have been supervised by the Governing Body which functions as the executive organ of ILO.

One of the most interesting topics dealt with by the annual Conference of 1951 was that of equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value. It is only recently that there has been any degree of legislative experience in this field and there was, therefore, considerable controversy as to whether the time was ripe for ILO to adopt a Convention on the subject, rather than a recommendation. It was eventually agreed that the text to be adopted should take the form of a Convention but, as a rather unusual feature, it was agreed that member countries might implement the equal pay principle either by legislation or by collective agreements between employers and workers. The 1951 Conference also carried forward the work of ILO in the field of industrial relations with the adoption of recommendations on collective agreements and voluntary conciliation and arbitration. It held a preliminary discussion on the question of labour-management co-operation which was further developed at the 1952 Conference when a recommendation on the subject was adopted. Questions of social security and labour conditions in agriculture were also dealt with at both Conferences. The 1952 session included on its agenda, too, the questions of health of workers in places of employment, regulation of the employment of young persons in underground work in coal mines, and revision of the Maternity Protection Convention (1919).

During 1951, Canada ratified four International Labour Conventions, all dealing with the condition of maritime workers. As a federal state, Canada finds that most subjects dealt with by ILO fall within the legislative jurisdiction of the provinces rather than of the federal Government. Where questions on these subjects are on the agendas of ILO meetings, the provincial government authorities are customarily consulted in the preparation of replies to questionnaires and in the preparation of instructions for Canadian Government representatives. Canada has now ratified a total of 18 Conventions, most of which deal with maritime questions.

At its 34th session, held in June 1951, the International Labour Conference voted to admit the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan to membership in ILO. At the 35th session of the Conference, in 1952, the admission of the United Kingdom of Libya was approved, bringing to 66 the number of member states.

In 1951 a budget of \$6,224,922 was approved to finance ILO operations during the following year, and Canada's contribution towards that budget was \$(U.S.)239,321. In 1952 the Conference adopted a budget of \$6,223,368, of which Canada's share is \$(U.S.)216,159.

Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization

The Inter-governmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO), which was designed to promote co-operation among governments in international shipping problems, has not yet come into being because the Convention establishing it has not been ratified by the required number of countries.

Canada ratified the Convention on October 30, 1948 — the first country to do so. Since then Australia, Burma, France, Greece, Ireland, Israel, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States have deposited instruments of ratification.

There have been no meetings, since the first one in 1948, of the Preparatory Committee which was set up as an interim body pending the establishment of IMCO.

International Refugee Organization

The International Refugee Organization (IRO) has now ceased operations after giving assistance to more than 1,600,000 persons. In addition to noting the activities of the Organization during the last year of its existence, this article will summarize briefly the history of this important Specialized Agency of the United Nations.

Soon after the war, in February 1946, the General Assembly of the United Nations agreed unanimously that the problem of refugees and displaced persons deserved immediate attention. Next the Economic and Social Council examined the problem, and finally on December 15, 1946 the Constitution of the IRO was adopted by the General Assembly by a vote of 30 to 5, with 18 abstentions. The Preparatory Commission for the International Refugee Organization (PCIRO) was set up to bring IRO into being.

The first session of PCIRO which opened on February 11, 1947 was attended by representatives of Canada, the Dominican Republic, France, Guatemala, the Netherlands, Norway, the United Kingdom and the United States. The Organization began operations on July 1, 1947 at a time when thirteen governments had signed the constitution of IRO, but only six had ratified. This was an expression of faith in international good will on the part of the governments represented at the first PCIRO meeting, and an indication by those governments of the urgency and importance which they attached to refugee problems.

Fifteen ratified signatures and a firm subscription of 75 per cent of the operational budget of the IRO were required to bring its constitution into force, and these requirements were fulfilled in August 1948. The following month fifteen governments were represented at the first meeting of the IRO general council. Eventually sixteen members of the United Nations and two non-members¹ comprised the membership of IRO.

¹Members of IRO listed according to the order in which they signed the Constitution: United States, Canada, Guatemala, France, Dominican Republic, Netherlands, Norway, United Kingdom, New Zealand, China, Belgium, Iceland, Australia, Venezuela, Luxembourg, Denmark, Italy, Switzerland. Eight other governments signed but did not ratify the Constitution.

The Constitution of IRO listed its functions as: "the repatriation; the identification, registration and classification; the care and assistance; the legal and political protection; the transport; and the re-settlement and re-establishment... of persons who are the concern of the Organization." These persons fell roughly into two categories: refugees and displaced persons.

With certain exceptions such as war criminals, quislings, traitors, etc., refugees coming within the mandate of IRO were: victims of the nazi or fascist regimes or of the regimes which sided with or assisted them during the Second World War; Spanish republicans and other victims of the falangist regime in Spain; and persons who were considered refugees before the outbreak of the Second World War for reasons of race, religion, nationality or political opinion. Displaced persons within the IRO mandate were those persons who, as a result of the actions of nazi or fascist regimes, or regimes which sided with or assisted them, had been deported from or obliged to leave their countries of nationality or former habitual residence. In this category were persons who had been compelled to undertake forced labour or who were deported for racial, religious or political reasons. The definitions of refugees and displaced persons were complicated, but as the IRO work proceeded the Organization interpreted the definitions liberally in order to assist the largest possible number of persons.

Only a relatively small number of persons who became the responsibility of IRO wished to be repatriated, for they either feared renewed persecution on grounds of race, religion, or political opinion, or they wished to avoid returning to countries under communist domination. Some 73,000 were, nonetheless, assisted to return to countries of origin or former domicile. In contrast, more than a million persons were re-settled elsewhere, under IRO auspices, as immigrants, while others were helped to establish themselves in the countries where they had taken refuge, and were given financial, legal or other assistance.

By 1951 IRO had reduced substantially the numbers of persons under its mandate, and the year was one of gradual liquidation. Nonetheless, during 1951 over a thousand persons were repatriated, and more than 150,000 were re-settled, including more than 30,000 who were admitted to Canada.

One phase of IRO work which required particular attention was the large number of institutional cases, known as the "hard core", for whom normal re-settlement opportunities were not possible. Among the people in this group were the sick, the aged and the crippled, who required institutional care. At one time the number of these persons and their dependants who were the responsibility of IRO was about 32,000. By 1951 the number had been reduced to 11,000, and by the end of the year there were only 362 for whom satisfactory arrangements had not been made.

Nearly all the operations of IRO had been completed by the end of 1951, and the Organization went into liquidation on March 1, 1952 under a liquidator and a board of liquidation composed of representatives of France, the United Kingdom and Venezuela. In addition to supervising the dissolution of IRO, the liquidation board will also supervise the preparation of an official history of the Organization.

Canada was an active member of IRO until the Organization came to an end. The total number of persons settled in Canada under IRO auspices was 123,479, a figure only exceeded by the United States, Australia and Israel. Canadian contributions to IRO totalled more than \$(U.S.)18 million, the only larger contributors being the United States, the United Kingdom and France.

Although IRO has come to an end, many of the problems with which it was concerned continue to exist, for unstable political conditions in various parts of the world are creating new groups of refugees whose plight cannot be ignored. Nonetheless, IRO effort reduced the size and urgency of the refugee problem so greatly that it now seems possible for the tasks of IRO to be performed by other means. Thus the international protection of refugees has become the function of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and migration for re-settlement is being handled by governments through bilateral arrangements or other co-operative procedures.

International Trade Organization

The Havana Charter for an International Trade Organization (ITO), which was signed in March 1948, has not yet entered into force. The President of the United States decided, in December 1950, not to submit the Charter to Congress for approval. It would probably be impractical and unrealistic to proceed with the establishment of ITO without United States participation. It is, in any case, unlikely that the major trading countries would be prepared to ratify the Charter in these circumstances.

In the absence of any definite prospect of United States ratification of the Charter, an increasing share of the functions which would have been exercised by ITO has been taken over by existing international organizations. This applies, for example, to the Charter provisions relating to commercial policy, employment, economic development and restrictive business practices.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) is at present the major international instrument governing commercial relations between states. It has been signed by 34 countries accounting among them for approximately 85 per cent of world trade. GATT comprises the major trading nations of the world, outside the Soviet bloc; Czechoslovakia is its only Soviet bloc member. Within the limitations of its Protocol of Provisional Application, GATT binds its signatories to a set of rules and principles of commercial practice aimed at achieving a high level of multilateral trade on a non-discriminatory basis.

Under the auspices of GATT three separate rounds of international tariff negotiations have been successfully held since 1948. As a result of these negotiations tariffs have been substantially reduced on a wide range of commodities entering world trade. These tariff concessions, which benefit all the signatories of GATT, will remain in force at least until January 1, 1954.

While the Contracting Parties to GATT do not operate as part of the United Nations, they continue to avail themselves of the services of the Secretariat of the Interim Commission for the International Trade Organization.

International Telecommunications Union

The International Telecommunications Union (ITU) is one of the oldest and largest of the bodies which are designated as Specialized Agencies of the United Nations. It has been in existence since 1865 and its membership now comprises 79 states and 9 non-self-governing territories. In 1947 an International Conference at Atlantic City reorganized the Union, gave it a new constitution — the Atlantic City Convention — and provided for its status as a Specialized Agency.

The supreme body of ITU is the Plenipotentiary Conference which meets only once every five years. The first such conference took place in 1947; the second will meet in Buenos Aires in October 1952. The Plenipotentiary Conferences consider questions relating to the Convention, establish broad lines of policy on technical and administrative questions, and set up work programmes for the Union. Continuing supervision of the Union's activities is maintained by the Administrative Council, comprising the representatives of 18 member states, which meets annually. Canada has been a member of the Administrative Council since 1947. Subordinate to the Administrative Council are the following bodies: the Secretariat with about 150 employees, permanently established in Geneva; the International Frequency Registration Board, also in Geneva; and three International Consultative Committees on Telegraphs, Telephones and Radio. All of these bodies report independently to the Administrative Council.

As set forth in the Atlantic City Convention, the functions of ITU are to promote international co-operation in the improvement and rational use of telecommunications, and to promote the development of technical facilities so as to increase the efficiency, usefulness and extent of telecommunications services. Within this rather broad designation of responsibilities the activities of ITU fall into a pattern which includes on the one hand well-defined and continuing functions performed on a day-to-day basis, and on the other hand activities related to an important contemporary problem concerning the use of radio frequencies.

The daily functions performed by the Union are essential to the normal operation of the various international communications systems of radio, telephone and telegraph. They involve the collection and circulation to member states of current information on rates, routings and serviceability of equipment. They also involve responsibilities arising from the pattern of international agreements and rules for the handling of commercial telegraph, telephone and radio traffic. These relate particularly to safety and distress, international accounting and payment for the handling of messages, and the registration of radio frequencies. As a further continuing responsibility, ITU provides to member states expert technical assistance and advice on certain types of telecommunications problems.

The other side of ITU's work is concerned with the difficult problem of the allocation of radio frequencies to various services and national systems, in all bands of the radio frequency spectrum. Before the end of the last war the use of radio had so increased that

the demand for radio channels had far outrun the supply. New services, notably those set up to serve international civil aviation, had to be provided for. A new plan for the rationing and use of radio channels was urgently required. In 1947 the Atlantic City Conference drew up a comprehensive plan for the re-allocation of frequencies to all types of services in a band ranging from 10 kilocycles to 10,500 megacycles. This band contains all the frequencies regarded as commercially useable for communications at the present time. Since 1947 it has been ITU's task to bring about the acceptance and implementation of the Atlantic City plan by member states. A series of conferences has been held to this end. Great difficulties have been encountered, especially in the high frequency bands where world-wide agreement is essential. Nevertheless, considerable progress has been recorded.

An ITU Conference known as an Extraordinary Administrative Radio Conference met in Geneva from August to December 1951 to obtain agreement on certain parts of the Atlantic City plan. It was largely successful in its work. Frequency assignment lists were adopted which will eventually provide some 80,000 permanent channels for specific stations, and plans were agreed upon for the gradual transfer of such stations to their new channels. For frequency bands in which assignment lists could not yet be drawn up, the Conference drafted a plan for gradual adjustment of allocations over the next few years so that in these bands, too, the Atlantic City plan will eventually be implemented.

Other major activities of ITU in 1951 and the first half of 1952 were related to the second Plenipotentiary Conference which is scheduled to meet in Buenos Aires in October 1952. The three Consultative Committees continued work of a highly technical nature in their respective fields. Each Committee maintains a number of study groups which draft technical reports and provide expert advice to member states on equipment and transmission problems.

At the beginning of 1952 ITU became associated with the United Nations Programme for Technical Assistance to Under-Developed Countries, and since that time has dealt with requests for technical assistance from eleven countries. The assistance being given is essentially of a type which ITU has always tried to provide for its member states, but the allocation of funds from United Nations resources for this purpose will permit a material increase in the amount of assistance ITU is able to give.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

As one of the charter members of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Canada has played an active part in the affairs of the Agency, which is now in its seventh year. Canadian Delegations have attended all the General Conferences of UNESCO and have supported constructive UNESCO projects such as technical assistance and fundamental education. They have consistently warned against impractical proposals and over-ambitious programmes.

The sixth session of the General Conference of UNESCO was held at the Agency's headquarters in Paris from June 18 to July 11, 1951. Fifty-nine member countries took part in the Conference and eight non-member states sent observers. (The Soviet Union is not a member of UNESCO; no delegations were sent by Czechoslovakia, Hungary or Poland, which are members.) The session decided on UNESCO's programme for 1952, within the limits of a budget of \$8,718,000. The more significant decisions of the Conference are described in the following paragraphs.

The Conference considered that too much of the energies of the Secretariat and too much of the money of the Organization were being spent in its annual sessions. Accordingly, on the initiative of the United States, it was decided at the 1951 Conference to hold general sessions at two-year intervals. As this change will increase the responsibilities of the continuing Executive Board of UNESCO, the United Kingdom, with Canada's support, proposed that the Executive Board should be changed from a committee of individuals to a committee of government representatives. At present, the Executive Board is made up of 18 individuals, competent in the arts, humanities and sciences, elected by the delegates to the General Conference from among their own numbers. Its members sit, however, as representatives of the General Conference and not as representatives of their home governments. The Conference rejected the United Kingdom proposal, keeping the Executive Board in its present form.

The sixth session admitted five states to membership in UNESCO: Japan, the German Federal Republic (Western Germany), Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam. All have since deposited their instruments of acceptance of the constitution of UNESCO, bringing the total membership of the Organization to 65. Applications for membership from Spain, Nepal and the Kingdom of Libya will be considered at the 1952 General Conference. After some debate, the sixth session agreed that non-self-governing territories might be admitted as associate members, upon application by the states responsible for them, and that they might participate without vote in all the deliberations of the General Conference. As of March 1952, no applications on behalf of dependent territories had been received by the Director-General.

To meet the challenge of illiteracy among half the world's population, the Conference adopted a 12-year plan of fundamental education in under-developed areas. Along with the basic skills of reading and writing, the programme is designed to spread a knowledge of the fundamentals of citizenship, health and agriculture. The instruction is based upon a specific problem facing the people of each area, whether disease in Bombay or soil erosion in Colombia, and makes use of every available technique — posters, films, study groups and primers in the local language. Fundamental education in any area is naturally the responsibility of the government concerned. UNESCO acts as the co-ordinating body, exchanging information, providing education materials, and arranging for the services of experts. At the request of UNESCO, for example, educators from Canada have assisted projects in India, Pakistan, Thailand and the Middle East during the past year. In 1951 UNESCO

established in Patzcuaro, Mexico, a Fundamental Education Centre for Latin America. Mexico is an appropriate choice because 2,666,000 Mexican people have been taught to read and write in seven years through national literacy campaigns. The regional centre has already trained 100 students from 15 Latin American countries as leaders in fundamental education and has developed specialized teaching materials such as textbooks for adult illiterates. A similar regional centre for the Middle East is scheduled to open in Egypt in 1952.

As UNESCO has not enough money to carry out this new educational programme without fully or partially abandoning other projects which the Conference wished to maintain, the Conference decided to cut other projects by one per cent, hoping to get the rest of the money from the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and other sources to be explored by the Director-General.

Among UNESCO projects for 1952 of interest to Canada was the preparation of a Universal Copyright Convention for the protection of literary, artistic and scientific works. An Inter-Governmental Conference on Copyright, at which Canada will be represented, is to be held in Geneva in the late summer of 1952 to consider the adoption of the agreement. Canadians are also participating in an International Conference of Artists sponsored by UNESCO and in three UNESCO seminars on citizenship, on workers' education and on the role of museums in education. Information has been provided by Canada for the UNESCO handbooks *Study Abroad* and *Teaching Abroad* which contain data on scholarship opportunities and teacher exchange programmes among member states. In 1950 UNESCO set up an international commission for the preparation of a scientific and cultural history of mankind; the work is now progressing with the assistance of historians of many countries including Canada.

UNESCO'S part in the Expanded Technical Assistance Programme of the United Nations has been to recruit experts for educational missions to under-developed countries and to arrange for technical training through UNESCO fellowships. As of January 31, 1952, 18 educational advisers had completed their missions, 99 were at work in the 27 countries which had sought their assistance, and 23 others were on their way to their countries of assignment. Five of these experts were from Canada. Of the 130 technical assistance fellows who were awarded study grants by UNESCO during 1951, ten received training in Canada in various fields of technical and adult education. The technical assistance programme has been accelerated in 1952.

Up to April 1951, the Canadian Council for Reconstruction through UNESCO (CCRU), working with the Department of External Affairs and voluntary societies in Canada interested in UNESCO, was the focal point of Canadian relations with the Organization. The activities of CCRU came to an end in April 1951, and it is appropriate to review the contribution of the Council to the reconstruction programme instituted by UNESCO in educational and cultural fields. Some 800,000 children and 25,000 teachers in war devastated countries received assistance from CCRU at a cost

of \$300,000. Artists in Austria, France, Germany and Italy and craftsmen in Ethiopia received assistance at a cost of \$33,000. Fifty-nine scholarships were awarded at a cost of \$163,000. Individuals and organizations across Canada donated 250,000 books which were collected and distributed in nine countries at a cost of \$69,000. Universities in Austria, Belgium, France, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, the Philippines, Malta and Ethiopia received gifts totalling \$129,000. The Department of External Affairs contributed \$200,000 to CCRU and assisted the Council's projects through its missions abroad.

The establishment of a "Canada Council" which would serve, among other things, as a national commission for UNESCO in Canada, has been recommended by the Canadian Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences. A council of this kind might perform some of the functions formerly carried out by CCRU, as well as many of the liaison and other duties now performed by the Department of External Affairs. The recommendation of the Royal Commission is under consideration by the Canadian Government.

Universal Postal Union

During 1951 the Universal Postal Union (UPU) continued its work of helping postal administrations around the world to provide better, faster and more uniform services.

UPU has the largest membership of the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations with 94 member countries, territories or groups of territories. Cambodia, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Laos, the United Kingdom of Libya, and Viet Nam have become independent members since 1950, and Canada supported the application of all these countries. Headquarters of the Organization is in Berne, Switzerland, where a new building to house the Secretariat was begun in 1951 and is expected to be completed on November 1, 1952.

Through agreements observed by its member postal administration the UPU governs the international exchange of mail. In preparation for the Universal Postal Congress to be held in 1952 members of UPU were asked whether they wished to propose any changes in provisions of the agreements governing international postal services, and as a result of this enquiry more than 700 proposals were received. The Secretariat communicated these proposals to all other members of the Organization.

In 1951 UPU distributed a new *Directory of Post Offices* which lists post offices throughout the world and the services offered by each office. Many other publications were produced, republished or transmitted to members in the same year, including a list of steamship lines, complete postal statistics, a general list of air mail services, and the periodical *Journal* of UPU. Further pamphlets in the Postal Studies Series have been distributed dealing with hygiene of postal premises and equipment; the use of aircraft for purely postal transport; artificial lighting of post offices; furniture and equipment for sorting correspondence and parcels, and parcelling machines; and furniture and apparatus used by post offices. In 1952 further

pamphlets in the series are to be distributed dealing with design, construction and equipment of railway vans; a general plan for the construction of a model post office in the average locality; the helicopter in postal service; methods of training and professional instruction of post office personnel; and mechanical handling of letters and parcels in large sorting centres. This is an indication of the wide service rendered by UPU through the preparation and distribution of documents, pamphlets and other publications.

The Executive and Liaison Commission, which is the executive organ of UPU, met in St-Gall, Switzerland, in May 1951. At the previous session of the Commission a representative of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China (communist) had occupied the Chinese seat after a secret vote of 5 in favour to 3 against, with 3 abstentions and one spoiled ballot. Subsequently all UPU administrations entitled to vote were consulted on the question of Chinese representation, and the results of this referendum were as follows:

(a) Considered that China should be represented by the National Government of the Republic of China	37
(b) Considered that China should be represented by the Central People's Government	23
(c) Abstentions, or no opinion	14
	—
	74
(d) No reply	12
	—
	86

In accordance with the wishes of the majority of the members expressed by the referendum the Central People's Government Representative was replaced by the National Government Representative at the 1951 session of the Executive and Liaison Commission.

Other actions of the Commission in 1951 included authorization for the construction of the new headquarters building, consideration of submissions to the Universal Postal Congress, adoption of a resolution with respect to the interruption in postal services between border points in Roumania and Yugoslavia, and approval of the report of the UPU Secretariat for 1950. Canada was not a member of the Executive and Liaison Commission.

The Technical Transit Commission which also met in 1951, at Pontresina, Switzerland, decided that China should be represented by the National Government, and then dealt with technical questions of postal rates. This Commission was established on a temporary basis to seek a compromise solution to the long standing problem of international transit charges for the delivery of mail. Canada was a member of the Commission and was represented at the meeting in Pontresina.

The Thirteenth Congress of the Universal Postal Union opened in Brussels, Belgium in May 1952. The Universal Postal Congress meets, usually, at intervals of five years, and is composed of plenipotentiary representatives of all UPU members. The Congress reviews the Universal Postal Convention and its subsidiary agreements on the basis of proposals submitted in advance by members. Canada was of course represented.

The UPU dates back to 1875. The Secretariat is composed of only 17 permanent members and 11 extra staff. The organization works quietly, but very efficiently. When one drops a letter in the corner post box with complete confidence that it will arrive at its destination at the other end of the earth, this is evidence that the UPU is one of the most effective examples of international cooperation on a practical level.

World Health Organization

The objective of the World Health Organization (WHO), as set forth in its Constitution, is "the attainment by all peoples of the highest possible level of health". Canada has been a member of WHO since it was established as a Specialized Agency of the United Nations in 1948. Dr. Brock Chisholm of Canada is the Director-General of WHO and although his term of office would normally end in 1953, the Fifth World Health Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution extending this term to July 20, 1956. Dr. Chisholm has been requested to inform the President of the Fifth World Health Assembly on or before December 31, 1952 whether he will accept a prolongation of his contract.

Canada has been represented at all the World Health Assemblies, including the Fourth Assembly in May 1951 and the Fifth Assembly in May 1952. At these meetings programmes of work have been approved which are intended to help governments to develop the balanced health services they require. This work is done more and more on the basis of regional planning, chiefly by making available training facilities and technical staff to get health activities started which governments will later be able to maintain themselves. WHO will also continue its campaigns against certain widespread diseases and will continue to promote maternal and child welfare. Field work begun by WHO is often multiplied many times by the subsequent efforts of the countries concerned, and as an example the Fourth World Health Assembly was informed that whereas a million and a half people had been freed from the scourge of malaria by DDT spray teams sent out by WHO, follow-up campaigns by governments raised that number to over 50 million. The principle of helping others to help themselves is at the core of WHO programmes of work.

At the Fourth and Fifth World Health Assemblies "technical discussions" were held to clarify specific problems and to suggest means of coping with them successfully. These discussions were open to representatives of governments which cared to participate, and they were conducted more informally than meetings considering regular WHO business. At the Fourth Assembly the topic for discussion was "the education and training of medical and public health personnel", and at the Fifth Assembly the subject was "methodology of health protection in local areas". Canadian representatives took part in these technical discussions and found them to be useful.

At the Fourth World Health Assembly an effective working budget of \$7,677,782, slightly more than one fifth larger than the year before, was approved for 1952. This was intended to allow for increased prices, earned salary increases, and a moderate expansion of the WHO programme of work. In 1952 Canada believed that the budget for the following year should be about the same as that approved by the Fourth Assembly. It was explained by the Canadian Representative at the Fifth Assembly that to set the budget ceiling at this level would not mean that new and important work which was fully justified should not be undertaken, but that a close scrutiny of all proposed expenditures for 1953 should be made in order to eliminate any of a non-essential nature. However, the Assembly approved a budget level for 1953 of \$9,832,754, or an effective working budget of \$8,485,095.

The difference between the approved budget level and the effective working budget is accounted for by the assessments against non-active members which it is not expected will be paid. The non-active members are Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Roumania, Ukraine, and the U.S.S.R., all of which claim to have withdrawn from WHO. However, the Constitution does not provide for withdrawals, and the communist countries are still considered to be members.

At the Fourth World Health Assembly Spain, Japan, and the Federal Republic of Germany were admitted to membership in WHO. At the Fifth Assembly the United Kingdom of Libya became a member and Tunisia and Morocco were admitted to associate membership. WHO now has 78 members, 69 of which are active, and three associate members.

One of the significant features of the Health Assembly in 1951 was the adoption of a series of International Sanitary Regulations designed to control the spread, through international traffic, of six quarantinable diseases, namely, cholera, plague, smallpox, typhus, yellow fever and relapsing fever. The new Regulations will replace a series of about a dozen Sanitary Conventions and Agreements, some of which are mutually contradictory or out of date. The International Sanitary Regulations will come into force on October 1, 1952, for all members of WHO who did not reject them within the specified time limit or make serious reservations which the Assembly could not accept. Amendments at later World Health Assemblies will keep the Regulations up to date. In the past, it had not proved possible to keep the various Sanitary Conventions suitably amended.

At the 1952 Health Assembly Canada, Brazil, Denmark, New Zealand, Iran and the United Kingdom were elected as members authorized to name persons to serve on the Executive Board. In addition to representatives of these countries the Executive Board for 1952-53 will also include persons designated by Belgium, Ceylon, Chile, Cuba, El Salvador, France, Greece, Italy, Lebanon, Liberia, Pakistan and Thailand. Through membership of a Canadian Representative on the Executive Board Canada will be able to follow more closely the work of WHO and consequently to play a more active role at future Health Assemblies.

World Meteorological Organization

The World Meteorological Organization (WMO) is the youngest of the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations, having obtained that status only on December 20, 1951, when an agreement between WMO and the United Nations became effective. The Convention bringing the Organization into existence was signed by 37 countries in Washington on October 11, 1947 and came into effect on March 23, 1950. WMO's first congress met on March 19, 1951 in Paris.

The purposes of WMO, as outlined by its Convention, are: to facilitate co-operation among the various meteorological services; to promote the establishment and maintenance of systems for the rapid exchange of weather information; to promote standardization of meteorological observations and to ensure the uniform publication of observations and statistics; to further the application of meteorology in such fields as aviation, shipping and agriculture; and to encourage and assist in co-ordinating the international aspects of research and training in meteorology.

The present membership of WMO comprises 54 states and 23 non-sovereign territories which maintain their own weather services. The Organization's headquarters is at Geneva. Its governing body is the congress; which normally will meet once every four years. In the intervals, its affairs will be carried on by an executive committee of fifteen members, by six regional associations and eight technical commissions, as well as by the permanent secretariat established at Geneva. Dr. Andrew Thompson, C.M.G., head of the Canadian Meteorological Service, is a member of the executive committee and president of Regional Association IV for North and Central America.

During its first year of existence WMO was necessarily preoccupied with financial and administrative problems related to its establishment, and with the assumption of the duties, assets and obligations of its predecessor, the International Meteorological Organization. The first congress established financial and administrative regulations for the Organization, approved a five-year budget, set up the regional associations and technical commissions, and drafted a work programme on technical subjects. Subsequently, further attention was given to these and similar questions by the executive committee, which met in Paris on April 30 and in Lausanne on October 3, 1951. A working group on meteorological telecommunications met in Paris on February 11, 1952 and the Regional Association for Europe in Zurich on May 26, 1952. By the middle of 1952 WMO had not only established itself on a sound working basis but had been able, with the help of national meteorological services, to pick up and carry on successfully the technical projects developed by its predecessor, the International Meteorological Organization.

IV

DEPENDENT TERRITORIES

Trusteeship Questions

The international trusteeship system was established by Chapter XII of the Charter to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of trust territories and to further their development to self-government. The territories are placed under this system by means of trusteeship agreements between the United Nations, on the one hand, and the administering authority on the other. Seven administering states have concluded trusteeship agreements specifying the terms under which each trust territory must be administered. These are Australia (for Nauru¹ and for the eastern part of New Guinea), Belgium (for Ruanda-Urundi), France (for the French Cameroons and for French Togoland), Italy (for the former Italian colony of Somaliland), New Zealand (for Western Samoa), the United Kingdom (for the British Cameroons, for British Togoland, and for Tanganyika), the United States (for the strategic trust territory of the Pacific Islands). Chapter XII of the Charter also established the Trusteeship Council which, under the authority of the General Assembly, has the task of overseeing the implementation of the trust agreements by the administering authorities concerned. The Trusteeship Council, of which Canada is not a member, is composed of the six administering powers listed above (Italy, although it administers Somaliland, is not included); the U.S.S.R. and China, and four other non-administering states. Thus a balance exists in the Council between administering and non-administering powers. The non-administering members of the Council for 1951-52 are the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Iraq and Thailand. The main functions of the Council are to guide the administering authorities in preparing their reports, to consider these reports, to examine petitions from the native inhabitants, and to send periodic visiting missions to the territories.

The administration of dependent territories has provided an issue in the United Nations on which the administering and the non-administering powers are seriously divided. Among the reasons for this division is the belief held by many of the non-administering states, some of whom have themselves only recently emerged from dependent status, that the administering powers are not moving fast enough in the direction of self-government for the trust territories. They believe that this situation can only be corrected by an increase in the influence of the General Assembly on the Trusteeship Council and the administering powers.

Divergent views exist with regard to this extension of the role of the Assembly. No one disputes the fact that the Charter gives

¹The Governments of Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom have concluded a joint trusteeship agreement with the United Nations regarding Nauru. Australia acts as agent for the other two administering authorities and generally as their spokesman in matters concerning the administration of Nauru.

broad powers of supervision to the Assembly in regard to trust territories. The point at issue is how the Assembly should use these powers and what degree of supervision should be exercised by the Assembly over both the administering authorities and the Trusteeship Council. A considerable number of non-administering powers, usually forming a majority in the Assembly — among them the Soviet bloc as well as groups of Asian, Latin American and Middle Eastern states — wish to extend the supervisory role of the Assembly to include a close scrutiny of the manner in which the territories are administered. Some of these states have also asserted that all resolutions regarding trust territories which are passed by the Assembly must be implemented by the Trusteeship Council and the administering authorities.

The administering authorities contend that the Assembly should confine itself to discussion and recommendations regarding broad matters of policy and leave to the Trusteeship Council questions of detailed supervision. They argue that the balanced membership of administering and non-administering states in the Council (as well as the personal qualifications of the individual representatives in the Council) make it a more suitable organ for this purpose. Concerning the obligatory character of resolutions adopted by the Assembly on trusteeship questions, some of the administering powers argue that their responsibilities are clearly defined under the terms of the Charter and of the trusteeship agreements and that it is not always in the best interests of the inhabitants of the trust territory concerned to implement fully a particular Assembly resolution. They point out the difficulty that an administering power is under in carrying out the terms of a resolution which it has consistently opposed in the Assembly and in the Council.

The Trusteeship Council, although performing its duties under the authority of the General Assembly, is established as a principal organ of the United Nations. The Canadian position is that the Assembly should concern itself principally with broad questions of policy and leave to the Trusteeship Council some freedom of action in supervising the detailed operations of the trusteeship system. Canadian Delegations have accordingly opposed resolutions which, in their judgement, would have the effect of reducing the Trusteeship Council to a mere rubber stamp of the Assembly. On the other hand, Canada recognizes that some of the criticism directed by the non-administering powers at the administering authorities is both constructive and sincere. These broad issues were reflected in the debates on specific items at the sixth session of the Assembly, some of which are described below.

Italy's Admission to Membership in the United Nations

The General Assembly at its fifth session in 1950 had approved a trusteeship agreement appointing Italy administering authority over the former Italian colony of Somaliland. At its eighth session in 1951,² the Trusteeship Council adopted changes in its rules of

²Four sessions of the Trusteeship Council have been held at United Nations Headquarters since January 1, 1951. The eighth session was held during February and March, 1951, the ninth during June and July, 1951, the tenth during February and March, 1952 and the eleventh during June and July, 1952.

procedure allowing Italy to participate without vote in the work of the Council relating to Somaliland and to general trusteeship questions, though not in the Council's work with regard to other trust territories. At the same time, the Council recommended that the Assembly consider ways and means by which Italy could participate fully in the work of the Council. Following up this resolution, the French Delegation tabled a resolution in the Assembly, at its sixth session in 1951, recommending that the Security Council reconsider, as a matter of urgency, the question of Italy's admission to the United Nations. Canada favoured Italy's admission to the United Nations and agreed with the general view that Italy's participation in the work of the Trusteeship Council could not be extended without that country being granted full membership in the United Nations. The Canadian Delegation therefore voted in favour of the French resolution, which was adopted with only the Soviet bloc dissenting. A French resolution subsequently introduced in the Security Council recommending the admission of Italy was vetoed by the Soviet Representative.

Ewe and Togoland Unification Problem

The Ewes are a native people who live in contiguous areas within British and French Togoland and the Gold Coast, and among whom are elements who desire unification of the two trust territories of Togoland, in order that the Ewe people can be united under one administration. The General Assembly, by a resolution of December 2, 1950, impressed on the Trusteeship Council the importance of the Ewe problem and of arriving at a solution satisfactory to the Ewe people. The French and United Kingdom authorities submitted to the ninth session of the Trusteeship Council in 1951 plans for the creation of a joint council, consisting of representatives of the Ewes of British and French Togoland, which would have certain broad powers to advise the administering authorities. After the Assembly, at its sixth session, had listened to representatives of the Ewes, it considered a French-United Kingdom resolution by which the Assembly would approve the proposed joint council. Certain Latin American and Asian states introduced amendments to this resolution which, in the opinion of the Canadian Delegation, implied strong criticism of the steps being taken by the administering powers and which, by calling for further consultation before the establishment of the joint council, might have the effect of delaying a settlement much longer. The resolution which, as amended, also called for a special report from the Trusteeship Council to the seventh session of the Assembly, was adopted by a vote of 46 in favour, none against with 7 abstentions (including Canada).

Organization and Functioning of Visiting Missions

At previous sessions of the General Assembly some Arab and Latin American states had indicated dissatisfaction with the manner in which the visiting missions, which are sent out periodically to examine and report on conditions in the trust territories, were organized and had been functioning. The General Assembly had,

at its fifth session, recommended that the Trusteeship Council review the question of visiting missions, with a view to increasing the number of visits to each trust territory and to reducing the number of territories to be visited by each mission during one tour. A resolution submitted at the sixth session of the Assembly by a group of Arab and Latin American states reiterated the request for a review of the functions of visiting missions and introduced a new suggestion to the effect that representatives of non-members of the Council should be appointed in certain circumstances as members of the visiting missions.

Canada abstained on the final vote on this resolution because its terms prescribed in too great detail the means to be used by the Council in directing the work of its visiting missions and because the proposal to include non-member states in a subsidiary body of the Council would disturb the balance existing between administering and non-administering powers on all bodies connected with the operation of the trusteeship system. The resolution was, however, adopted by 35 votes to 7 with 8 abstentions.

Attainment of Self-Government by Trust Territories

A resolution submitted by a group of five non-administering states noted the lack of information from administering powers concerning target dates for the attainment of self-government by trust territories, and called on these powers to provide this information. The administering powers, with considerable support, argued the extreme difficulty of setting the dates, but the resolution was adopted by 38 votes to 8 (including Canada) with 11 abstentions. In explaining his dissenting vote, the Canadian Representative pointed out that the processes of constitutional evolution did not lend themselves to rigid timetables; he said the premature announcement of even a vague schedule might be in the worst interests of the inhabitants of the territories; and he added that there was nothing in the trusteeship agreements or the Charter to indicate that time-limits should be set in connection with the attainment of self-government by the trust territories.

Administrative Unions Affecting Trust Territories

Some of the United Nations trust territories are linked for administrative purposes with adjacent colonies (which are not "trust territories" but are styled "non-self-governing territories") of the administering powers concerned. The General Assembly, at previous sessions, had recommended that the Trusteeship Council make a careful study of these unions. At the sixth session of the Assembly the Soviet Delegation submitted a resolution calling on the administering authorities to take legislative action to establish in each of the trust territories separate legislative and administrative organs which would not be subordinate to institutions having jurisdiction in adjacent colonies. This Soviet resolution was defeated by a narrow margin (13 in favour, 16 against (including Canada) with 26 abstentions). The Assembly recommended that the Council's standing committee on administrative unions continue its studies and submit a report to the seventh session.

Action Taken by Trusteeship Council in first part of 1952

The Trusteeship Council, at its tenth and eleventh sessions in 1952, examined reports on various trust territories, among them Somaliland, and completed arrangements for the despatch later in the year of a visiting mission to study the Ewe and Togoland unification problem. A revised and somewhat simplified questionnaire to guide the administering authorities in preparing the periodic reports required from them has also been approved.

Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories

Chapter XI (Article 73) of the Charter contains a declaration by member states with responsibility for territories whose peoples have not yet attained full self-government. In this declaration, those members recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of non-self-governing territories (i.e. colonies or similar dependent territories which are not trust territories) are paramount. They accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote the well-being of the inhabitants of such territories, to ensure their political and economic advancement and protection against abuses, to develop self-government and free political institutions, and to transmit certain information on economic, social and educational conditions to the Secretary-General. This declaration, with the responsibilities it implies, is the only provision of the Charter dealing with dependent territories which are not trust territories.

The General Assembly, at its fourth session in 1949, set up a new committee for a three-year term to consider information submitted by the administering authorities under the terms of the declaration referred to above. This committee, which was formerly called the Special Committee on Information and is now known as the Committee for Information on Non-Self-Governing Territories, is composed of eight member states which transmit information and an equal number of non-administering states. The Committee analyses the material submitted by the administering authorities and makes general suggestions concerning improvements which might be made in the various fields covered. When the Committee was set up, it was requested to make a special study each year of one of the subjects on which information is provided by the administering states.

The work of the Committee for Information has been the subject of contentious debate during past sessions of the General Assembly. The main point at issue is whether or not the Committee should exercise functions broadly similar to those which the Trusteeship Council exercises for trust territories, i.e. to supervise the evolution towards self-government of the territories concerned. The declaration given in Article 73 places on the administering powers the obligation to transmit information on economic and social matters and on education, subject to such limitations as security and constitutional considerations may require. There is no mention of political information. However, some of the non-administering powers, who form a majority in the Assembly, wish to extend the scope of the

Committee's functions to include the consideration of political information; they believe that it is only by means of this information that the Assembly can keep abreast of developments in the non-self-governing territories which concern the evolution of these territories towards self-government.

Attempts to extend the scope of the Committee's functions have been strongly opposed by the administering states, which base their arguments on the fact that the declaration to which they have adhered contains no mention of political information. The administering powers have also questioned whether the Assembly is entitled to discuss political affairs in the non-self-governing territories. A majority of the non-administering states in the Assembly considers that since Article 73 of the Charter contains references to the "political advancement" and the "political aspirations" of the peoples concerned, the Assembly is justified in discussing political conditions in these territories. They also contend that the broad language of Article 10, which allows the Assembly to discuss and make recommendations on any matters within the scope of the Charter, is a further justification. At the sixth session of the Assembly, a determined effort was made by some non-administering states to introduce resolutions reaffirming what these states regard as the fundamental right of the Assembly to discuss such political matters (the particular question at issue concerned conditions in Morocco). These resolutions were withdrawn only after the French Delegation, by way of protest, had walked out of the Committee of the Assembly on the grounds that the debate was "wholly unconstitutional" and the Chairman had appealed to members to deal with political questions only if they were related to economic, social or educational problems. As a result the competence of the Assembly to discuss political matters was left undecided.

It is the Canadian view that the Charter wisely distinguishes between the role of the United Nations regarding the "trust" territories and its role in regard to other "non-self-governing" territories. The first group of territories is the subject of written agreements between the United Nations and the administering powers. The latter group is, however, mentioned specifically only in Article 73 and the responsibility of the Committee established in connection with non-self-governing territories relates solely to the economic, social and educational information transmitted by the administering powers. Any attempt to extend the scope of Article 73 by the inclusion of political information would, in effect, be an attempt to amend the Charter and would require the concurrence of the administering states, which agreed to the present provisions of the article in question.

Apart from the general debate which took place at the sixth session of the Assembly on this basic problem several more specific matters were discussed. Among these were the following questions.

Future Work of the Committee for Information

The Committee for Information at its 1950 session concentrated on educational problems in the non-self-governing territories and at its 1951 session on economic conditions and development. The

Assembly at its sixth session approved a work programme for the Committee in 1952 which would pay special attention to social conditions. At the next session of the Assembly a decision will have to be reached concerning the future of the Committee which was constituted in 1949 for a three-year period.

Territories which can be considered "Non-Self-Governing"

At its fourth session in 1949, the General Assembly resolved that the Committee for Information make a careful examination of the factors to be taken into account in deciding whether a territory "is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government". The Committee was unable to act on this resolution at its 1950 session but a section of its 1951 report was devoted to a preliminary examination of the problem. This part of the Committee's report was one of the most difficult subjects considered by the sixth session of the General Assembly in its discussions in regard to non-self-governing territories. After a number of delegations had expressed dissatisfaction with the failure of the Committee to reach satisfactory conclusions concerning the factors which would determine the issue, a sub-committee was appointed to give more detailed examination to the problem and to report back to the Assembly. This sub-committee was unable to bring the problem much closer to solution. It did, however, record the opinion that the essential factors, which applied to all non-self-governing territories, were (a) the degree of political advancement of the population and (b) the freely expressed opinion of the population as to the status or change of status which they desired. The sub-committee also established a more orderly listing of the relevant factors than had been produced by the Committee for Information, although it recognized that the new list could not be regarded as final or exhaustive.

It became clear during the sub-committee's discussions that the problem of "factors" contained elements of a legal and political character so complex that it would be desirable for the United Nations to carry on further studies. Accordingly, a resolution was submitted, inviting member states to submit their views on the factors to be taken into account in deciding whether a territory has attained a full measure of self-government, and appointing an *ad hoc* committee to study these views and report to the seventh session of the Assembly. This resolution was adopted by a vote of 46 (including Canada) to none, with 6 abstentions (the Soviet bloc and the Netherlands).

Participation of Non-Self-Governing Territories in the work of the Committee

Some of the Specialized Agencies and regional commissions of the United Nations have made arrangements whereby representatives of non-self-governing territories, on the proposal of the administering authority concerned, may participate in these organizations either as associate members without voting rights or as observers. At the sixth session of the Assembly, a group of Asian and Latin American

states tabled a resolution recommending that the Committee for Information examine the possibility of associating the non-self-governing territories in its work in a manner similar to that in force for other United Nations agencies. This resolution was adopted by a vote of 47 in favour (including Canada), 2 against and 7 abstentions.

Election of Two Members to the Committee for Information

Mexico and the Philippines retired as members of the Committee for Information at the end of 1951. Ecuador and Indonesia were elected by the Assembly at its sixth session, to replace the retiring members. The present constitution of the Committee is as follows: Australia, Belgium, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States (administering states); Brazil, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Pakistan and the Soviet Union (non-administering states).

South West Africa

At the San Francisco Conference in 1945, South Africa indicated that it did not intend to place under United Nations trusteeship the territory of South West Africa which South Africa held under a League of Nations mandate. South Africa hoped instead to incorporate this territory within the Union of South Africa. After canvassing the opinions of Europeans in South West Africa and carrying out extensive soundings among the native people there, South Africa reported to the first session of the General Assembly in the autumn of 1946 that the white population of the territory was solidly in favour of incorporation while 70 per cent of the natives, out of the 81 per cent which had been consulted, supported this course. The South African Delegation consequently proposed that the General Assembly approve incorporation.

The General Assembly expressed doubt as to whether the native population properly understood the issues involved, and decided that it was unable to agree to the territory being incorporated within the Union of South Africa. Instead, it invited the South African Government to bring South West Africa within the United Nations trusteeship system. While the South African Government failed to respond to this request, it did not incorporate South West Africa into the Union of South Africa as a new province. It did, however, decide to have representatives of the territory sit in the South African Parliament as an integral part of that body.

The debates on South West Africa at the sessions of the General Assembly in 1947, 1948 and 1949 revolved around the legal issue of whether South Africa was or was not obliged to put South West Africa under United Nations trusteeship. By 1947, all other mandated territories had either become independent countries or were in the process of becoming independent, or else had been brought within the United Nations trusteeship system. The view of some 20 states was that the provisions of the Charter regarding the submission of trusteeship agreements in respect of former mandated

territories were obligatory; 11 member states, including Canada, regarded them as voluntary. The International Court of Justice was asked by the General Assembly to give an advisory opinion on the international status of South West Africa and the international obligations, if any, of South Africa in respect of the territory. The opinion handed down by the International Court in 1950¹ was, in brief, that South Africa was not legally obliged to bring South West Africa under the international trusteeship system. However, the Court stated that South West Africa remained a territory under international mandate; that its international status could not be modified by South Africa alone but only by South Africa acting with the consent of the United Nations; that South Africa continued to have international obligations for South West Africa under the Covenant of the League of Nations and the mandate itself; and that supervisory functions in regard to annual reports on the administration of the territory and the transmission of petitions of the inhabitants should now be exercised by the United Nations.

An *Ad Hoc* Committee on South West Africa was set up by a General Assembly resolution on December 13, 1950, with members from Denmark, Syria, Thailand, the United States and Uruguay, to find ways and means of implementing the recommendations contained in the Court's advisory opinion. The Committee was also authorized by the General Assembly to examine reports on the administration of the territory as well as petitions and other matters relating to the territory.

The Committee began negotiating with the Government of South Africa in June 1951. South Africa stated its willingness to accept the theory of accountability for South West Africa but was reluctant to admit the supervisory functions of the United Nations. It therefore submitted proposals envisaging an Instrument of Agreement on South West Africa which would be negotiated, under the authority of the United Nations, between South Africa and the three remaining members of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers of the First World War (the United States, the United Kingdom and France). The proposal also included the suggestion that the International Court of Justice should have judicial supervision where non-compliance with the terms of the agreement was alleged.

The *Ad Hoc* Committee proposed a different solution: there would be a United Nations Committee on South West Africa which would exercise the supervisory functions formerly held by the League Council, and a United Nations Commission which would examine reports on administration and petitions from the inhabitants of the territory and perform the functions assigned under the League system to the Permanent Mandates Commission. The *Ad Hoc* Committee's proposals had considerable merit and went a long way, by adhering to League of Nations procedures, towards meeting South Africa's objections to what South Africa considered to be over-zealous scrutiny of its administration by Assembly members. On the other hand, the *Ad Hoc* Committee's proposals provided machinery for the submission of reports on South West Africa to an organ of the General Assembly (the United Nations Commission on South

¹See *Canada and the United Nations 1950*, p. 128.

West Africa) and thus recognized the supervisory role of the United Nations with respect to the territory. This supervisory function of the United Nations had been clearly recognized by the International Court in its advisory opinion.

The *Ad Hoc* Committee, in its report to the sixth session of the General Assembly, said that it had thoroughly examined the South African Government's proposals and had found that they were not within the Committee's terms of reference since they did not allow for a full implementation of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice. The Committee noted particularly that South Africa did not include in its proposals any provision for the supervision of the administration of the territory by the United Nations. The report also stated that South Africa had found the *Ad Hoc* Committee's proposals unacceptable on the ground that they would have the effect of imposing on South Africa obligations even more extensive than those implicit in the mandate system. South Africa said, for example, that the implementation of the Committee's proposals would confer certain rights in respect of South West Africa on states now members of the United Nations which had had no such rights under the League of Nations mandate. Furthermore, it affirmed that it was unable to accept that part of the Committee's proposals which called for the submission of reports on the administration of South West Africa.

When the Trusteeship Committee began considering its agenda at the beginning of the sixth session of the Assembly in the autumn of 1951, it agreed to give priority to the consideration of requests for hearings which had been received from representatives of the Herero people and other sections of the indigenous population of South West Africa. In spite of objections from South Africa, the Committee agreed, by a vote of 37 in favour, 7 against, with 7 abstentions (including Canada) to grant the hearings, and requested the South African Government to facilitate the travel of the witnesses from South West Africa to Paris. The South African Delegate argued that this resolution was illegal. The Charter of the United Nations, he said, made no provision for the right of petition except for trust territories, and South West Africa was not a trust territory; furthermore, the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice provided that in regard to South West Africa, the procedures of the League of Nations mandate system should be followed as far as possible, and these procedures did not include the hearing of oral petitions. The Canadian Delegation was not prepared, without closer examination of the problem, to reject the South African contention that the resolution was outside the competence of the Committee; neither was it prepared to reject the opposing viewpoint that, since South Africa had shown no inclination to accept that part of the International Court's advisory opinion dealing with petitions and annual reports, the Committee was morally justified in consulting representatives from that territory as a means of obtaining more complete information on local conditions. It was for these reasons that the Canadian Delegation did not take part in the debate and abstained on the vote on the hearing of these witnesses.

After the Trusteeship Committee had decided to hear the South West African representative, the South African Delegation asked the President of the General Assembly for a review by the Assembly of the legality of the Committee's resolution. The Delegation informed the President of its withdrawal from the Committee pending this review. The President, after studying the circumstances, stated that he could find no valid reason for arranging a review by the General Assembly of the resolution already adopted by the Trusteeship Committee. The South African Delegation therefore absented itself from that Committee for the remainder of the session, and temporarily from plenary sessions of the Assembly.

Later, the Trusteeship Committee passed, by a vote of 41 in favour, none against, with 11 abstentions (including Canada), a proposal to hear the Reverend Michael Scott, an Anglican missionary who had special knowledge of conditions in South West Africa and who had appeared before the General Assembly in 1949 on behalf of the Hereros. Mr. Scott told the Committee that the South African Government had prevented the chiefs from coming to Paris to state their case. At the same time, Mr. Scott made a strong attack on South Africa's racial policy. He suggested that, since South Africa had not allowed the chiefs to come to Paris, and since he himself had been declared a prohibited immigrant and could not return to South West Africa, the United Nations might send a representative to inform the chiefs at first hand of what had taken place at the Assembly.

Two substantive resolutions on South West Africa were approved by the Trusteeship Committee during the sixth session of the Assembly. The first, introduced by Cuba, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, Iraq, the Philippines, Thailand and the United States and carried by a vote of 39 in favour (including Canada), 5 against, with 8 abstentions, solemnly appealed to South Africa to reconsider its position and to resume negotiations with the *Ad Hoc* Committee. It also urged South Africa to report on its administration of the territory and to transmit petitions from the South West African people to the United Nations. The resolution expressed regret that the Union of South Africa, while it was prepared to negotiate on the basis of certain articles of the mandate, had indicated its unwillingness to carry out its international obligations with regard to the supervisory role of the United Nations. Although a number of delegations hinted that they would have preferred a stronger resolution, the debate was moderate and restrained. The Canadian Delegation supported this resolution. It is the Canadian view that advisory opinions of the International Court, while not legally binding, are authoritative expressions of internationalism, and should be accepted in the interests of promoting the rule of law and enhancing the prestige of the Court.

The second resolution passed by the Trusteeship Committee reasserted that the normal way of bringing the international status of South West Africa into line with developments which had occurred since the League of Nations ceased to exist, would be to place it under the international trusteeship system. The vote on this resolution was 33 in favour, none against, with 17 abstentions (including Canada).

When the plenary session of the General Assembly took up the question of South West Africa, the South African Delegate returned to join in the debate and made a formal complaint that the Trusteeship Committee, in deciding to hear the Hereros and the Reverend Michael Scott, had acted unconstitutionally. This complaint did not, however, form part of a resolution and was not put to the vote. The two resolutions approved earlier by the Trusteeship Committee were approved by the plenary session; the first, appealing to South Africa to reconsider its position and to resume negotiations with the *Ad Hoc* Committee, by a vote of 45 in favour (including Canada), 5 against, with 8 abstentions; and the second, concerning the normal way of bringing the international status of the territory up to date, by a vote of 36 in favour, none against, with 22 abstentions (including Canada).

In March 1952, the reconstituted *Ad Hoc* Committee on South West Africa, composed of representatives from Norway, Syria, Thailand, the United States and Uruguay, invited South Africa to confer with it concerning the manner in which the recommendations contained in the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice might be implemented. South Africa has promised to give a considered reply to this invitation in due course.

V

LEGAL

In the period under review the United Nations took steps in the direction of developing and codifying international law in accordance with Article 13 of the Charter. The International Law Commission prepared a draft code of offences against the peace and security of mankind and the General Assembly considered the allied question of an international definition of "aggression". A conference of 15 member states prepared a draft statute for an international criminal court. At its sixth session the Assembly debated at length the complicated question of the status of reservations to multilateral conventions, as well as a number of other legal questions of concern to the United Nations.

Reservations to Multilateral Conventions

This important question¹ was the subject of a long debate during the sixth session of the General Assembly. The question was also considered in 1951 by the International Court of Justice in relation to the Genocide Convention² and, in a more general context, by the International Law Commission.

¹See *Canada and the United Nations 1950*, pp. 133-139, and *External Affairs*, March 1952, pp. 111-112.

²At its Spring Session in 1952, the Canadian Parliament approved a resolution recommending that Canada ratify the Genocide Convention; the deposit of Canada's Instrument of Ratification is expected to take place later in the year.

The fifth session of the Assembly had requested the International Court to give an advisory opinion on the effect of reservations to the Genocide Convention³ made under certain conditions. The Court showed, in its opinion of May 28, 1951, that it was sharply divided on the questions before it. It held, by a narrow majority of 7 to 5, that a state which had made and maintained a reservation which had been objected to by one or more of the parties to the Genocide Convention, but not by others, could be regarded as being a party to the Convention if the reservation was compatible with the object and purpose of the Convention; otherwise, that state could not be regarded as being a party to the Convention. This was a new departure in international law from the established practice of the League of Nations. Five of the members of the International Court dissented. They considered that this new rule of compatibility had no legal basis and that in the case of the Genocide Convention "the conclusion is irresistible that it is necessary to apply . . . with even greater exactitude than ever the existing rule which requires the consent of all parties to any reservation to a multilateral convention".

The Court's majority opinion went on to say that if a party to the Convention objected to a reservation which it considered to be incompatible with the object and purpose of the Convention it could consider that the reserving state was not in fact a party to the Convention. On the other hand, if a party accepted the reservation as being compatible with the object and purpose of the Genocide Convention it could consider that the reserving state was a party to it. The majority of the Court held that an objection to a reservation made by a signatory state which had not yet ratified the Convention could have no legal effect until the objecting state ratified. Until then it merely served as a notice to the other states of the eventual attitude of the signatory state. Further, an objection to a reservation made by a state which had neither signed nor acceded to the Genocide Convention was without legal effect. Thus, in the opinion of the Court, it is left to each state objecting to a reservation to decide, upon the basis of its individual appraisal of the compatibility of the reservation with the object and purpose of the Convention, whether it considers the reserving state to be a party to the Convention.

The International Law Commission had been given a broader mandate by the fifth session of the General Assembly. It was invited to examine the question of reservations to multilateral conventions, both from the point of view of codification and from that of the progressive development of international law, especially as regards multilateral conventions of which the Secretary-General was the depositary. The International Court had already handed down its opinion before the Law Commission studied the question. The Commission, therefore, was in a position to consider the Court's opinion when formulating its own views on the broader question referred to it. In its report, the Commission pointed out that its task differed from that of the Court and that, therefore, it felt at liberty to suggest a practice which states might adopt for the future.

³The Genocide Convention does not contain any article providing for reservations.

The Court, on the other hand, had given its advisory opinion on the basis of its interpretation of the existing laws. In brief, the Commission was of the opinion that the criterion of the compatibility of a reservation with the object and purpose of a multilateral convention was not suitable for application to multilateral conventions in general. The Commission suggested that organs of the United Nations, Specialized Agencies and states should, when preparing multilateral conventions, consider the insertion of provisions relating to the admissibility, or otherwise, of reservations and to the effect to be given to them. In the absence of contrary provisions in any multilateral convention, the Commission suggested a set of rules which might be followed. These were based on the universal concept that reservations are not acceptable unless agreed to by all contracting parties to a convention.

At the sixth session of the General Assembly, the Soviet bloc insisted on the sovereign right of states to become parties to conventions and to make reservations at will. Most Latin American countries favoured a system adopted previously by the Organization of American States which facilitated the making of reservations but which also prescribed that the convention would not come into force between a reserving state and an objecting state. This practice tended to split a multilateral convention into a series of bilateral agreements. Most European states and Commonwealth countries supported the recommendation of the International Law Commission as suitable for general application to most multilateral conventions. When it became clear that there would not be unanimous agreement, the Canadian Representative suggested an alternative set of rules which would have permitted acceptance of reservations by a three-fourths majority of contracting states. However, a compromise still proved impossible. As a result the Assembly made a series of recommendations. The first was that organs of the United Nations, Specialized Agencies and states should, when preparing multilateral conventions, consider the insertion of provisions relating to the admissibility or otherwise of reservations and to the effect of objections to reservations. The second recommendation was that states should be guided, in regard to the Genocide Convention, by the majority advisory opinion of the International Court referred to above, and that the Secretary-General should also make his practice conform to the Court's opinion. As regards future conventions concluded under the auspices of the United Nations, the Secretary-General was requested to continue to act as the depositary of documents containing reservations or objections without passing upon their legal effect. The Secretary-General will communicate the text of such documents to all states concerned, leaving it to each state to draw legal consequences from such communications. Thus the General Assembly did not make a specific recommendation on the future practice to be followed and consequently the problem of determining the precise legal position resulting from reservations and objections to them is likely to arise again in the future whenever the states which participate in the drafting of a convention have failed to include in the text stipulations concerning reservations.

Definition of Aggression

At the fifth session of the General Assembly, when the item introduced by the Yugoslav Delegation, "Duties of States in the Event of the Outbreak of Hostilities",¹ was being discussed, the majority of delegations thought that no definition of "aggression" should be attempted without a full examination of all its implications. Indeed, many representatives were of the opinion that the determination of aggression depended upon the political appraisal of specific facts and for that reason could not be covered by a precise definition. However, the Soviet Delegation submitted a proposal embodying certain criteria by which aggression might be determined. The Soviet proposal, which contained no reference to "indirect aggression", was referred by the Assembly to the International Law Commission so that the Commission could take the proposal into consideration and formulate conclusions at the same time as it was considering the proposed draft code of offences against the peace and security of mankind.

The question of defining aggression² has arisen several times in the past, but in each instance it has been found impossible to arrive at a compromise formula to satisfy several divergent views. The International Military Tribunal, which was convened after the Second World War to try the cases of the major war criminals, had been established by a special charter which set forth the law it was to apply. The charter for this "Nuremberg Tribunal" had defined crimes against peace and in so doing had referred to the "waging of a war of aggression", but it did not define aggression, nor did the Tribunal itself attempt to do so.

The International Law Commission made a determined effort to formulate a definition which would meet with the approval of its members. It considered various abstract definitions of a general nature as well as definitions enumerating specific acts to be defined as aggressive, but in both these approaches the Commission failed to agree. As a result it finally had to report to the Assembly that it was unable to formulate a definition. Its difficulties arose not because of any political or ideological differences (the Soviet and Czechoslovak members of the Commission were not in attendance at that time), but because of the fundamental difficulty of drafting an all-inclusive definition which would cover all conceivable situations. As one of the members pointed out, methods of aggression were in a constant process of evolution. However, the Commission did decide to include, among the offences defined in the draft code of offences against the peace and security of mankind, the following paragraph:

The following acts are offences against the peace and security of mankind:

(1) Any act of aggression, including the employment by the authorities of a State of armed force against another State for any purpose other than national or collective self-defence or in pursuance of a decision or recommendation by a competent organ of the United Nations.

(2) Any threat by the authorities of a State to resort to an act of aggression against another State.

¹See *Canada and the United Nations 1950*, pp. 18-19.

²See *External Affairs*, February 1952, pp. 80-82.

The debate on this subject at the sixth session of the Assembly lasted for two weeks, but it was not much more successful than the Law Commission's discussions had been. The Canadian Delegation, together with the Delegations of Belgium, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, the United States and others, stressed the fact that the question of the definition of aggression had now become a purely political issue and that it was unrealistic to try in the present circumstances to define aggression. Several other representatives, however, particularly those from the Latin American and Arab countries, held the firm belief that a definition of aggression would contribute to assuring international peace and security. The Western powers as a result found themselves in the unfortunate position of appearing to be opposed to defining aggression while the delegations of the Soviet bloc joined with some of the Latin American and Arab countries and thus pretended to be defenders of international peace and security and of the territorial and political integrity of the small nations.

The resolution on this question which was finally approved by the General Assembly did not take any decision on defining aggression, but referred the matter to the seventh session of the Assembly to be considered at the same time as the draft code of offences against the peace and security of mankind. The Assembly resolution, however, contained a paragraph stating that a definition of aggression was "possible and desirable with a view to ensuring international peace and security and to developing an international criminal law". The Canadian Delegation and others considered that this prejudged the whole question and did not take into account the actual history of the problem. Nevertheless the Assembly accepted this recommendation by a vote of 30 to 12 (including Canada) with 8 abstentions. The Assembly also instructed the Secretary-General to submit to the seventh session "a report in which the question of defining aggression shall be thoroughly discussed in the light of the views expressed in the Sixth Committee at the sixth session of the General Assembly and which shall duly take into account the draft resolutions and amendments submitted concerning this question". It remains to be seen whether the seventh session of the Assembly will be more successful than its predecessor in defining aggression to the satisfaction of the majority of members of the United Nations.

International Crimes and Criminal Jurisdiction

In the period under review further progress was made in the direction of defining international crimes and establishing an international criminal court.¹ The International Law Commission submitted a draft code of offences against the peace and security of mankind but the sixth session of the General Assembly decided to postpone consideration of it until the seventh session in 1952. At the same time an *ad hoc* committee, which had been established by the General Assembly, met in 1951 and drafted the text of a statute

¹See *Canada and the United Nations 1950*, pp. 139-143.

for the proposed international criminal court. This will also be considered by the seventh session of the Assembly.

The International Law Commission first attempted to define what types of offences should be included in the code. It decided to limit them to those which contained a political element and which endangered or disturbed the maintenance of international peace and security. Thus the draft code does not include such matters as piracy, traffic in dangerous drugs, traffic in women and children, slavery and counterfeiting currency (the Assembly Committee on International Criminal Jurisdiction, which drafted the statute for the proposed international criminal court, also decided not to consider questions of this nature as coming within the terms of reference of the proposed court). Further, the Commission decided to deal with the criminal responsibility of *individuals only*. The Nuremberg Tribunal had stated in its judgment that crimes against international law are committed by men, not by abstract entities, and that only by punishing individuals who commit such crimes can the provisions of international law be enforced. The Commission also decided that it was not called upon to propose methods by which its draft code might be given binding force. It therefore refrained from drafting an instrument of implementation.

The first article of the draft code states that offences against the peace and security of mankind, as defined in the code, are crimes under international law for which the responsible individuals shall be punishable. The code then goes on to list offences of this nature. Any act of aggression, or any threat by the authorities of a state to resort to an act of aggression against another state, is to be considered an international crime, if it is committed for any purpose other than international or collective self-defence or in pursuance of a decision or recommendation of the United Nations. Likewise, the preparation by the authorities of a state for the employment of armed force against another state for any purpose other than the exception listed above is to be considered an international crime. Other crimes listed in the code include: the incursion into the territory of a state from the territory of another state of armed bands acting for a political purpose; the undertaking, encouragement or toleration by the authorities of a state of activities calculated to foment civil strife in another state, or of terrorist activities in another state; acts by the authorities of a state in violation of its obligations under a treaty which is designed to ensure international peace and security by means of restrictions or limitations on armaments, or on military training, or on fortifications; and acts resulting in the annexation, contrary to international law, of territory belonging to another state. Other acts of a different nature are separately listed in the draft code. These include those committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group. This provision was designed to cover the crime of genocide. It embodies the killing of members of one of the listed groups, causing them serious bodily or mental harm, imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group, and forcibly transferring children of the group to another group. Similarly, inhuman acts against any civilian population such as murder or extermination or enslavement or deportation or persecution of a

political, racial, religious or cultural nature, are included in the list of offences. Finally, the proposed list includes acts in violation of the laws or customs of war.

According to the provisions of the draft code the fact that a person acted as head of state, as a responsible government official, or pursuant to an order of his government, or of a superior, does not relieve him from responsibility except, in the latter case, if he did not have a "moral choice" in the matter.

The *ad hoc* committee, which the General Assembly established for the purpose of drafting a statute of an international criminal court, met in the summer of 1951 and submitted a comprehensive report to the Assembly which will be considered at its seventh session. During the course of its work a number of complicated legal problems arose. In the committee's final report it stated that its proposals were offered as a contribution to a study which, in the committee's opinion, had yet to be carried several steps forward before the problem of an international criminal jurisdiction, with all its implications of a political as well as a juridical character, was ripe for decision.

The committee made a number of recommendations which are all embodied in the draft statute appended to its report. Thus it decided, by a vote of 9 to 2, that the jurisdiction of the court in regard to nationals of a certain state should be based on the consent of that state. Similarly it was decided that no individual should be tried before the court unless its jurisdiction had been accepted by the state in which the crime was alleged to have been committed. Another important question was whether the court should be competent to try individuals only or whether it could also try legal entities. Ultimately the committee expressed itself in favour of the principle that the court should be competent to pass judgment on the penal responsibility of individuals only. As regards penalties, the committee adopted the principle that the court shall impose such penalties as it may determine subject to any limitation which may be laid down in the instrument by which jurisdiction is conferred upon the court.

The discussion which will take place on these two related questions at the seventh session of the General Assembly promises to be an extremely important one from the point of view of international criminal law. The questions raised are of great complexity and there is by no means unanimous agreement among the members of the United Nations on the issues involved, if past discussions in the Assembly and its committees are any guide for the future.

International Court of Justice

The International Court considered several important questions, gave an advisory opinion on the effect of reservations to the Genocide Convention,¹ indicated interim measures of protection in Iran, and delivered judgments in the Haya de la Torre asylum case between Colombia and Peru, and in the Norwegian fisheries case. Perhaps

¹See "Reservations to Multilateral Conventions", pp. 129-131 of this Section.

the most important, from Canada's point of view, was this latter judgment of December 1951 which concerned the territorial waters of Norway.

The Norwegian Government claimed that the limits of its territorial waters were four miles seaward from straight base lines connecting the outermost points of the coast and islands belonging to Norway. The United Kingdom, which had brought the matter before the Court, admitted that a four-mile rule was applicable on the Norwegian coast but maintained that the base lines should follow the sinuosities of the coast. The Court found that the method employed by Norway for the delimitation of its fisheries zone and the base lines fixed by Norway in application of this method, were not contrary to international law.

The principle that base lines should follow the line of the coast has been widely accepted by Commonwealth and European countries and by the United States and has been generally regarded as applicable to the coast of North America. Since the judgment of the Court turned largely on a finding of fact concerning the publication of Norwegian decrees and acquiescence therein by other states — in other words an historical title — it does not necessarily follow that the Norwegian system will be adopted by other states in other parts of the world, whose territorial waters may be affected by different historical factors. However, several states in Europe, the Middle East and South America, and more recently Iceland, have made claims inconsistent with the classical theory that the base lines follow the sinuosities of the coast. Accordingly, the implications of the judgment of the International Court are being studied by the appropriate Canadian authorities.

VI

FINANCIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE

Introduction

Although this volume deals with the period from January 1, 1951 to June 30, 1952, no arbitrary time limit of this kind can be applied to budgetary questions: the calendar year is also the financial year for the United Nations and most of the Specialized Agencies. The first part of this chapter deals principally with financial and budgetary questions discussed by the General Assembly at its sixth session, November 1951 to February 1952, when its main task was to set the financial basis for the operations of the United Nations during the calendar year 1952, in the light of conditions prevailing during 1951 and trends which could be foreseen.

During 1951 the cost of participation in the United Nations and most of the Specialized Agencies continued its upward trend. There were, however, indications that the trend might be checked in 1952, the change becoming apparent in the budget estimates

for 1953. Many member states have expressed concern that costs should be growing at a time when their other financial commitments are at a high level. Reflecting these views, the General Assembly has emphasized the importance of ensuring that the activities and programmes of the various organizations are kept within manageable proportions, having regard to the resources available for them, and has recommended that member governments endeavour to stabilize the expenditures of the United Nations and the Agencies. In the Canadian view, member states can work towards these objectives by exerting their influence in debate on behalf of economy, and by exercising self-restraint in calling for the extension of United Nations activities in directions which would add substantially to present costs. Canadian delegations to meetings of the General Assembly and of the Agencies have given vigorous support to efforts to achieve greater concentration of resources on projects which deserve priority; to eliminate waste and extravagance; to improve administrative methods and techniques; and to co-ordinate programmes in order to avoid duplication of effort.

Cost of the United Nations

It is customary, in United Nations parlance, to refer to "administrative" budgets and to the budgets of "operational" programmes. The terms themselves do not, perhaps, explain the distinction very clearly. The "administrative" budgets cover the regular activities of the United Nations and of the Specialized Agencies. The "operational" programmes are certain special programmes (Korean reconstruction, aid for Palestine refugees, technical assistance, and aid for children) undertaken by the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, outside their regular activities. The "administrative" costs of the United Nations and Agencies are met by assessments against member states, whereas the "operational" programmes are usually financed by voluntary contributions from member states. In the following sections of this chapter, administrative and operational budgets are considered separately.

Administrative Costs

It will be seen, from the table which appears as Appendix 6, that the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies budgeted for administrative expenditures of \$82.8 million¹ for 1952 as compared with \$84.1 million for 1951, or a reduction of \$1.3 million. But in 1951 there was an appropriation of \$5 million for the International Refugee Organization (IRO), which ended its official activities at the end of 1951; no corresponding appropriation was made for 1952.

¹Since the United States dollar is the basic unit of account for the United Nations and most of the Agencies, all figures in this chapter and the related appendices are expressed in United States dollars unless otherwise indicated. Where payments have been made in Canadian dollars or other currencies, appropriate conversions have usually been made. In a few cases Canadian dollar amounts are shown, usually because the amounts are payments which are still to be made and the United States dollar equivalent in each instance will depend on the exchange rate prevailing on the date of payment.

Excluding IRO, the appropriations for the United Nations and Specialized Agencies rose from \$79.1 million for 1951 to \$82.8 million for 1952.

Canada's contribution to the administrative budgets of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies will amount to \$2.67 million for 1952 as compared with \$2.56 million for 1951 (again excluding the non-recurring appropriation for IRO).

Cost of Operational Programmes

To these administrative expenditures, which are voted in the regular budgets of the organizations, must be added the costs of the following operational programmes: (a) the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA); (b) the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWAPR); (c) the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance; and (d) the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF).

Contributions to these programmes are voluntary. Early in its sixth session in 1951 the Assembly decided to repeat a procedure adopted in 1950 and establish a Negotiating Committee which would attempt to encourage wider financial support for these important activities. The 1951 Committee consisted of representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Canada, Uruguay, Pakistan and Lebanon. At a series of special meetings held during and after the Assembly session, the Negotiating Committee consulted with member and non-member governments on the amounts they would be willing to contribute to technical assistance, Korean reconstruction, and relief for Palestine refugees.

In all these voluntary activities sponsored by the United Nations Canada has assumed its full share of responsibility. In addition to its efforts as a member of the Negotiating Committee, its financial contributions compare favourably with those of other countries.

The Negotiating Committee was able to report that by the beginning of March 1952 pledges by governments for the Korean Reconstruction Agency had reached a total of \$206 million. This included \$(Canadian)7.25 million which Canada had pledged and paid early in 1951.

The Canadian Parliament has authorized a contribution of \$(Canadian)600,000 for the activities to June 30, 1953, of UNRWAPR. The Government has also announced its intention of asking Parliament to approve a further contribution "at a later stage if other countries with responsibilities similar to those of Canada contribute in like degree and if local conditions indicate that the operations of the Agency have a good chance of success". Canadian contributions for assistance to Palestine refugees, before the latest contribution is taken into account, have totalled \$2,440,929.

For the initial 18-month period of operation ending December 31, 1951, total contributions to the United Nations Expanded Technical Assistance Programme amounted to slightly more than \$20 million, including a contribution of \$(Canadian)850,000. In the

Negotiating Committee, and subsequently at a special conference convened to secure pledges for 1952, Canada offered to match its earlier contribution provided the response of other states assured total contributions of at least \$20 million. Since total pledges fell short of the target and amounted to only slightly more than \$19 million, Canada decided that its contribution for 1952 would be \$(Canadian) 750,000.

From its inception in 1947 to the spring of 1952, UNICEF received total contributions of about \$165.5 million (including \$118 million from governments, \$33 million from UNRRA surpluses and \$12 million from private donors). During 1951 Canada maintained its position as one of the most consistent supporters of the Children's Fund with a contribution of \$(Canadian) 500,000. Parliament has also authorized a contribution of the same amount for 1952. This will bring total Canadian contributions to more than \$7.5 million of public funds as well as \$1.5 million of private donations.

In view of the magnitude and importance of these operational programmes, the sixth session of the General Assembly decided that their administrative costs should be given the same careful scrutiny as that applied to similar expenditures under the regular budget of the United Nations. The Assembly therefore requested the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions² to review the administrative portions of the budgets of these programmes and to submit its comments to the next session of the Assembly.

The Total Cost to Canada

How much does Canada's association with the United Nations cost the Canadian taxpayer? No simple answer can be given. Canada's share of the regular budgets of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies has already been mentioned; it amounts to between \$2 and \$3 million a year — \$2.67 million, for example, for 1952. But this is only part of the story. Canada's contributions to the operational programmes described above is very substantial. In 1951 it reached a total of \$(Canadian) 9.25 million. This figure, however, must be qualified. It included a technical assistance contribution for a period of 18 months, and by far the largest part was a contribution for Korean reconstruction which has not had to be repeated in 1952 — further contributions for Korean reconstruction will depend on developments in Korea which are not now foreseeable. To these amounts must be added the costs of preparing for and participating in international conferences under United Nations auspices, and the salaries and expenses of Canadian Government personnel in Ottawa and abroad whose time is partially or wholly devoted to United Nations matters. Finally, account must be taken of Canadian defence expenditures which are directly or indirectly related to Canada's participation in the United Nations action in Korea.

²For a description of the financial machinery of the United Nations see *Canada and the United Nations 1949*, p. 174.

Examination of 1952 Budgets of the United Nations and Specialized Agencies

United Nations

The estimates submitted to the sixth session of the Assembly by the Secretary-General called for expenditures during 1952 of \$46,568,300. While this amount was \$1,230,300 below the budget finally approved for 1951, a reduction was possible only because certain exceptional expenditures which appeared in the 1951 budget were not repeated in the 1952 budget. These included the cost of moving to the new headquarters in New York City and the cost of holding certain meetings away from the headquarters. The 1952 estimates actually represented an increase of 6.24 per cent over what the 1951 appropriations would have been without these non-recurrent items.

Although part of this increase reflected the general rise in prices and automatic increments in pay for staff members, large increases were also proposed for new or expanded activities — mainly for the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees, information centres, Regional Economic Commissions, contractual printing, and the maintenance of headquarters at the new location.

The Secretary-General added to his original estimates, during the session, by submitting proposals for substantial additional expenditures, including \$1.33 million for a cost-of-living adjustment for headquarters staff, \$1 million to cover part of the increased costs of constructing the headquarters buildings, and \$327,000 for Korean service medals.

In its pre-Assembly examination of the estimates, the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions had recommended reductions of \$2,035,400, or a budget for 1952 of \$44,532,900. Although the Secretary-General indicated his willingness to accept many of these proposed cuts, he told the Assembly that the adoption of the remaining recommendations of the Advisory Committee would impair the effectiveness of many important United Nations programmes.

The Fifth (Administrative and Budgetary) Committee of the Assembly, after considering the views of both the Secretary-General and the Advisory Committee, approved most of the cuts recommended by the Advisory Committee. In its report to the Assembly, the Fifth Committee expressed its confidence that these economies could be achieved “without detriment to any essential activity or service, through better organization of the work of the Secretariat, greater efficiency and versatility on the part of its staff combined with an assurance of reasonable security of tenure, and above all by the elimination of low priority and proliferal activities particularly in the economic and social fields”.

Canada took an active part in the deliberations of the Fifth Committee, whose chairman was a member of the Canadian Delegation. The Canadian Representative in the Committee urged that the resources available to the United Nations be devoted to the most

important and urgent activities. He called for careful observance of priorities, sound administrative and budgetary practices, and economies of operation wherever possible. He drew attention to evidence of diffusion of funds and effort over too many programmes and services, and recommended specific economies in the estimates.

The Canadian Delegation was particularly critical of the appropriations for the Department of Public Information. The Secretary-General had submitted estimates of \$2,677,400 for the Department itself, \$96,700 for the Geneva Information Centre, \$934,000 for other information centres, and \$300,000 for the Department's publications. In its report to the Assembly, the Advisory Committee had pointed out that these amounts constituted a considerable increase over the 1951 budget, despite the fact that the previous session of the Assembly had requested "substantial economies" in the 1952 information programme¹. The Advisory Committee recommended reductions totalling \$218,400. After considerable debate, the Fifth Committee decided to recommend approval of the estimates of the Department of Public Information at this reduced figure. At the same time, a special committee of 11 members, under the Canadian chairman of the Fifth Committee, was set up to review the principles underlying the public information work of the United Nations and to give guidance to the Secretary-General for the framing of his budget estimates for 1953.

The final total of estimated expenditures for 1952, approved by the General Assembly, was \$48,096,780². As an offset against this amount, estimated miscellaneous income of \$6,399,800 is deductible, leaving estimated net expenditures for 1952 of \$41,696,980.

Before the full amount to be contributed by member states during 1952 can be determined, supplementary appropriations for 1951, totalling \$1,126,900, must be added, and a deduction of \$113,500 must be made, representing accounting adjustments in the previous year's appropriations and income. Total assessments, therefore, amount to \$42,937,380, or \$111,960 more than 1951 assessments. Canada's share of this amount is \$1,438,402³ (3.35 per cent).

Specialized Agencies

In the Specialized Agencies, as in the United Nations, Canadian Representatives have joined in efforts to obtain greater returns from available resources. While the specific measures adopted by each agency have varied according to its particular circumstances and needs, they have been generally directed towards improved programming, more efficient management, and better co-ordination. Programmes have been critically examined for possibilities of concentrating resources on the most urgent and productive fields of endeavour; wherever possible projects of secondary importance have been eliminated. Sometimes it has been possible to reduce the

¹For the discussion at the fifth session of the Assembly on expenditures on public information see *Canada and the United Nations 1950*, pp. 147-148.

²For the details of the budget finally approved by the General Assembly see Appendix 7.

³These are interim figures subject to minor adjustments to allow for final accounting entries before the end of the financial year.

number of costly meetings. Originally the major Specialized Agencies held annual meetings. Now that their more important organizational and administrative problems have been solved, the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) have decided to hold their general conferences every second year. The International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) holds a full meeting every third year, with smaller intervening annual meetings to deal with administrative and budgetary questions. The World Health Organization (WHO) is considering biennial meetings. This increase in the interval between the sessions of the main legislative conferences of the Specialized Agencies permits important savings in time, effort, and money, both for the organizations themselves and for member governments. Similar efforts have been made to reduce the numbers of meetings of bodies subsidiary to the main legislative bodies. Other operating economies have been achieved by the Specialized Agencies through improved personnel policies, the development of services common to two or more Agencies, and closer supervision over expenditures. Particular attention has been given to the avoidance of unnecessary travel costs and other forms of administrative waste.

Canadian representatives at Agency conferences have expressed the belief that, with persistent efforts of this kind, the Agencies should be able to carry out their essential work without further budgetary increases. Although the pressure for larger programmes continues, the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) have already decided to stabilize their 1953 budgets at the 1952 levels.

Similar views were expressed by Canadian representatives when the budgets of the Agencies were reviewed by the United Nations General Assembly. As a result of the Assembly's discussions, three resolutions were adopted stressing the need for concentration of resources and recommending new or improved procedures for achieving this objective. The Assembly also adopted a resolution recommending the establishment of a basic pattern of United Nations conferences in Geneva which would lead to the most effective use of facilities there and at headquarters in New York, and possibly to savings in the total expenditures of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies.

Apportionment of Expenses

During 1951 member states continued to press for more equitable sharing of the costs of administering the United Nations and its subsidiary bodies. In the United Nations Assembly and in most of the Specialized Agencies, there was a critical examination of the principles on which costs have been shared in the past and determined efforts were made to effect improvements in the scales to be applied for 1952¹.

¹A table showing the percentage scales of contributions from the 14 main contributors to the United Nations and to 6 of the principal Specialized Agencies appears as Appendix 8.

United Nations

At the fifth session of the General Assembly in 1950, member states had expressed a desire for "rapid elimination of remaining maladjustments in the United Nations scale"². In its report to the sixth session of the Assembly, the Committee on Contributions proposed changes in the rates of contributions for 1952 for 33 countries. While recognizing the desirability of the early establishment of a more stable scale of assessments, the Committee concluded that inadequate statistics from certain countries, problems of converting estimates of national income into a common currency, and the difficulties experienced by some countries in obtaining foreign exchange would make it very hard to recommend the immediate establishment of a more permanent scale. The Committee on Contributions therefore decided that it should "continue to move, step by step, in making adjustments and satisfy itself that the changes recommended are fully supported by evidence of relative capacity to pay and are in accordance with the directives of the General Assembly". Applying this principle, it recommended adjustments which would reduce apparent inequities by approximately one third during 1952. Increases were proposed for 15 countries and reduced assessments for 18.

Among the important changes recommended by the Committee was an increase in the contribution of the Soviet Union from 6.98 per cent to 9.85 per cent (a 42 per cent increase) and comparable increases in the rates for other Soviet bloc countries. In earlier scales these countries had been given special consideration because of "the temporary dislocation arising out of the Second World War". The Contributions Committee concluded that their economic recovery fully justified increases above their current contributions. The Committee also proposed a reduction (from 38.92 per cent to 36.9 per cent) in the United States assessment as a further move towards full application of the principle, enunciated in a 1948 Assembly resolution, that the largest contributor should not be assessed more than 33 1/3 per cent. An increase of .05 per cent was recommended for Canada in recognition of the growth of Canada's national income.

When the recommendations of the Contributions Committee were examined by the Assembly's Fifth Committee, the representatives of the Soviet Union and Soviet bloc countries vigorously opposed the increases recommended for their countries on the grounds that their economies were not fully recovered from the effects of the war and that they were experiencing serious difficulty in obtaining the required hard currencies. At the same time, the United States Representative contended that the proposed reduction in his country's assessment did not go far enough. He called for the immediate and full implementation of the 1948 resolution which recognized that "in normal times" no country should pay more than one third of the expenses of the United Nations.

²For a description of the principles on which the apportionment of expenses is based and the history of past efforts to translate these principles into precise mathematical scales, see *Canada and the United Nations 1950*, pp. 149-152.

The Soviet contentions were not received favourably by the Fifth Committee. Most members of the Committee agreed with the view expressed by the Canadian Representative, that the assessments of these countries were disproportionately low when considered in the light of their "capacity to pay". It was the Canadian view that these assessments should be increased immediately to reflect the improvement in their economies claimed by the countries themselves. At the same time there was almost no support for any greater cut in the United States contribution than had already been recommended by the Contributions Committee. While agreeing that the principle of a ceiling, in normal times, of 33 1/3 per cent on the assessment of the largest contributor should be implemented as soon as possible, many members of the Committee contended that times were not yet "normal". A number of representatives said that their countries were not yet in a position to assume the increased burdens which would be shifted to them, if the Committee were to accept the United States proposal for immediate reduction in its assessment to 33 1/3 per cent.

In the end, the Fifth Committee rejected the demands of both the Soviet Union and the United States. The Committee, and subsequently the Assembly, finally approved a resolution adopting the scale originally recommended by the Contributions Committee. The resolution called upon the Contributions Committee to work towards full implementation of the 1948 resolution as rapidly as might be practicable. It also directed the Committee to give special consideration, in drawing up the scale for 1953, to countries with a low per capita income.

In discussions in the Fifth Committee, the Canadian Delegation stressed the importance of rapid progress towards a more equitable scale. For technical and other reasons, Canada would reluctantly accept the 1952 scale recommended by the Contributions Committee, but on the clear understanding that the Committee would work towards the removal of the remaining maladjustments, "bearing in mind the need for arriving as quickly as possible at a fully equitable scale which will also be true to the principles approved in the 1948 resolution". The Canadian Representative placed particular emphasis on the maintenance of the principle — also incorporated in the 1948 resolution — that "in normal times" the per capita contribution of any member should not exceed the per capita contribution of the member bearing the highest assessment.

Under the scale adopted for 1952, Canada was assessed 3.35 per cent of the United Nations budget as compared with 3.30 per cent for 1951.

Specialized Agencies

Important modifications were also made during 1951 in the scales of assessment for the Specialized Agencies. Among significant changes was a reduction to 33 1/3 per cent in the United States assessments for UNESCO and WHO — the ceiling set by Congress for United States contributions to these Agencies. At the same time, the United States assessment was increased from 27 per cent to 30 per cent in FAO to bring the contribution of the United States

more closely into line with its capacity to pay. In the revised scales Canada's assessment was reduced slightly in ILO (from 4.28 to 4.03 per cent) and increased by comparable amounts in ICAO (from 4.40 to 4.53 per cent) and in FAO (from 4.11 to 4.54 per cent). The reduction in the ILO assessment was made possible by the contributions of new members including the Federal Republic of Germany. The increases in the assessments for the other Agencies were principally based on Canada's growing national income.

In discussing the scales of assessment of the Specialized Agencies, Canadian representatives continued to stress the need for fair distribution of financial burdens among all participating states. While accepting reductions in the United States contributions to UNESCO and WHO, Canadian representatives pressed for upward adjustments in the United States contributions to other Agencies, including ILO, FAO and ICAO, where the United States contributions have, for a variety of reasons, been unduly low. Canadian representatives have also objected to the present arrangements whereby Canada and a number of other countries pay more on a per capita basis than the United States in a number of the Specialized Agencies. While these inequities will be partially removed as United States contributions are adjusted, Canada has nevertheless pressed for formal introduction of the per capita principle in the Specialized Agencies. Largely as a result of Canadian efforts, the principle has been adopted in WHO and has been accepted as an "objective" in UNESCO.

Collection of Contributions

Most member countries have been prompt in paying their contributions to the United Nations. By June 30, 1952, member states had met the whole of their financial obligations for the period to the end of 1949 and had paid 96.3 per cent and 90.63 per cent respectively towards their 1950 and 1951 assessments. They had also paid almost 23 per cent of their 1952 assessments.

Despite this generally favourable record, the continuing inability of the National Government of China to meet its financial commitments and the growing arrears of a few other members were imposing a strain on the organization's financial resources during the latter part of the period under review. Although China was able to pay all of its assessments up to and including 1949 and almost one half of its 1950 contribution, its unpaid obligations to the end of 1951 totalled more than \$3.6 million. For the same period, the arrears of all other members amounted to \$1,645,000 of which sum Argentina (with arrears of almost \$900,000) owed more than half.

The experience of the Specialized Agencies in collecting contributions has generally paralleled that of the United Nations. By far the largest proportion of arrears is owed by China and a relatively small number of slow-paying members. A special financial problem has arisen, however, in WHO, UNESCO, and ICAO, because of what are known as "inactive" members. In 1949 and 1950 the Soviet Union, eight other Cominform states, and China, formally signified their desire to withdraw from WHO and immediately stopped attending meetings and paying contributions. For constitu-

tional and other reasons, the Organization refused to recognize this withdrawal. As a result, these countries are still included in the scale of assessments and the Organization faces cumulative annual deficits of almost one sixth of its prospective income. A comparable situation exists in UNESCO, where Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland stopped attending meetings in 1951 and in ICAO where Poland has not attended any sessions since 1949 and Czechoslovakia stopped attending in 1950.

The United Nations and the Agencies have all sought ways to prevent arrears from reaching dangerous proportions. In the main the organizations have had to rely on urgent appeals to their members for prompt payment of contributions. In some of the Agencies, however, constitutional sanctions (suspension of voting rights or the withdrawal of various privileges) have been invoked against slow-paying members. Canadian delegations to meetings of the Assembly and the Agencies have given vigorous support to all measures designed to achieve the full and prompt payment of assessments.

Headquarters of the United Nations

The permanent headquarters buildings of the United Nations in New York are nearing completion. The Secretariat Building has been in use since the summer of 1950. The Conference Building was officially opened in February 1952 and the General Assembly Building, which contains the main auditorium for plenary sessions, is scheduled for completion in time for the opening of the seventh session of the Assembly in the autumn of 1952.

When the project of constructing the new headquarters was approved in December 1947, the total cost (exclusive of land, which was donated by John D. Rockefeller Jr.) was estimated at \$65 million. To finance construction, the Assembly accepted an offer from the United States Government to provide a \$65 million interest-free loan. The loan agreement stipulated that the loan was to be repaid from the ordinary budget of the United Nations in 32 annual instalments of varying amounts. Two instalments of \$1 million have already been paid.

On December 31, 1951 the Secretary-General reported that \$57,754,880 had already been spent on planning and construction. He informed the Assembly that in spite of changes, substitutions and economies effected in the course of construction, the general rise in building costs made it impossible to complete the work and furnish the buildings within the originally estimated cost of \$65 million. He expected that a further \$3 million would be required to finish the project and he recommended that this amount be provided by the inclusion of \$1 million in the 1952 budget estimates and by the withdrawal of an amount not exceeding \$2 million from the Working Capital Fund. Any advances from working capital would be repaid out of the 1953 budget. The revised estimates submitted by the Secretary-General were carefully scrutinized by the Headquarters Advisory Committee, which consists of the representatives of 16 member countries (including Canada). The Committee reviewed the estimated further requirements in order to ensure that the

buildings could not be completed satisfactorily with the funds already provided. In the Committee, the Soviet Delegate contended that the increased cost had been due to the inefficiency and extravagance of the Secretary-General and his planning staff. The other members rejected this view, which they believed to have been motivated by political considerations. The Committee endorsed the Secretary-General's proposals.

In the Fifth Committee the Soviet Representative repeated his criticisms and submitted a counter-proposal which would have denied the Secretary-General the extra funds. After the Secretary-General had given assurances that the further funds requested would complete the project, the Fifth Committee rejected the Soviet proposal and approved the Secretary-General's request.

Not included in the main costs of construction are objects of art, furnishings and decorative materials which have been offered by governments, organizations and private individuals and accepted by the Secretary-General and a special board of advisers. Norway, Denmark and Sweden have provided decoration for the three Council Chambers. The United Kingdom has undertaken the decoration of one of the committee rooms. Other gifts have been provided by India, New Zealand, Australia, Greece and by United States school children. Canada is giving seven decorative metal doors for the north entrance of the General Assembly building. These will form the principal public entrance to the building, and it is expected that they will be in position before the opening of the seventh session of the Assembly. The doors are distinctively Canadian in materials and design.

Personnel Administration

Permanent Staff Regulations

The development of an international civil service, embodying (in the words of the Charter) "the highest standards of efficiency, competence, and integrity", has been the continuing concern of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, and of the Secretary-General and senior United Nations officials. But while it is widely recognized that a Secretariat of very high calibre has been built up in a remarkably short time, some problems — the result mainly of the organization's newness — still remain to be solved.

When the Secretariat was first recruited, the words of the Charter, quoted above, were carefully borne in mind. Time did not permit full observance of a secondary but also important criterion which the Charter laid down: "Due regard shall be paid to the importance of recruiting the staff on as wide a geographical basis as possible". As a result, the Secretariat contained a higher percentage than was desirable of the nationals of a few of the larger member states.

Provisional staff regulations, setting forth the conditions of employment of staff members, were adopted by the General Assembly on February 13, 1946. The Assembly recognized that experience would show ways in which these regulations could be improved. It was intended that permanent staff regulations should be adopted at a later date.

Staff members were engaged under three different types of contracts: temporary-indefinite contracts, fixed-term contracts and permanent contracts. The intention was that the bulk of the staff should eventually be in permanent status. Because of the circumstances under which the initial staff had been recruited, however, and because due attention had to be paid, in the granting of permanencies, to the "principle of geographical distribution" cited above, only about one third of the staff had been granted permanent status by 1951. By far the greater part of the Secretariat was still in temporary-indefinite status, and many staff members had been in that status for a long period of time.

Meanwhile, on November 24, 1949, a United Nations Administrative Tribunal had been set up by the General Assembly, to hear cases of alleged non-observance of contracts of employment with the United Nations.

It had been intended that permanent staff regulations should be considered and adopted at the fifth session of the General Assembly in 1950. Because of the pressure of more urgent problems, the subject had to be deferred until the sixth session. In the intervening months a number of questions relating to the termination of staff contracts received widespread attention. In the late summer of 1951, the Administrative Tribunal had before it appeals of a number of staff members whose contracts had been terminated by the Secretary-General. The appeals were supported by the United Nations Staff Association and opposed by the Secretary-General. The judgments of the Administrative Tribunal contained rulings which — contrary to the position adopted by the Secretary-General — were to the effect that an employee in temporary-indefinite status was entitled to be given reasons for termination of his contract, as an element of "due process" in the bringing of an appeal against termination, and that the holder of a fixed-term contract might appeal the non-renewal of his contract if he could establish that he had been given grounds for expecting renewal.

The fact that large numbers of staff members had still failed to achieve permanency, and the feelings which had been aroused over the cases dealt with by the Administrative Tribunal, led many delegations to fear that debate on the draft permanent staff regulations at the sixth session of the Assembly would be bitter. However, in a statement made to the Assembly's Fifth (Administrative and Budgetary) Committee at the opening of debate in January 1952, the Secretary-General was able to give assurances which went a long way towards allaying the fears of staff members and reassuring the members of the Committee. He declared that it was his intention, within the next two years, to go as far as possible towards the goal of a Secretariat which would be 70 to 75 per cent in permanent status, paying due regard to the principle of geographic distribution. This would involve a thorough review of the whole staff, and would inevitably lead to the termination of a considerable number of staff contracts. It was his intention, however, to have staff representation on the body conducting the review, while the Secretariat's own appeals machinery, which includes staff representation, would be available to employees whose contracts were

terminated. Except for overriding considerations in the interests of the United Nations, it was his intention to give reasons for termination in all cases. The Secretary-General asked only the powers of termination — set forth in the draft regulations before the Committee — which would enable him to carry out the staff review he proposed.

On the draft permanent staff regulations submitted to the Committee, there was wide agreement between the Secretary-General, the Staff Association and the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions. Considerable debate developed nevertheless, and particularly on the clauses in the regulations dealing with termination of appointment. Soviet bloc representatives were opposed to the granting of any wide powers of dismissal to the Secretary-General, but they did not submit specific proposals to the Committee. The main debate developed between those who supported the stand taken by the Secretary-General and a few delegations who would have granted him even more sweeping powers over the staff. In the end the regulations as supported by the Secretary-General were adopted by the affirmative votes of the overwhelming majority of the Fifth Committee, including Canada, and they were subsequently adopted without debate by the plenary session of the Assembly. The regulations will be reviewed by the Assembly after two years.

Cost of Living Adjustment

In a report submitted to the sixth session of the General Assembly in January 1952, the Secretary-General of the United Nations requested a cost of living allowance of 7½ per cent of basic salaries for all headquarters staff. He contended that the allowance was necessary to offset the increased cost of living in the New York area, as shown in official surveys. He pointed out that substantial increases for this purpose had already been granted to employees by the City of New York, the State of New York and private employers. Originally the Staff Association had requested a 10 per cent increase. While the Secretary-General agreed that the staff was facing a "serious situation", he stated that he considered 10 per cent excessive. He proposed an initial increase of 7½ per cent with subsequent automatic adjustments to be based on variations in the cost of living index.

In its report on this question the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions expressed the belief that remuneration of staff members in the intermediate and high salary levels was more than enough to absorb increases in the cost of living. The Advisory Committee recommended an allowance payable on a flat rate of 5 per cent for staff members receiving a basic salary of less than \$7,000 per year.

The United States Delegation in the Assembly's Fifth (Administrative and Budgetary) Committee proposed, as an alternative to the recommendations of the Secretary-General and the Advisory Committee, that salaries of general service personnel should be brought into line with the "best prevailing rates" in the New York area; the rate of increase for other staff members to be 5 per cent of gross salaries up to the level of \$15,000 per year.

Although most of the main contributors to the United Nations, including the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R., Canada and the Netherlands, indicated support for the United States proposal on the grounds that it represented a reasonable compromise, a majority of the members of the Fifth Committee supported the principal part of the Secretary-General's original proposal. As a result, the Committee, and subsequently the plenary session of the Assembly, approved an immediate 7½ per cent increase for all staff members. A decision on automatic adjustments based on the cost of living index was, however, postponed for consideration at the seventh session of the Assembly.

Appendix 1

Membership of the United Nations and
Important United Nations Bodies at
June 30, 1952.

United Nations

Afghanistan	Iran
Argentina	Iraq
Australia	Israel
Belgium	Lebanon
Bolivia	Liberia
Brazil	Luxembourg
Burma	Mexico
Byelorussian	Netherlands
S.S.R.	New Zealand
Canada	Nicaragua
Chile	Norway
China	Pakistan
Colombia	Panama
Costa Rica	Paraguay
Cuba	Peru
Czechoslovakia	Philippines
Denmark	Poland
Dominican	Saudi Arabia
Republic	Sweden
Ecuador	Syria
Egypt	Thailand
El Salvador	Turkey
Ethiopia	Ukrainian S.S.R.
France	Union of South
Greece	Africa
Guatemala	U.S.S.R.
Haiti	United Kingdom
Honduras	United States
Iceland	Uruguay
India	Venezuela
Indonesia	Yemen
	Yugoslavia

Security Council

*Permanent
Members*

China
France
United Kingdom
United States
U.S.S.R.

*Non-Permanent
Members*

To serve until
December 31, 1952:
Brazil
Netherlands
Turkey
To serve until
December 31, 1953:
Chile
Greece
Pakistan

Economic and Social Council

To serve until December 31, 1952:
Canada
Czechoslovakia
Iran
To serve until December 31, 1953:
Philippines
Poland
Sweden
To serve until December 31, 1954:
Argentina

Mexico
Pakistan
United States
United Kingdom
Uruguay
U.S.S.R.
Cuba

Belgium
China

Egypt
France

Trusteeship Council

Administering Trust Territories:
Australia
Belgium
France
New Zealand
United Kingdom
United States
Permanent Members of the Security
Council Not Administering Trust
Territories:

China
U.S.S.R.
Elective Members:
To serve until December 31, 1952:
El Salvador
Iraq
To serve until December 31, 1953:
Dominican
 Republic
Thailand

Italy, which administers the trust territory of Somaliland, may participate without vote in the Council's deliberations.

International Court of Justice

To serve until February 5, 1955:
Alejandro Alvarez, of Chile
Jules Basdevant, of France
Levi Fernandes Carneiro, of Brazil
José Gustavo Guerrero, of El Salvador
Sir Arnold D. McNair, of the United Kingdom

To serve until February 5, 1958:
Abdel Hamid Badawi Pasha, of Egypt
Hsu Mo, of China
John E. Read, of Canada
Bohdan Winiarski, of Poland
Milovan Zoricic, of Yugoslavia
To serve until February 5, 1961:
Enrique C. Armand Ugon, of Uruguay
Green H. Hackworth, of the United States
Helge Klaestad, of Norway
Sergei Alexandrovitch Golunsky, of the U.S.S.R.
Sir Benegal Narsing Rau, of India

Disarmament Commission

*Permanent
Members*

Canada
China
France
United Kingdom
United States
U.S.S.R.

*Non-Permanent
Members*

To serve until
December 31, 1952:
Brazil
Netherlands
Turkey
To serve until
December 31, 1953:
Chile
Greece
Pakistan

Appendix 2

Principal Meetings of the United Nations and Specialized Agencies, January 1951 to June 1952, and Canadian Representation at Sessions of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council.

General Assembly

Sixth regular session, Paris, November 6, 1951 — February 5, 1952. Representatives: Chairman: (November and December) L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs; (January and February) S. S. Garson, Minister of Justice; Deputy Chairman: (November and December) S. S. Garson, Minister of Justice; (January and February) J. Lesage, M.P., Parliamentary Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs; Senator J. R. Hurtubise; M. Bourget, M.P.; Mrs. R. J. Marshall, Past President of the National Council of Women.

Economic and Social Council

Twelfth session, Santiago, Chile, February 20 — March 21, 1951. Representative: J. D. Kearney, Canadian Ambassador to Argentina.

Thirteenth session, Geneva, July 30 — September 21, 1951. Representative: J. Lesage, M.P., Parliamentary Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs; Deputy Representative: J. Sinclair, M.P., Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of Finance.

Fourteenth session, New York, May 20 — August 11, 1952. Representative: J. Lesage, M.P., Parliamentary Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs.

Trusteeship Council

Eighth session, New York, January 30 — March 16, 1951.

Ninth session, New York, June 5 — July 30, 1951.

Tenth session, New York, February 27 — April 1, 1952.

Eleventh session, New York, June 3 — July 24, 1952.

Food and Agriculture Organization

Sixth session of the Conference, Rome, November 19 — December 6, 1951.

International Civil Aviation Organization

Fifth session of the Assembly, Montreal, June 5—10, 1951.

Sixth session of the Assembly, Montreal, May 27 — June 12, 1952.

International Labour Organization

Thirty-fourth session of the Conference, Geneva, June 6—30, 1951.

Thirty-fifth session of the Conference, Geneva, June 4—28, 1952.

International Refugee Organization

Seventh session of the General Council, Geneva, April 9—18, 1951.

Eighth session of the General Council, Geneva, October 22—27, 1951.

Ninth session of the General Council, Geneva, February 11—15, 1952.

International Telecommunications Union

Sixth session of the Administrative Council, Geneva, April 16 — May 12, 1951.

Seventh session of the Administrative Council, Geneva, April 21 — June 6, 1952.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Sixth session of the General Conference, Paris, June 18 — July 11, 1951.

Universal Postal Union

Thirteenth Universal Postal Congress, Brussels, May 14 — July 12, 1952.

World Health Organization

Fourth World Health Assembly, Geneva, May 7—25, 1951.

Fifth World Health Assembly, Geneva, May 5—22, 1952.

World Meteorological Organization

First Congress, Paris, March 19 — April 28, 1951.

Appendix 3

Report by Canada on Implementation of United Nations Recommendations on Economic and Social Matters.

(This report, which describes the Canadian Government's administrative procedures for handling United Nations matters, was forwarded to the Secretary-General on July 16, 1952 by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, in response to a request from the Secretary-General.)

Ever since the United Nations was established Canada has emphasized that, because of the autonomous character of each of the Specialized Agencies and because of the differences in the membership of the United Nations and the Agencies, effective co-ordination between the programmes, budgets and administrative practices of these organizations could be achieved only if each

country took steps to ensure that its delegations to the meetings of the organizations pursued co-ordinated and mutually consistent policies. Such co-ordination on the national level is all the more necessary as the activities of the United Nations and its Agencies cover practically every aspect of the modern state's preoccupations and therefore involve, directly or indirectly, almost every department of national governments.

The essence of the Canadian system of government is the responsibility of the Cabinet to Parliament — and through Parliament to the Canadian people — for the policies of the Government on all national and international issues. Thus a study of the machinery for formulating, implementing and co-ordinating Canadian policy on United Nations matters, or indeed on any subject, must begin by emphasizing the paramount importance of the Canadian Cabinet. It is the chief instrument of co-ordination because it bears the ultimate responsibility for co-ordination. This is not to say that Cabinet alone can propose policy, or that Cabinet unaided must co-ordinate policy. Broad responsibility for proposing, interpreting, implementing, and co-ordinating policy, through procedures which are described in detail in the following paragraphs, is vested in the different government departments. The task of Cabinet is facilitated to the extent that consultation takes place and agreement is reached between interested departments before a submission to Cabinet is made. Cabinet's final responsibility, however, cannot be delegated.

As the department of the Canadian Government entrusted with the conduct of foreign policy, the Department of External Affairs has general responsibility for Canadian relations with United Nations organizations. It exercises this responsibility in close co-operation with the other departments of the Canadian Government, the specialized functions and interests of which extend into the international field.

Allocation of Responsibility Among Departments

In respect of the recommendations of the United Nations on economic and social matters, the Department of External Affairs performs the following general functions:

- (a) it keeps the Government informed of major developments in the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies in order to enable it to assess the situation and determine the necessary action;
- (b) it formulates, either singly or with other departments, recom-

mendations on policy for consideration by the Government;

- (c) it makes recommendations, either singly or with other departments, to the Government for Canadian representation at international conferences and for the briefing of Canadian delegations;
- (d) it consults with the foreign ministries of other governments and with the Secretary-General on United Nations matters, through Canadian missions abroad and through the Canadian Permanent Delegations to the United Nations in New York and Geneva;
- (e) it provides general guidance and political advice to other departments and government agencies having special interest in specific aspects of the work of the United Nations, and acts as an agency co-ordinating their activities.

The Department of External Affairs has primary responsibility for advising the Government on international political questions and on the international political aspects of other questions discussed at meetings of United Nations bodies. It also deals in the first instance with a number of other questions which are not the direct concern of other departments, in particular constitutional and legal questions pertaining to United Nations bodies. The Department of External Affairs is also entrusted with making recommendations to the Government concerning Canadian relations with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. There is no department in the Canadian Government responsible for educational questions: provincial governments have sole jurisdiction in this field.

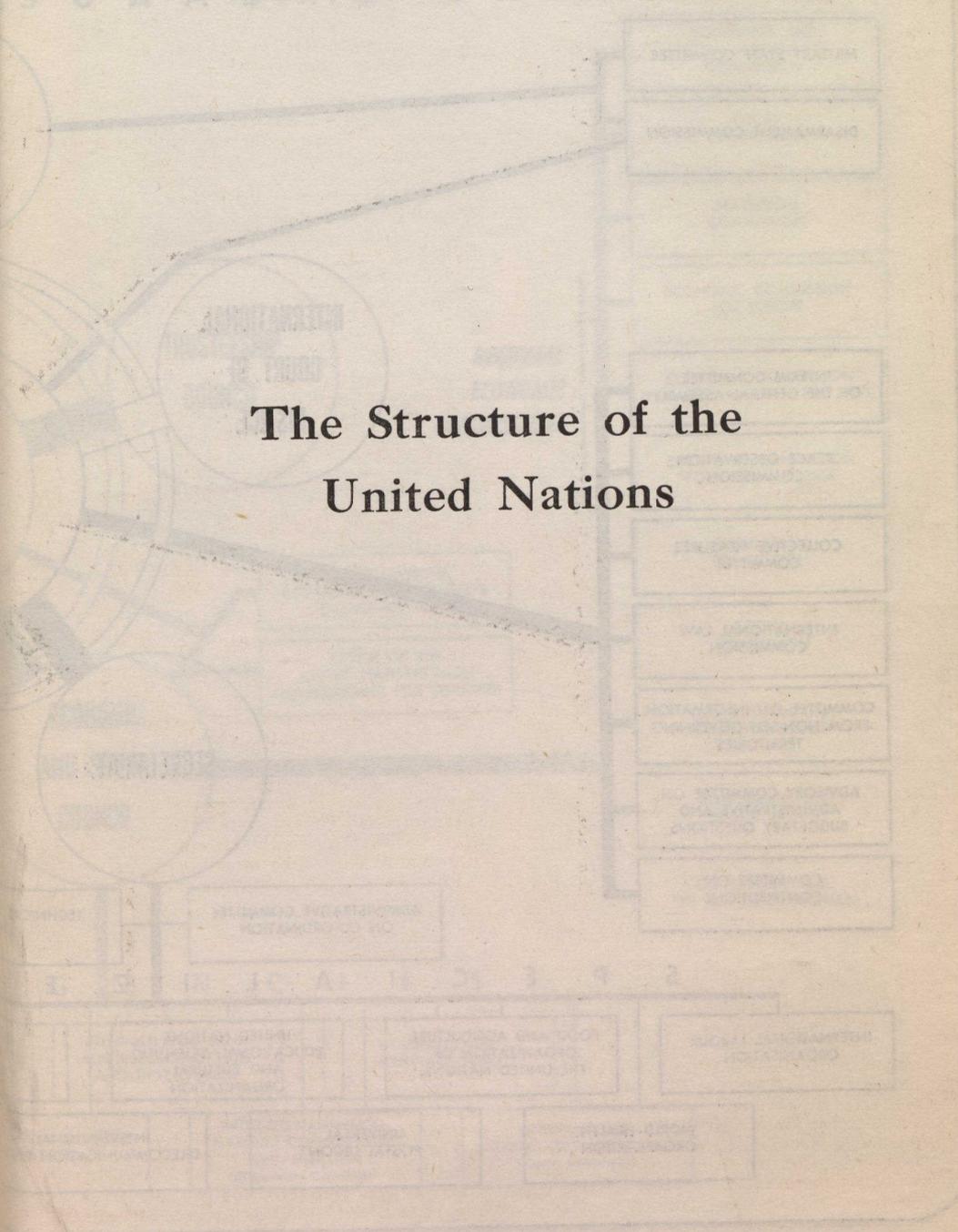
The Department of External Affairs usually assumes primary responsibility for consultation with other government departments, for the preparation of recommendations on policy, and for the subsequent interpretation and presentation of policy at international meetings. However, on matters of a technical or highly specialized nature falling directly within the jurisdiction of other departments, this responsibility may be shared with, or vested in, the interested departments. For example, the Minister of Finance, as Canadian member of the Boards of Governors of the International Bank and of the International Monetary Fund, is responsible for Canadian policies in these Agencies. The special interests of other departments or agencies of the Canadian Government are reflected by their participation in the formulation and presentation of Canadian policies in respect to the following United Nations bodies:

<i>Canadian Department</i>	<i>United Nations Body</i>
Agriculture	Food and Agriculture Organization
Citizenship and Immigration	Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees
Civil Service Commission	All United Nations bodies (personnel questions)
Dominion Bureau of Statistics	Statistical Commission of the Economic and Social Council
Finance	Population Commission of the Economic and Social Council
Finance (in consultation with the Bank of Canada)	All United Nations bodies (administrative and budgetary questions)
Justice	Fiscal Commission of the Economic and Social Council
Labour	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
National Defence	International Monetary Fund
National Health and Welfare	Human Rights Commission of the Economic and Social Council
Post Office	<i>Ad Hoc</i> Committee on Restrictive Business Practices of the Economic and Social Council
Transport	International Labour Organization
	Disarmament Commission
	Collective Measures Committee
	United Nations Military Observers (for example, in Kashmir)
	World Health Organization
	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
	Social Commission of the Economic and Social Council
	Narcotics Commission of the Economic and Social Council
	Universal Postal Union
	International Civil Aviation Organization
	International Telecommunications Union
	World Meteorological Organization
	Transport and Communications Commission of the Economic and Social Council.

The above list is not exhaustive. It is intended merely to indicate which Canadian departments have major and continuing functions with respect to various units in the United Nations system. In some instances, however, more than one department is involved. It is obvious, for instance, that the health and social security aspects of the work of the International Labour Organization require the attention of the Department of National Health and Wel-

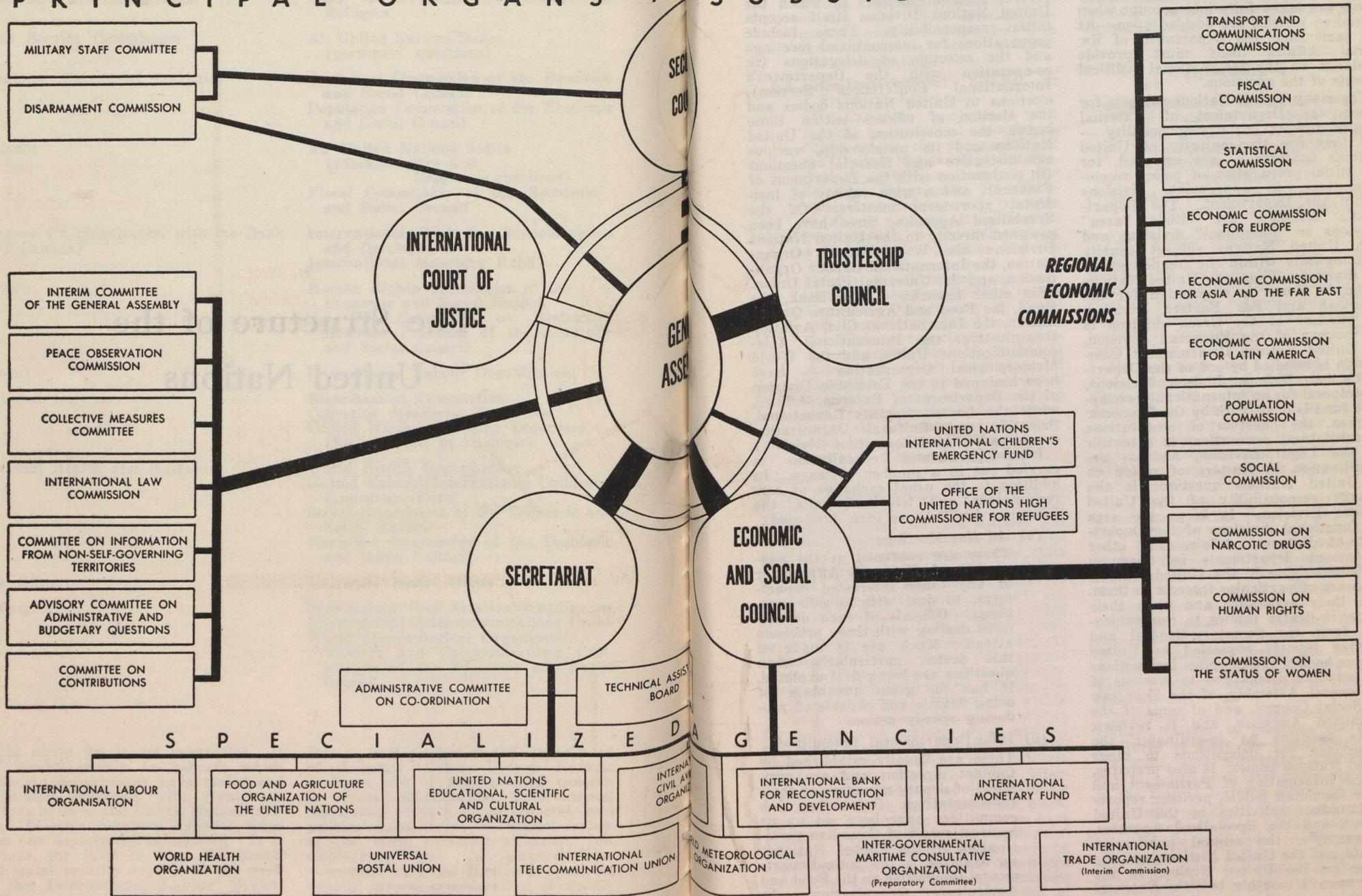
fare as well as that of the Department of Labour. Other United Nations problems are of almost equal concern to several departments. International discussions of such broad economic and political questions as the annual review of the world economic situation, full employment and the economic development of under-developed countries usually involve consideration of important policies affecting more than one department of the Canadian Govern-

The Structure of the United Nations



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ment. It is the duty of the Department of External Affairs to bring questions of this sort to the attention of the interested departments in order to ensure that the views of those departments are taken fully into account when Canadian policies are decided upon. At the same time, the Department of External Affairs itself must provide guidance on the international political aspects of the questions.

The many United Nations subjects for which the Department of External Affairs accepts initial responsibility — and they are the majority of United Nations subjects — are assigned, for the initial preparation of policy recommendations, to appropriate divisions within the Department. The Department's divisions are either "area" divisions or "functional" divisions and each United Nations subject usually falls logically within the competence of one division. Thus, the United Nations action in Korea is a question for the American and Far Eastern Division, the question of the Greek children is the concern of the European Division, the United Nations Disarmament Commission is handled by one of the Department's two Defence Liaison Divisions, the proposal for an international development fund is dealt with by the Economic Division, the question of reservations to multilateral conventions is a matter for the Legal Division, and so on. Co-ordination in matters of policy on *all* United Nations questions is the primary responsibility of the United Nations Division. It keeps the area and functional divisions of the Department of External Affairs and other government departments informed on problems arising in the United Nations which are of particular interest to them. With their assistance and upon their advice, it drafts replies to communications from the Secretary-General and prepares reports requested by United Nations bodies. It compiles instructions for Canadian delegations to sessions of the General Assembly, of the Economic and Social Council, and of some of the Specialized Agencies, and it reviews, in its function as co-ordinator, the instructions for delegations to other United Nations bodies. It also prepares, for the information of Parliament and of the Canadian public, periodic reports on Canadian activities in the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, for example, the annual publication *Canada and the United Nations*, and the section on the United Nations in the Department's monthly bulletin *External Affairs*.

The main function of the United Nations Division, therefore, is one of co-ordination rather than one of recommending policy. Nevertheless, there are several sorts of matters in which the United Nations Division itself accepts initial responsibility. These include preparations for international meetings and the selection of delegations (in co-operation with the Department's International Conferences Section), elections to United Nations bodies and the election of officers within those bodies, the constitution of the United Nations and its membership, various administrative and financial questions (in conjunction with the Department of Finance), and a wide variety of incidental short-term matters. Of the Specialized Agencies, three have been assigned directly to the United Nations Division: the World Health Organization, the International Labour Organization, and the Universal Postal Union. (Six other agencies — the Bank, the Fund, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Civil Aviation Organization, the International Telecommunications Union, and the World Meteorological Organization — have been assigned to the Economic Division of the Department of External Affairs, while the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization comes under the Information Division.)

Inter-departmental consultation is carried out in a number of ways. In addition to the usual exchange of correspondence and telephone calls, the following devices have been developed:

(a) *Ad Hoc* Meetings

These are convened at the suggestion of External Affairs, or of any other interested department, to deal with specific problems. Officials of each department dealing with those problems attend. Much use is made of this device, particularly when questions are being first explored. It has the great advantage of being flexible and capable of producing speedy action.

(b) Inter-Departmental Committees

These are usually established by Cabinet direction and are composed of deputy ministers or their representatives. Only a few such committees have been set up as a direct result of Canadian participation in the United Nations; an example is the Inter-Departmental Committee on the Food and Agriculture Organization. In general, however, United Nations

questions are referred whenever necessary to existing inter-departmental committees whose responsibilities are not confined to United Nations matters. Examples are the inter-departmental committees which deal with external trade, civil aviation and immigration.

(c) Inter-Departmental Group on Technical Assistance

All Canadian activities with regard to technical assistance, either under the programme of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies, under the Colombo Programme for Technical Co-operation, or in response to direct requests from foreign governments, are co-ordinated by a Technical Co-operation Service. This Service is a part of the International Economic and Technical Co-operation Division in the Canadian Department of Trade and Commerce. The Director of the Division reports to an Inter-Departmental Group on Technical Assistance, which supervises all Canadian technical assistance activities. Members of the Group are drawn from interested government departments and its chairman is an official of the Department of External Affairs.

Conclusion

The Canadian system for arriving at co-ordinated and mutually consistent policies in United Nations matters has two main features: responsibility and flexibility. Ultimate responsibility rests with a single body — the Canadian Cabinet — which approves and accepts responsibility for the policies which are to be advocated by Canada in United Nations bodies. Below this level, responsibility for a number of subjects is assigned to the different departments which have an interest in those subjects. Residual responsibility rests with the Department of External Affairs and, within it, with its United Nations Division, for dealing with subjects which are not the direct concern of any other department, and for ensuring that subjects which were not foreseen in the inter-departmental division of responsibility are dealt with in the appropriate place. The same department and division have primary responsibility for co-ordination of policy on all United Nations subjects, and for ensuring that all interested authorities are consulted before decisions are taken. Within this framework of responsibility, procedures have been

developed whose object is to provide the greatest possible degree of flexibility — to ensure that prompt, intelligent and consistent decisions are taken on the multitude of questions which arise as a result of Canada's association with the United Nations.

Appendix 4

**General Assembly Resolution No. 498
(V) of February 1, 1951: Inter-
vention of the Central People's
Government of the People's
Republic of China
in Korea**

(Vote: 44 in favour (including Canada),
7 against, 9 abstentions)

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 em-

ployed 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.

Appendix 5

General Assembly Resolution No. 502
(VI), January 11, 1952:
Disarmament

(Vote: 42 in favour (including Canada),
5 against, 7 abstentions)

The General Assembly,

Moved by anxiety at the general lack of confidence plaguing the world and leading to the burden of increasing armaments and the fear of war,

Desiring to lift from the peoples of the world this burden and this fear, and thus to liberate new energies and resources for positive programmes of reconstruction and development,

Reaffirming its desire that the United Nations develop an effective collective security system to maintain the peace and that the armed forces and armaments of the world be progressively reduced in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter,

Believing that a necessary means to this end is the development by the United Nations of comprehensive and co-ordinated plans, under international control, for the regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments, for the elimination of all major weapons adaptable to mass destruction, and for the effective international control of atomic energy to ensure the prohibition of atomic weapons and the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only,

Recognizing that a genuine system for disarmament must include all kinds of armed forces and armaments, must be accepted by all nations whose military resources are such that their failure to accept would endanger the system, and must include safeguards that will ensure the compliance of all such nations,

Noting the recommendation of the Committee of Twelve established by resolution 496 (V) that the General Assembly should establish a new commission to carry forward the tasks originally assigned to the Atomic Energy Commission and the Commission for Conventional Armaments,

1. *Establishes* under the Security Council a Disarmament Commission. This Commission shall have the same membership as the Atomic Energy Commission and the Commission for Conventional Armaments, and shall function under the rules of procedure of the Atomic Energy Commission with such modifications as the Commission shall deem necessary;

2. *Dissolves* the Atomic Energy Commission and recommends to the Security Council that it dissolve the Commission for Conventional Armaments;

3. *Directs* the Disarmament 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, for the elimination of all major weapons adaptable to mass destruction, and for effective international control of atomic energy to ensure the prohibition of atomic weapons and the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only. The Commission shall be guided by the following principles:

(a) In a system of guaranteed disarmament there must be progressive disclosure and verification on a continuing basis of all armed forces — including para-military, security and police forces — and all armaments including atomic;

(b) Such verification must be based on effective international inspection to ensure the adequacy and accuracy of the information disclosed; this inspection to be carried out in accordance with the decisions of the international control organ (or organs) to be established;

(c) The Commission shall be ready to consider any proposals or 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 international control of atomic energy to ensure the prohibition of atomic weapons and the use of atomic energy for peaceful purpose only;

(d) There must be an adequate system of safeguards to ensure observance of the disarmament programme, so as

Appendix 6

Regular Administrative Budgets of the United Nations and Specialized Agencies¹
and Annual Canadian Assessments

Organizations	Administrative Budgets				Canadian Assessments			
	1949 (Actual Expenditures)	1950	1951 (Appropriations)	1952 (Gross)	1949	1950	1951	1952
	(In Thousands of United States Dollars.) ²							
United Nations	42,575	43,746	47,799	48,097	1,297	1,059	1,413	1,438
Food and Agriculture Organization	4,654	4,505	5,025	5,525	190	225	205	237
International Civil Aviation Organization	2,555	2,946	2,857	3,110	117	113	115	128
International Labour Organization	5,034	5,267	6,270	6,550	188	233	241	239
International Refugee Organization	4,798	4,500 ³	5,029 ⁴	—	153	144	80	—
International Telecommunications Union	2,994	1,129	1,114	1,142	58	34	49	30
United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization	7,757	7,906	8,180	8,718	298	279	307	319
Universal Postal Union	297	302	350	336	8	9	8	9
World Health Organization	4,397	6,152	7,300	9,078	154	221	218	260
World Meteorological Organization	—	—	190 ⁵	267	—	—	5	7
	75,061	76,453	84,114	82,823	2,463	2,317	2,641	2,667

¹Exclusive of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund, whose operations are financially self-sustaining. In comparing 1952 appropriations and assessments with those for 1951, it should be noted that the International Refugee Organization went out of existence at the end of 1951.

²Since the budgets of most organizations are expressed in United States dollars all amounts in the above table are shown in that currency for purposes of comparison.

³For year ending June 30, 1950.

⁴For period July 1, 1950 to December 31, 1951.

⁵World Meteorological Organization began operating on April 4, 1951.

Appendix 7

**Budget Appropriations for the United Nations
for the Financial Year 1952**

Budget appropriations for 1952 are contained in two resolutions of the General Assembly, adopted on December 21, 1951 and February 4, 1952. The texts of these two resolutions are given below.

583 (VI). Budget appropriations for the financial year 1952.

The General Assembly,

Resolves that for the financial year 1952:

1. Appropriations totalling \$US48,096,780 are hereby voted for the following purposes:

A. UNITED NATIONS

		<i>Amount in Dollars US</i>
<i>PART I. Sessions of the General Assembly, the Councils, Commissions and Committees</i>		
<i>Section</i>		
1. The General Assembly, Commissions and Committees.....		1,401,500
2. The Security Council, Commissions and Committees.....		—
3. The Economic and Social Council, Commissions and Committees.....	130,300	
(a) Permanent Central Opium Board and Narcotic Drugs Supervisory Body	16,000	
(b) Regional Economic Commissions...	50,300	196,600
4. The Trusteeship Council, Commissions and Committees.....		50,000
TOTAL, PART I.....		1,648,100
<i>PART II. Investigations and inquiries</i>		
<i>Section</i>		
5. Investigations and inquiries.....		—
(a) United Nations Field Service.....		—
TOTAL, PART II.....		—
<i>PART III. Headquarters, New York</i>		
6. Executive Office of the Secretary-General	465,700	
(a) Library.....	440,000	905,700
7. Department of Security Council Affairs...		743,800
8. Military Staff Committee secretariat...		131,200
9. Technical Assistance Administration...		300,000
10. Department of Economic Affairs.....		2,167,200
11. Department of Social Affairs.....		1,605,000
12. Department for Trusteeship and Infor- mation from Non-Self-Governing Terri- tories.....		875,000
13. Department of Public Information.....		2,587,400
14. Department of Legal Affairs.....		428,000
15. Conference and General Services.....		7,275,000
16. Administrative and Financial Services...		2,800,000
17. Common staff costs.....		4,130,000
18. Common services.....		3,572,900
19. Permanent equipment.....		517,100
(a) Improvements to premises.....		91,500
TOTAL, PART III.....		28,129,800

to provide for the prompt detection of violations while at the same time causing the minimum degree of interference in the internal life of each country;

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

4. *Directs* the Commission, when preparing the proposals referred to in the preceding paragraph, to formulate plans for the establishment, within the framework of the Security Council, of an international control organ (or organs) to ensure the implementation of the treaty (or treaties). The functions and powers of the control organ (or organs) shall be defined in the treaty which establishes it;

5. *Directs* the Commission, in preparing the proposals referred to in paragraph 3 above, to consider from the outset plans for progressive and continuing disclosure and verification, the implementation of which is recognized as a first and indispensable step in carrying out the disarmament programme envisaged in the present resolution;

6. *Directs* the Commission, in working out plans for the regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments:

(a) To determine how over-all limits and restrictions on all armed forces and all armaments can be calculated and fixed;

(b) To consider methods according to which States can agree by negotiation among themselves, under the auspices of the Commission, concerning the determination of the over-all limits and restrictions referred to in sub-paragraph (a) above and the allocation within their respective national military establishments of the permitted national armed forces and armaments;

7. *Directs* the Commission to commence its work not later than thirty days from the adoption of the present resolution and to report periodically, for information, to the Security Council and to the General Assembly, or to the Members of the United Nations when the General Assembly is not in session. The Commission shall submit its first report not later than June 1, 1952;

8. *Declares* that a conference of all States should be convened to consider the proposals for a draft treaty (or treaties) prepared by the Commission as soon as the work of the Commission shall have progressed to a point where in the judgment of the Commission any part of its programme is ready for submission to governments;

9. *Requests* the Secretary-General to convene such a conference when so advised by the Commission;

10. *Requests* the Secretary-General to furnish such experts, staff and facilities as the Commission may consider necessary for the effective accomplishment of the purposes of the present resolution.

	<i>Amount in Dollars US</i>	
PART IV. <i>United Nations Office at Geneva</i>		
20. United Nations Office at Geneva (excluding direct costs, chapter III, joint secretariat of the Permanent Central Opium Board and Narcotic Drugs Supervisory Body).....	4,285,120	
Chapter III, joint secretariat of the Permanent Central Opium Board and Narcotic Drugs Supervisory Body.....	55,700	4,340,820
(a) Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.....		500,000
TOTAL, PART IV.....		4,840,820
PART V. <i>Information centres</i>		
21. Information centres (other than information services, United Nations Office at Geneva).....		892,300
TOTAL, PART V.....		892,300
PART VI. <i>Regional Economic Commissions (other than the Economic Commission for Europe)</i>		
22. Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East.....		973,800
23. Economic Commission for Latin America.....		734,700
TOTAL, PART VI.....		1,708,500
PART VII. <i>Hospitality</i>		
24. Hospitality.....		20,000
TOTAL, PART VII.....		20,000
PART VIII. <i>Contractual printing</i>		
<i>Section</i>		
25. Official Records (excluding chapter VI, Permanent Central Opium Board and Narcotic Drugs Supervisory Body).....	816,040	
Chapter VI, Permanent Central Opium Board and Narcotic Drugs Supervisory Body.....	8.960	825,000
26. Publications.....		850,000
TOTAL, PART VIII.....		1,675,000
PART IX. <i>Technical programmes</i>		
27. Advisory social welfare functions.....		768,500
28. Technical assistance for economic development.....		479,400
29. Programme for training in public administration.....		145,000
TOTAL, PART IX.....		1,392,900
PART X. <i>Special expenses</i>		
30. Transfer of the assets of the League of Nations to the United Nations.....		649,500
31. Amortization of the Headquarters construction loan.....		1,000,000
TOTAL, PART X.....		1,649,500

B. THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

	<i>Amount in Dollars US</i>
PART XI. <i>The International Court of Justice</i>	
32. The International Court of Justice	639,860
TOTAL, PART XI	639,860

C. SUPPLEMENTARY PROVISIONS

PART XII. *Supplementary provisions*

33. Investigations, inquiries and other activities	5,500,000	
TOTAL, PART XII		5,500,000
GRAND TOTAL		48,096,780

2. The appropriations voted by paragraph 1 above shall be financed by contributions from Members after adjustment as provided by the Financial Regulations, subject to provision of paragraph 1 of the resolution relation to the Working Capital Fund. For this purpose, miscellaneous income for the financial year 1952 is estimated at \$US6,399,800;

3. No expenditures shall be made from the funds appropriated under part XII until the General Assembly has specifically approved them under the provision of Article 18, paragraph 2, of the Charter, except that expenditures not in excess of one-twelfth of the amounts expended in the fiscal year 1951 for investigations and inquiries and the United Nations Field Service may be expended without such authorization by the General Assembly and provided further that the appropriations in part XII shall not in any way prejudice any future decision of the General Assembly;

4. The Secretary-General is authorized:

(i) To administer as a unit the appropriations provided under section 3 (a), section 20, chapter III, and section 25, chapter VI;

(ii) With the prior concurrence of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, to transfer credits between sections of the budget;

5. In addition to the appropriations voted by paragraph 1 above, an amount of \$US14,000 is hereby appropriated for the purchase of books, periodicals, maps and library equipment, from the income of the Library Endowment Fund in accordance with the objects and provision of the endowment;

6. In the event that the General Assembly fails to confirm or reduces any appropriation herein voted, the Member States shall receive a proportionate credit on contributions due or a proportionate refund of contributions paid.

*357th plenary meeting,
21 December 1951*

592 (VI). Authorization of expenditures for the financial year 1952

The General Assembly

1. *Resolves* that, in accordance with paragraph 3 of its resolution 583 (VI) adopted on 21 December 1951, expenditures totalling \$US 5,524,970 for the financial year 1952 are hereby authorized in the amounts shown for the following sections:

A. UNITED NATIONS		<i>Amount is Dollars US</i>
<i>Section</i>		
1.	The General Assembly, Commissions and Committees	42,100
3.	The Economic and Social Council, Commissions and Committees . .	9,970
5.	Investigations and inquiries	2,350,300
5(a)	United Nations Field Service	510,000
16.	Administrative and Financial Services	100,000
20.	United Nations Office at Geneva	20,000
20(a)	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees	139,100
25.	Official Records	23,500
31(a)	Headquarters construction costs	1,000,000
C. SUPPLEMENTARY PROVISIONS		
34.	Cost-of-living adjustment at Headquarters	1,330,000
TOTAL		5,524,970

2. *Authorizes* the Secretary-General:

(i) To finance the expenditures authorized by paragraph 1 above up to \$5,500,000 by transfer from section 33 (Investigations, inquiries and other activities) of the 1952 budget and for the balance, amounting to \$24,970, by transfer of credits from other sections of the 1952 budget;

(ii) To transfer credits from section 34 (Cost-of-living adjustment at Headquarters) to the various sections concerned of the 1952 budget.

*373rd plenary meeting,
4 February 1952.*

Appendix 8

Percentage Scales of Contributions to the United Nations and Certain Specialized Agencies
for the Fourteen Main Contributing Countries

FISCAL YEAR 1952

	United Nations	FAO	ICAO ¹	ILO	UNESCO	WHO ¹	WMO ¹
United States of America.....	36.90	30.00	24.97	25.00	33.33	33.33	12.67
United Kingdom.....	10.56	14.37	8.06	13.15	11.59	11.40	6.86
U.S.S.R.....	9.85	—	—	—	—	6.30 ²	4.75
France.....	6.31	6.40	5.19	7.78	6.31	5.96	5.28
China.....	5.75	3.08	—	3.04	6.31	5.96 ²	2.64
India.....	3.53	4.41	3.13	4.17	3.88	3.23	3.38
Canada.....	3.35	4.54	4.53	4.03	3.68	3.18	2.64
Australia.....	1.77	1.90	3.20	2.44	1.94	1.95	2.64
Sweden.....	1.73	2.01	2.40	2.22	1.90	2.03	2.11
Argentina.....	1.62	1.74	2.93	2.31	1.78	1.84	2.64
Brazil.....	1.62	1.45	2.73	2.36	1.78	1.84	2.64
Belgium.....	1.35	1.70	2.20	1.77	1.48	1.34	2.11
Netherlands.....	1.27	1.63	2.93	1.37	1.39	1.39	—
Union of South Africa.....	.90	.91	1.86	1.37	.99	1.11	2.11

The International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development are omitted from the above table, since they are not financed by contributions. Also omitted are the Universal Postal Union (the members of which, for purposes of determining contributions, belong to one of six classes ranging from one unit to twenty-five units), and the International Telecommunications Union (whose members are divided into eight groups ranging from one unit to thirty units), as the method of assessment used by these organizations does not offer a basis of comparison with the scales of contributions of the other Agencies.

¹These Agencies use the unit method of allocating their expenses among member states. For purposes of comparison the units have been changed to percentages.

²The U.S.S.R. and China no longer consider themselves members of WHO, but are still regarded as members by the Agency.

Appendix 9

United Nations Documents

Printed documents of the United Nations may be procured in Canada through the Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. W., Toronto, Ontario (English), and Les Presses Universitaires Laval, Quebec (French). UNESCO documents may be procured from the University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Ontario (English), and Le Centre de Publications Internationales, 4234 Rue de la Roche, Montreal, P.Q. (French). Mimeographed United Nations documents are available to the general public by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat, New York; and to university staffs and students, teachers, libraries and non-governmental organizations from the United Nations Department of Public Information, New York.

Complete sets of United Nations documents may also be consulted at the following centres in Canada:

- University of British Columbia (English printed and mimeographed documents).
- Provincial Library of Manitoba (English printed and mimeographed documents).
- University of Toronto (English printed and mimeographed documents).
- Library of Parliament, Ottawa (English and French printed documents and English mimeographed documents).
- McGill University (English printed and mimeographed documents).
- Laval University (French printed documents).
- Dalhousie University (English printed and mimeographed documents).
- University of Montreal (French printed documents).
- Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Toronto (English printed and mimeographed documents).

Appendix 10

Publications of the Department of External Affairs

The following is a list of publications relating to the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, issued by the Department of External Affairs during 1951 and 1952.

1. *Canada and the United Nations*, 1950, 190 pp.; printed; Queen's Printer, Ottawa, Canada: 50 cents. (Editions for the years 1947, 1948 and 1949 are still available from the Queen's Printer at 50 cents each.)
2. *Statements and Speeches*
 Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, free on request.
 - 51/2 Statement made in the First (Political) Committee of the United Nations General Assembly.
 - 51/3 Statement made in the First (Political) Committee of the United Nations General Assembly, explaining the Canadian vote on the Arab-Asian and United States resolutions on Korea.
 - 51/13 The Role of the United Nations in a Two-Power World.
 - 51/21 Aspects of Canadian External Policy.
 - 51/23 The Price of Peace.
 - 51/32 Freedom of Information.
 - 51/41 The United Nations Today and Tomorrow.
 - 51/46 Canadian Statement at the General Assembly.
 - 51/47 Disarmament Proposals Before the United Nations.
 - 51/50 The Economic Development of Under-Developed Areas.
 - 52/10 Canada and Technical Assistance to Under-Developed Countries.
 - 52/27 Full Employment and Economic Stability.
3. *External Affairs*

Monthly bulletin of the Department of External Affairs. Obtainable from the Queen's Printer, Ottawa, annual subscription \$1.00 per year, students 50 cents. Each issue contains a section on current developments in the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies. In addition, special articles on subjects relating to the United Nations and Specialized Agencies appear from time to time.

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