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MEMBERS OF CONGRESS FOR PEACE THROUGH LAW

Suite 210 • 201 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E. • Washington, D. C. • 202-544-4250

FEB 19 1970

February 13, 1970

TO: MCPL Members.

FROM: F. Bradford Morse, Chairman

Attached is the letter to President Nixon, signed by 73 members of MCPL, urging him to invite the Secretary-General of the United Nations to pay a State Visit to Washington during the week of June 22nd, as part of the commemoration of this 25th Anniversary Year of the United Nations. The letter was sent to the White House on February 13.

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS FOR PEACE THROUGH LAW

Suite 210 • 201 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E. • Washington, D. C. • 202-544-4250

February 12, 1970

The Honorable Richard M. Nixon
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

As you know, 1970 is the 25th Anniversary Year of the founding of the United Nations. During this Anniversary Year, we hope that it will be possible to recapture the spirit of optimism and confidence that marked the founding of the United Nations in 1945.

We hope that we can call renewed attention to the positive accomplishments of the United Nations, to the effective steps it has taken to prevent major military confrontations, and to means by which the machinery of the United Nations system can be strengthened and made more effective. Members of Congress for Peace Through Law intends to devote a considerable portion of its 1970 program to this end.

It is in this spirit that we hope that you will consider inviting the Secretary-General of the United Nations to pay a State Visit to Washington. Perhaps such an invitation might be issued for the week of June 22nd in view of the 25th Anniversary of the adoption and signing of the United Nations Charter on June 25th and June 26th.

We believe that such an invitation would be consistent with your own long-standing support for the United Nations and with the actions of every Administration since the founding of the United Nations.

Should such an invitation be accepted, we would hope that the Secretary-General might be given an opportunity to address a Joint Session of the Congress. This would mark the first occasion on which a United Nations Secretary-General addressed the Congress.

We, the undersigned Members of Congress, would be pleased to participate in any appropriate way in making this commemoration of the adoption of the United Nations Charter appropriate and meaningful for all Americans. We would be honored to organize and sponsor a luncheon or dinner in the Secretary-General's honor to which would be invited all of the Members of the House and Senate, members of your Administration concerned with United Nations affairs, and private citizens with a demonstrated interest and desire for the success of the United Nations in achieving a world in which all nations can be at peace with one another.

We sincerely hope that you will give this suggestion your careful consideration and early approval.

Sincerely,

Senators Edward Brooke, Alan Cranston, Charles Goodell, Philip Hart, Mark Hatfield, Harold Hughes, Jacob Javits, George McGovern, Charles Mathias, Walter Mondale, Frank Moss, Edmund Muskie, Gaylord Nelson, Robert Packwood, Claiborne Pell, Richard Schweiker, Joseph Tydings, and Harrison Williams

Congressmen Thomas Ashley, Jonathan Bingham, Edward Boland, Richard Bolling, John Brademas, George Brown, Daniel Button, Jeffery Cohelan, Silvio Conte, John Conyers, James Corman, John Dellenback, Bob Eckhardt, Joshua Eilberg, Paul Findley, Donald Fraser, Peter Frelinghuysen, Jacob Gilbert, Gilbert Gude, Michael Harrington, Seymour Halpern, William Hathaway, Augustus Hawkins, Henry Helstoski, Frank Horton, Robert Kastenmeier, Edward Koch, Robert Leggett, Allard Lowenstein, Richard McCarthy, Paul McCloskey, Clark MacGregor, Abner Mikva, Patsy Mink, William Moorhead, F. Bradford Morse, Charles Mosher, John Moss, Richard Ottinger, Claude Pepper, Thomas Rees, Ogden Reid, Henry Reuss, Donald Riegle, Benjamin Rosenthal, Edward Roybal, William Ryan, James Scheuer, Fred Schwengel, William St. Onge, Louis Stokes, Frank Thompson, John Tunney, Morris Udall, and Sidney Yates

won the war. I am bringing the boys home."

JAVITS SUPPORTS U.N. GENOCIDE CONVENTION

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I commend the President of the United States for sending to the Senate for ratification the United Nations Convention on Genocide. President Nixon's decision to re-submit this convention to the Senate is an act of high statesmanship and reflects his and the Nation's dedication to basic human rights and humane values. I wish also to commend the Secretary of State for his role in bringing about the administration decision on this matter.

I must also congratulate the Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. PROXMIRE) who has waged such a stirring and relentless fight on behalf of this and the other human rights conventions. For the past 3 years, I believe, the Senator from Wisconsin has spoken daily on these matters and has thus acted as the guardian of the Senate's conscience and as the most articulate spokesman of the many private organizations which have worked for these many years on behalf of this convention.

I am particularly conscious of this aspect because many of the most active and dedicated private groups in this field are centered in New York. In commending President Nixon, Secretary Rogers, and my colleague Senator PROXMIRE, I am giving voice to the views of the many dedicated and concerned New Yorkers who have given so much of themselves to further this cause.

I wish also to record my personal tribute to the late Professor Lemkin of the Yale University law faculty. Professor Lemkin waged a virtual one-man battle on behalf of this convention at certain crucial stages and is the person who actually coined the phrase "genocide" which this convention carries as part of its identification. It is regrettable that Professor Lemkin did not live to witness this vindication of his work and views with regard to international legal action against the heinous crime of genocide. I hope that his family and friends will know how much we all are aware of our debt to professor Lemkin for his work.

Public sentiment was aroused in this effort by Professor Lemkin, Senator PROXMIRE, and others, and I think it is an altogether most splendid initiative by the President of the United States. As I am not always able to agree with my President, I want to take every opportunity I can to express my support when I do agree with him thoroughly, as I do in this case. I have supported this convention from its very inception and have worked for its resubmission and ratification for the past 2 years.

I am a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations. I shall make every effort to bring about the earliest possible consideration of this treaty. It is in keeping with the humane and just outlook of the United States which is so traditional with us as a people, without cupidity or designs upon others, but with a deep passion for humanity and justice in the world, I think it is a strange anomaly

that we have been among the last, rather than the first, to ratify this treaty. I hope we will repair that blemish and pay our debt to mankind at the earliest possible moment, now that the Genocide Convention has become an active subject of consideration again as a result of the Nixon administration's initiative.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. GRIFFIN. I commend the distinguished senior Senator from New York for focusing attention upon this recommendation and initiative by the administration. It is one that is long overdue, and I wish to associate myself with the remarks of the distinguished senior Senator from New York.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the Senator very much.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD an article published in this morning's New York Times.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NIXON URGES SENATE TO RUSH GENOCIDE PACT, STALLED SINCE 1950

(By James M. Naughton)

WASHINGTON, February 19—President Nixon urged the Senate today to ratify the 1949 United Nations agreement outlawing genocide.

Sources on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, where the genocide agreement has languished about 21 years, expressed concern that a Senate vote could lead either to an embarrassing defeat or to only a narrow victory "unless the President is willing and able to twist arms."

In a message to the Senate, the President said, "We should delay no longer in taking the final convincing step which would reaffirm that the United States remains as strongly opposed to the crime of genocide as ever."

State Department officials said the issue was being raised now because the United States wished to join with other nations in identifying genocide as an international crime. They also indicated the timing was related to the ratification by Britain last week.

Some observers regard the genocide agreement as legally meaningless. Despite occasional accusations of genocide—including one leveled at the United States by North Vietnam last year—the State Department could not recall that any legal proceedings had been initiated under the agreement since it went into force in 1951.

Senator J. W. Fulbright, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, said he had no comment on the genocide agreement. "I haven't thought about it for months," he said.

There were no immediate indications whether Mr. Nixon would actively seek support for ratification of the agreement by states-rights advocates and Southern conservatives, who traditionally have been reluctant to grant their consent.

Mr. Nixon acted today on the advice of Secretary of State William P. Rogers, who said in a letter to the President Feb. 5 that it was "anomalous" for the United States to fail to ratify the agreement formally after having played a leading role in drafting it.

Officially called the Convention of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the agreement bans attempts to wipe out national, ethnic, racial or religious groups by killing their members, or deliberate attempts to cause "serious bodily or mental harm to large numbers of members of such groups.

SUBMITTED BY TRUMAN

The convention was submitted to the Senate in 1950 by President Harry S. Truman, but it never got beyond hearings of a foreign relations subcommittee.

In 1954, President Dwight D. Eisenhower's Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, opposed seeking ratification of the agreement on the ground that it could conflict with state or Federal law. At the time, Mr. Rogers was a Deputy Attorney General.

Because international treaties normally supersede laws within a country, states-rights advocates have viewed the genocide convention as a threat to state jurisdiction over murder cases.

Mr. Nixon told the Senate that Attorney General John N. Mitchell "concurs in the Secretary of State's judgment that there are no constitutional obstacles to United States ratification."

Supporters of the convention in the Senate have feared that Southern conservatives would see racial undertones in it and would vote against it.

"It's possible a conservative President would be more likely to get it through the Senate," said one Congressional source today.

The United Nations agreement came into force, in the nations that had ratified it, on Jan. 12, 1951. It has now been ratified by 75 nations, including the Soviet Union, which acted in 1954.

Mr. Nixon's message said that he regretted "some of our detractors have sought to exploit our failure to ratify this convention to question our sincerity." Ratification at this time "would be in the national interest," he said.

North Vietnam accused the United States of genocide last November, after the charges of a massacre of South Vietnamese civilians by American troops at Songmy in March, 1968.

Mr. Rogers recommended that the President ask the Senate to make it clear the United States understood the prohibition against "mental harm" to mean "permanent impairment of mental faculties."

The American Bar Association has been opposed to approval of the convention for 20 years. Last December the association's section on individual rights and responsibilities urged reversal of the stand.

If the agreement was approved by the Senate, implementing legislation would have to be adopted to put it into effect. The President said he was not proposing any specific legislation "at this time," but said his Administration would be prepared to discuss the subject during Senate consideration of the convention.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted to proceed for the next 15 minutes.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CHURCH. I yield.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Will the Senator ask unanimous consent that he may proceed for 15 minutes notwithstanding the unfinished business being laid down at 12 o'clock, so that he will not be interrupted?

Mr. CHURCH. I ask unanimous consent that that be done.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Young of Ohio in the chair). The Senate will please be in order. The Chair would instruct the Sergeant at Arms to keep the Chamber clear and compel all attachés to be seated, and to make sure

that this order is enforced throughout the remainder of the day. Furthermore, when any attaché so ordered again offends the Sergeant at Arms' direction, that such attaché be removed altogether from the Chamber.

The Senator from Idaho may proceed.

THE ATOM: ITS DANGEROUS AFTERMATH

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, in recent months we have witnessed in the country a healthy awakening to the dangers inherent in environmental pollution. The crisis has been documented. It is obvious that we are severely degrading our very life support—the thin, fragile blanket of air, soil and water which surrounds the planet earth.

Like other Members of the Senate, I am deeply concerned about all aspects of pollution. I welcome the fact that at long last public attention is being focused on the problem and that we are beginning to grope for solutions.

In the midst of the environmental crisis which now confronts us, however, we must not overlook one major segment of the problem—a segment which may very well be of greater potential danger than the common forms of air and water pollution which now plague us. I speak of the emerging hazard of accumulated radioactive nuclear wastes.

In the past 25 years, utilization of the atom has grown from the wartime mission of mass destruction to peacetime uses which hold great promise for the future of man. These peacetime uses of nuclear energy are constantly expanding in new and hopeful directions. Already we use the atom to cure the sick, to desalinate ocean waters, to generate electric power. Within a few years, this source of energy may heat our homes and factories, preserve our food, power our public and private transportation and do countless other chores, thus helping to conserve our finite and rapidly diminishing supply of precious fossil fuels.

The question, however, is, At what price?

In the past, we have always purchased technological and scientific advances on credit. That is, in our headlong pursuit of material affluence, we have ignored longterm accounting, seizing immediate profits with little concern given to subsequent costs. The day of reckoning is now upon us. We are paying for the use of hard pesticides with the poisoning of many forms of life. The cost of careless, rampant industrialization is massive air and water pollution.

Thus, as we move into an age which will inevitably turn more and more toward nuclear energy, I am concerned that we reflect, while we still have time, on what the environmental cost of this latest scientific technology is going to be, and that we begin to do something about easing that cost now.

Pollution from nuclear waste is far different from pollution from ordinary fuels. You cannot see it, you cannot smell it. But it is potentially far more deadly.

At present, large amounts of high-yield, radioactive waste solutions are

generated and stored by Atomic Energy Commission installations throughout the United States. In all, over 80 million gallons of such wastes have already been produced and stored in the United States.

These are high-level wastes with extremely long lifespans. In some cases, such wastes will retain their radioactivity for 20,000 years—a time span six times longer than all recorded history.

No method has yet been devised for decontaminating these wastes. Like Humpty-Dumpty, the atom—once split—stays split. Currently, the wastes are stored in tanks or encased in cement or other containers, then buried underground, at sea or in salt formations. The trouble is that these methods of storage cannot be made totally safe. We are storing nuclear waste in conveniently remote places, knowing full well that we are passing on a lethal legacy to future generations.

Last year, the Atomic Energy Commission spent only two-tenths of 1 percent of its budget on research and development of nuclear waste disposal management. Over the past 25 years, the AEC has spent only \$50 million on disposal research. This figure comes to just 2½ percent of the cost of the \$2 billion Manhattan project which ushered in the nuclear era.

In my own State of Idaho, we have an example of the potential danger of current radioactive waste disposal methods. It has recently been disclosed that radioactive wastes from the National Reactor Testing Station in eastern Idaho, as well as wastes from the Rocky Flats Fuel Fabrication Facility in Colorado, are being buried above the Snake Plain Aquifer, a vast underground reservoir which feeds rivers and streams throughout southern Idaho and, ultimately, the Pacific Northwest.

In 1968, the Rocky Flats operation contributed 350,000 cubic feet of wastes to the storage facilities in Idaho. In 1969, the amount was 250,000 cubic feet. A severe at the Rocky Flats plant in 1969, however, is expected to drastically increase the amount of wastes to be buried in Idaho. The Atomic Energy Commission estimates that 200,000 cubic feet of wastes attributable to the Rocky Flats fire remain to be shipped to Idaho for burial in 1970 and 1971.

At present, these wastes are monitored to determine whether radioactive particles are escaping into the environment. But the question is whether present methods of storage are adequate for the contingencies of the future.

Last week, it was reported in the Washington Post that a group of Colorado scientists have claimed that—

Enough radioactive plutonium has leaked from the Atomic Energy Commission's plant at Rocky Flats Colo. to contaminate the ground and water around it for a distance of seven miles.

Three days later, the Post reported in a second article that the AEC "acknowledged that radioactive plutonium leaked out of the agency's Rocky Flats, Colo., plant." The leakage, it was explained, could have resulted from the 1969 fire, from escape through smoke-

stacks, or from barrels of polluted machine oil.

I recommend a careful reading of these accounts in the Washington Post, and ask unanimous consent that they be inserted in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, in Idaho there have been no reports of radioactivity escaping from storage areas into the ground, water, or air. On the other hand, the Public Health Service has just completed a study, at my request, which recommends additional safety measures be undertaken.

Noting that the procedure employed in burying wastes at the Idaho site is to place the residue in trenches, cover them and then provide backfill, the PHS study reported:

From a public health and safety standpoint, the waste burial site must provide a protective barrier so that radioactivity will be confined to the waste burial pits. The control mechanism which limits any movement of radioactivity from the site is dependent upon such factors as solubility, permeability of the soil, ion exchange capacity, availability of water, and distance to the source of potable water. . . . Substantial thicknesses of continuous layers of alluvial soil beneath the burial ground would be expected to provide a barrier to migrating radionuclides through ion-exchange. However, there is a lack of data on geology and lithology beneath the burial site. The closest drill holes which have been logged are several miles away. It must, therefore, be considered conceivable that continuous cracked and/or channeled basalt [lava] formations could extend from the bottom of the burial pits and trenches to the aquifer. Until more information on subsurface geology at the burial ground becomes available, the separation distance to the aquifer cannot be considered as a protective barrier. It is therefore recommended that a minimum of two feet of alluvial soil be required beneath all buried wastes.

At the same time, the Public Health Service found that—

Snow melts have occurred in recent years which caused the flooding of trenches for periods as long as 30 days. . . . Flood control measures for the burial should, therefore, be taken to prevent any accumulation of water in the trenches and pits.

These recommendations are in line with the testimony several years ago of the U.S. Geological Survey before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. Water, the testimony noted:

Is a universal solvent, so fission products, whether solid or liquid, radioactive or stable, may be picked up by water and carried in solution. Solubility, moreover, is a relative term. Practically nothing is absolutely insoluble in water, and "insoluble" radioactive materials may be dissolved in sufficient quantity to make water highly dangerous.

In sum, Mr. President, the time has come to launch an adequate research program to develop safe and sure methods for the disposal of nuclear waste, not only in Idaho, but throughout the Nation. To further delay the undertaking is folly. We have been down that path before, and we have paid for the journey with the smog smothering our cities and the filth which fouls our rivers

prehensive regulations embodying the management plan in the manner specified in Section 553 of Title 5 of the United States Code. No management plan shall be adopted by the Secretary unless it has been concurred in by the Council on Environmental Quality.

(h) In making his written findings of fact and conclusions pursuant to subsection (a) of section 466t and in the development and adoption of management plans pursuant to this section, particular activities and uses shall not be permitted in specific areas covered by the management plan except upon the Secretary's findings, supported by clear and convincing evidence, that such activities and uses can be conducted in such areas without significant risks of environmental damage or conflicts among uses. In no event shall any management plan afford a lesser degree of protection to the marine environment than that degree of protection afforded by the laws and regulations of the coastal State or States to marine areas under State jurisdiction which are situated adjacent to or in the vicinity of the area covered by such management plan.

Sec. 466u. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of section 466o-466t.

**SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 173—
INTRODUCTION OF A JOINT RESOLUTION AUTHORIZING A GRANT TO DEFRAY A PORTION OF THE COST OF EXPANDING THE UNITED NATIONS HEADQUARTERS**

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, by request, I introduce for appropriate reference a joint resolution to authorize a grant to defray a portion of the cost of expanding the United Nations headquarters.

The joint resolution has been requested by the Secretary of State and I am introducing it in order that there may be a specific resolution to which Members of the Senate and the public may direct their attention and comments.

I reserve my right to support or oppose this resolution, as well as any suggested amendments to it, when the matter is considered by the Committee on Foreign Relations.

I ask unanimous consent that the joint resolution be printed in the Record at this point, together with the letter from the Secretary of State to the Vice President dated February 7, 1970.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the joint resolution and letter will be printed in the Record.

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 173) authorizing a grant to defray a portion of the cost of expanding the United Nations headquarters in the United States, introduced by Mr. FULBRIGHT, by request, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S.J. Res. 173

Whereas the Congress authorized the United States to join with other governments in the founding of the United Nations;

Whereas the Congress unanimously, in H. Con. Res. 75 (79th Congress), invited the United Nations to establish its headquarters in the United States, which invitation was accepted by the United Nations;

Whereas the United States has continued to serve as host to the United Nations;

Whereas the membership of the United Nations has increased substantially and the Organization has outgrown its existing facilities;

Whereas the General Assembly of the United Nations in December 1969 authorized the construction, subject to suitable financing arrangements, of an additional headquarters building south of and adjacent to the present headquarters site on land to be made available without charge by the City of New York;

Whereas the total financial burden of expanding its headquarters in New York would severely strain the resources of the United Nations;

Whereas a special contribution by the United States as the host government would constitute a positive act of reaffirmation of the faith of the American people in the future of the United Nations;

Be it Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Secretary of State out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, a sum not to exceed \$20,000,000, to remain available until expended, for a grant to be made at the discretion of the Secretary of State, to the United Nations to defray a portion of the cost of the expansion and improvement of its Headquarters in the City of New York on such terms and conditions as the Secretary of State may determine. Such grant shall not be considered a contribution to the United Nations for purpose of any other applicable law limiting contributions.

The letter, presented by Mr. FULBRIGHT, is as follows:

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
Washington, February 7, 1970.

DEAR MR. VICE PRESIDENT: I respectfully propose for your consideration the enclosed joint resolution to authorize a grant of not more than \$20 million to defray a portion of the cost of expanding the Headquarters of the United Nations in New York.

The physical facilities at UN Headquarters are not adequate to the requirements of an organization which has more than doubled in membership since its original plant was constructed almost twenty years ago and has substantially expanded the scope of its activities. There is a serious shortage of office space. Overcrowding has resulted and it has been necessary to scatter in rental locations various departmental components which should be functioning as integral units in adjacent accommodations. Moreover, arrangements for document storage, reproduction of documents and language training are both makeshift and inadequate, as are the Organization's facilities for supporting the work of UN staff and personnel of delegations at official meetings and conferences.

The rental of office space outside the original Headquarters site is both expensive and inefficient. Rental charges add over \$1 million to the 1970 UN regular budget and this figure is expected to reach \$2 million by 1973. Additionally, rental expenditures by the UN Development Program and the UN Children's Fund will amount to approximately \$900,000 in 1970 and are likely to be appreciably higher in subsequent years.

At its most recent session, last fall, the UN General Assembly examined the results of a detailed architectural and engineering survey of the proposed additions and major alterations to the existing Headquarters premises. After extensive debate, the Assembly authorized the new construction, provided that the financial burden on the regular budget of the United Nations not exceed

\$25 million of the estimated total of \$80 million.

If the Congress authorizes and appropriates a U.S. grant of \$20 million towards the proposed Headquarters construction, the Mayor of New York has stated that he will match the Federal contribution. In addition, the City of New York will make available the land south of 42nd Street on which the new building would be constructed, subject to the replacement of the park now on that site by a pile-supported recreation area adjacent to the building site on the East River. In addition, the UN Development Program and the UN Children's Fund, which would be accommodated in the new building, are expected to make lump-sum contributions calculated on the basis of the rentals which these organizations would have paid over some ten years, had they remained in rental premises. Full efforts will also be exerted to obtain maximum financial support from private sources.

Early Congressional authorization and appropriation of the requested contribution are essential to the timely creation of a viable financial package. If the total financing plan could be ready for review and approval by the UN's Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ) at its June session, actual construction could begin in November 1970. If construction began this promptly, present cost estimate levels would not be rendered obsolete by rises in building costs above those already anticipated. While authorization and appropriation of U.S. Government funds is needed as soon as possible, no actual expenditure of U.S. Government funds would occur before fiscal year 1972.

Host governments have customarily defrayed some or all of the accommodations costs of international organizations situated on their territory, in part because they had invited the organizations to locate there and in part in recognition of the often sizeable gains realized by the economies of host countries. To cite one recent example, the Austrian Government will build a \$25 million United Nations Center at its own expense and lease the building for occupancy by the International Atomic Energy Agency and the United Nations Industrial Development Organization for 99 years at the nominal rent of one Austrian schilling per annum.

In my view, both the United States and the United Nations would benefit from the expansion of the United Nations Headquarters in New York. The United Nations would benefit by being able to keep related activities together and thereby provide unified and efficient direction to them. Similarly, the United States would be better able to supply the constructive leadership required for an effective United Nations. Moreover, American citizens, who are needed for many tasks of the United Nations and for contributing to that Organization's efficiency can be more readily recruited for service in this country than for duty abroad. Finally, the gain in the U.S. balance of payments which would result from UN personnel working in the proposed new Headquarters building in New York, instead of overseas, is conservatively estimated at \$12 million annually and in all probability would be much more.

Fully recognizing the importance of the most stringent approach to expenditures by the U.S. Government, I nevertheless consider it to be in the national interest that the necessary expansion of the United Nations take place in the United States and not elsewhere and I respectfully request prompt consideration by the Congress of the attached legislative proposal.

The Department has been advised by the Bureau of the Budget that there is no objection to the presentation of this legislation

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ular basis the reports and results of the studies and investigations and programs authorized by subsection (a) of this section.

Sec. 466r. (a) The Secretary shall establish by regulation in the Department of the Interior an Inter-Agency Committee on Marine Resources Management to be comprised of one representative each of the Departments of Defense, State, Transportation, Health, Education and Welfare, Housing and Urban Development, and Commerce, and the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, the Director of the National Science Foundation, and the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. The Committee shall assist the Secretary in the development of management plans for the management and protection of the marine environment.

(b) (i) Whenever the Secretary is advised by the Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality, the head of any Department or Agency of the United States or other organization named in subsection (a) of this section, or the Governor of any coastal State of the United States or a State bordering on the Great Lakes, that any present or proposed use or uses of the marine environment involves a potential risk of serious environmental damage or potential risk of serious conflict with present or likely future uses of the marine environment, and (ii) whenever any submerged lands under the jurisdiction of the Secretary are proposed to be offered for leasing for oil and gas or sulphur or other minerals, or (iii) whenever it appears to the Secretary that such action is desirable, he shall immediately publish notice pursuant to subsection (e) of section 466s of his intention to develop a management plan, and shall thereafter proceed with the development of a management plan, for the area identified as being susceptible of potential environmental damage, or within which risks of conflicts among uses may occur, or the area proposed to be offered for leasing, or the area which he judges should be the subject of a management plan. No submerged lands under the jurisdiction of the Secretary shall be leased for oil and gas or sulphur or any other mineral after the expiration of three years from the effective date of these amendments unless such leasing is accomplished in accordance with a management plan developed, approved, and implemented in accordance with the provisions of sections 446p-466u.

Sec. 466s. (a) The development of management plans shall be preceded by public notice given in the manner prescribed by subsection (b) of this section and shall reflect the results of the inventories and studies required by subsection (c) of this section, the analyses specified in subsection (d) of this section, and information developed in the course of consultations and public hearings pursuant to subsection (e) of this section in the manner specified in section 466t.

(b) The notice required by subsection (b) of section 466r of the Secretary's intention to develop a management plan for an area shall be published in the *Federal Register* and in a newspaper of general circulation in the general vicinity of the area for which the management plan will be developed. The notice shall indicate that a management plan will be developed for the marine environment in the area described in the notice, indicate that uses of the area involved will be affected by adoption of the management plan, describe the area for which the management plan will be developed, describe the procedural steps by which the management plan will be developed, and state that an opportunity will be extended to all interested persons to express their views and recommendations with respect to development of the management plan.

(c) As soon as practicable after publication of the notice of intention to develop a management plan for an area of the marine

environment pursuant to subsection (b) of section 460r, the Secretary shall develop an inventory of the plant and animal life and non-living resources and intangible values of the area, studies of the physical and ecological factors and systems present in the area, and an inventory of present uses and forecasts of future uses of the area.

(d) Concurrently with development of the inventories and studies conducted under subsection (c) of this section, the Secretary shall analyze the characteristics of the plant and animal life and non-living resources and intangible values of the area, the physical and ecological factors and systems present in the area, and the characteristics and purposes of the present and future uses of the area with a view to developing a comprehensive, detailed model or models of the area which will adequately describe the systems existing in the area and their responses to the activities presently being conducted in the area and also provide reliable predictions of the longer-range effects of present uses of the area and reliable predictions of the effects of future activities upon the systems and resources existing in the area. In analyzing the present and future uses of the area, the Secretary shall develop information on the frequency and seriousness of present conflicts among uses of the area and the effects of such conflicts on the marine environment, and projections of the frequency and seriousness of future conflicts among such uses, including estimates of the probably frequency of such conflicts, and the types and degrees of seriousness of potential damages to the marine environment resulting from such conflicts. The Secretary also shall include in his analysis under this subsection an investigation of available technological, managerial, or other means of preventing or reducing the adverse impact of activities conducted in the marine environment on the marine environment and on other uses of it and shall identify present and future needs for new or improved technological or other means of preventing or reducing the adverse effects of particular types of activities on the marine environment or on other uses of the marine environment.

(e) In conducting the inventory under subsection (c) of this section and the analyses required by subsection (d) of this section, the Secretary shall consult with the Advisory Committee on the Marine Environment established by section 466p and shall request all interested Departments and Agencies of the Federal Government to prepare and submit to him written reports concerning their interests in the present and future uses of the area for which a management plan is being developed for commercial and sport fisheries, production of fuel and other mineral resources, marine transportation, enjoyment of scenic beauty and other nonexploitative recreational purposes, scientific research, national defense, and other uses together with their recommendations with respect to the final form, content, and operation of the management plan. In developing the inventory and analyses, the Secretary shall solicit the views and recommendations of the Governor of the coastal State or States in the vicinity of the area for which a management plan is to be developed and invite the views and recommendations of industry and other interested groups and may hold public hearings in the vicinity of such area for the purpose of obtaining the views and recommendations of other interested persons.

(f) The reports of inventory and analyses conducted pursuant to subsections (c) and (d) of this section, the reports submitted by the interested Departments and agencies of the Federal Government, the submissions by the Governor of coastal States and by industry and other interested groups, and the records of any public hearings held by the Secretary shall be included in the administrative record of the proceedings for the de-

velopment of the management plan and shall be public documents which shall be made available upon request and payment therefor to any interested person.

Sec. 466t. (a) After completion of the inventory and analyses under subsections (c) and (d) of section 466s and receipt of the views and recommendations of the Governors of coastal States, interested industry and other groups, and other interested persons under subsection (e) of section 466s, the Secretary shall make comprehensive written findings of fact and written conclusions concerning the area of the marine environment which will be subject to the management plan and shall develop a comprehensive management plan for the area of the marine environment described in the notice issued pursuant to subsection (b) of section 466r which shall preserve the quality of the marine environment at the highest practicable level and enhance the quality of the marine environment to the highest practicable level where damage to the marine environment already has taken place, prevent or minimize the adverse effects of present and future activities in the marine environment on such environment and its resources and values, and prevent or minimize conflicts among competing uses of the marine environment.

(b) The management plan shall identify, describe the locations of, and afford appropriate protection for plant and animal life, ecological systems, and recreational and other values which are so unique or valuable or important that they should not be exposed to the risks associated with particular uses of the marine environment and describe any areas of the marine environment which present special hazards of environmental damage or conflicts among uses or which exhibit unique or unusually valuable characteristics or values.

(c) The management plan shall be expressed in the form of public regulations which shall be consistent with international law and which will provide a mandatory guide for the use of the land and water areas covered by it. To the maximum degree permitted by international law and agreements, it shall include such prohibitions, constraints, and conditions upon the conduct by citizens of the United States and of foreign nations of specified activities within specific areas covered by it as are appropriate to the protection of the environmental features within such areas or any other areas in which the effects of such activities within the specified areas might be manifested or are necessary to prevent or minimize conflicts among uses of such areas.

(e) Upon completion of the management plan for an area of the marine environment, the Secretary shall submit such plan to the Advisory Committee on the Marine Environment and to the Council on Environmental Quality. Upon request of any interested party and after not less than thirty days' notice, he shall hold one or more public hearings in the general vicinity of the area covered by the management plan at which all interested parties shall be given an opportunity to express their views with respect to any matter pertaining to the management plan.

(f) After considering the views of the Advisory Committee and the Council on Environmental Quality, and after reviewing the record of any public hearing held pursuant to subsection (e) of this section, the Secretary shall affirm or modify, as appropriate, the written findings and conclusions made pursuant to subsection (a) of section 466t, and the management plan, if necessary, and submit it together with his written findings and conclusions to the Council on Environmental Quality for its concurrence.

(g) Upon the concurrence of the Council on Environmental Quality, the Secretary shall adopt and order the implementation of the management plan and shall publish com-

tion knows that every voter owns at least one car.

"Whereas the displaced," he continued, "is all by himself. He's got no allies. He is living in his home and suddenly the boom is lowered on him and he learns he is going to lose his house whether he likes it or not.

"He has no political muscle. There aren't so many of him and there's nobody lobbying for him."

Well, almost nobody. For more than a year, Zubrensky has been the county's loudest voice in behalf of the thousands of people who have been, or may be, uprooted by freeway projects.

That voice will be muted Dec. 17, when Zubrensky's five year term on the commission ends. A liberal Democrat appointed by his former boss, Gov. John Reynolds, he says he has no illusions about being reappointed by Republican Gov. Knowles.

But he is not worried. He believes the relocation issue has enough momentum to run on its own now and points to progress made:

The expressway commission now allows displaced to live in the homes bought for freeway purposes for two months without paying rent.

His idea of an appeals tribunal, which can recommend that displaced be given an additional six months in homes taken for freeways, has been put into effect.

His proposal for a county relocation agency is moving successfully through the county's legislative machinery.

He helped draft the relocation bill of Assemblyman Dennis Conta (D-Milwaukee), which would enable the state to take advantage of the liberalized relocation payments authorized by the 1968 federal highway act.

Last week, in an interview in his downtown law office where he is surrounded by the mementos of his involvement in liberal and Democratic activities—a signed picture of LBJ, a painting of the state capitol, an award from the Wisconsin Civil Liberties Union—he talked about the commission and his role on it.

"In the first two years of my five year term, the expressway commissioners were really expected to come to the meetings and spend a cheerful hour being briefed by the staff on how to vote.

"Then the next hour we'd have just dozens of items thrown at us, many of which we really didn't understand very well, and we would cheerfully get a recommendation that the staff favored this or did not favor this.

UNANIMOUS ACCEPTANCE

"The chairman would say, 'Is there a motion?' and someone would say 'I move that we accept staff's recommendation' and someone else would say 'I second it' and all those in favor would say 'aye' and it would always pass unanimously."

"I realized," Zubrensky said, "that it's really an overwhelming job to disagree with the staff. You have to follow staff recommendations because, if you don't, you begin having to do the work by yourself that the staff has over a hundred people doing."

Thus ran Zubrensky's career on the commission for the first couple of years.

He traces his activism on the part of displaced to a single television program on channel 10 in which residents of Milwaukee's inner core participated.

"I was sitting in my living room one night and a black lady got up and—these were all informal settings on television—and she began denouncing the expressway commission, saying that she knew lots of people who were black like herself who had been displaced by the expressways and there wasn't anyone doing a damned thing about it."

"CROWDED CONDITIONS"

"She said that people were doubling up and living in crowded conditions with other

families and it was a disgrace," said Zubrensky.

"And, as I watched that program, I said: 'My God, that's me, I'm on the commission and I'm doing all this.'"

"It shook me up," he continued. "I began to look into it and I found a condition which was beyond my belief."

Not only were there no relocation provisions in the federal highway programs, as there were for urban renewal programs, but no records existed at the county of persons already displaced, he said.

"We don't even know whom we've displaced today, so that if we wanted to we couldn't find them to see whether they are still living doubled up, as I believe many families are," said Zubrensky.

IMPROVEMENT SOUGHT

Early in July, 1968, Zubrensky made a report to the expressway commission in which he called the relocation program "pitifully inadequate" and encouraged a slowdown on the freeway building program until aids were improved.

Such a condition was made possible, Zubrensky said, because "the expressway commissioners come once a month and these problems never confront them."

As for the staff he said, "these men are primarily engineers. I think the self-image of the engineers is that they have a job to do and that is to build highways."

However, he said, the staff helped him when he requested information and he had little trouble, when he could make a persuasive case for his proposals, in mustering a majority of votes on the commission.

HAS NO PLANS

For the first time in a long time Zubrensky, 47, has no plans for a public role after he leaves the commission.

His role as maverick on the expressway commission has brought the commission solidly into the relocation issue and perhaps caused it, in Zubrensky's words, to accept a broader responsibility than building freeways.

"I think my responsibilities go beyond that. They go to see to it that we don't damage a minority of people to benefit the majority. In a democratic society, this is often a tough job."

ADMINISTRATION POLICY REVIEW ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENTIONS—WHERE IS IT?

Mr. PROXMIER, Mr. President, it has been reported that the Nixon administration earlier this year had begun a major review of policy on a series of treaties aimed at protecting human rights. These treaties were, of course, the Human Rights Conventions on Genocide, Political Rights of Women, Forced Labor and Racial Discrimination. This was disclosed in May by Mrs. Rita Hauser, who was appointed by the administration to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. She referred to the policy review in a speech bitterly assailing the United States' record of refusing to approve the treaties.

Her position is very pleasing to me. I have been trying to do this daily for the last 2 years in an effort to persuade the Foreign Relations Committee to report these treaties to the floor of the U.S. Senate. This is the only obstacle in the way of ratifying treaties that our Presidents have very enthusiastically recommended. The treaties seem to be overwhelmingly approved by the American people, and there is every moral reason for us to support them.

In a speech before the annual meeting of the American Jewish Committee at the Waldorf-Astoria, Mrs. Hauser noted that the United States' failure to ratify these treaties has prompted questions about the Government's sincerity. She protested that the word "hypocritical" was frequently applied.

Since that time there has been no word from either the White House or the State Department on the administration's position of these treaties. Is there such a policy review? Has it been completed, or is it still underway? I would hope and request that the administration make known its position on these human rights treaties. And I would hope that the administration would lend its weight in behalf of these Conventions on Genocide, Political Rights of Women, Forced Labor, and Racial Discrimination.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. PROXMIER, Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CHURCH, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. RIBICOFF in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE BATTLE FOR VIETNAMESE SELF-DETERMINATION MUST BEGIN IN SAIGON

Mr. CHURCH, Mr. President, President Nixon has declared that our irreducible goal in Vietnam is to guarantee self-determination for the South Vietnamese people. At a recent press conference, the President declared that we are willing to negotiate on anything except, "the right of the South Vietnamese to choose their own leaders."

The Saigon government's feelings about free elections, however, differ greatly from our own. As I am sure other Members of the Senate remember, one of President Thieu's first official acts was to arrest the man who was the runnerup in the last Vietnamese election.

Mr. Truong Dinh Dzu, who campaigned on a peace platform in the September elections of 1967, was placed under house arrest shortly after election day—at a time when he was pressing charges of fraud in an effort to invalidate the results. In July 1968, he was tried on charges of "activities that weaken the anti-Communist spirit of the South Vietnamese armed forces and people." Specifically, Mr. Dzu's campaign had advocated negotiations with Hanoi and talks with the National Liberation Front, leading to a coalition government. Mr. Dzu was found guilty, and is now serving a sentence of 5 years at hard labor.

Mr. President, that trial went far toward revealing the absence of genuine freedom in South Vietnam. Today, when the negotiations that Mr. Dzu called for are supposedly underway, his continued imprisonment is a black blot upon the government we support.

S. 3088

A bill to authorize the disposal of tungsten from the national stockpile and the supplemental stockpile

Be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Administrator of General Services is hereby authorized to dispose of approximately one hundred million pounds (W content) of tungsten now held in the national stockpile established pursuant to the Strategic and Critical Materials Stock Piling Act (50 U.S.C. 98-98h) and the supplemental stockpile established pursuant to section 104(b) of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, 68 Stat. 456, as amended by 73 Stat. 607. Such disposition may be made without regard to the requirements of section 3 of the Strategic and Critical Materials Stock Piling Act: *Provided*, That the time and method of disposition shall be fixed with due regard to the protection of the United States against avoidable loss and the protection of producers, processors, and consumers against avoidable disruption of their usual markets.

SEC. 2(a) Disposals of the material covered by this Act may be made only after publicly advertising for bids, except as provided in subsection (b) of this section or as otherwise authorized by law. All bids may be rejected when it is in the public interest to do so.

(b) The material covered by this Act may be disposed of without advertising for bids if—

(1) the material is to be transferred to an agency of the United States;

(2) the Administrator determines that methods of disposal other than by advertising are necessary to protect the United States against avoidable loss or to protect producers, processors, and consumers against avoidable disruption of their usual markets; or

(3) sales are to be made pursuant to requests received from other agencies of the United States in furtherance of authorized program objectives of such agencies.

S. 3089

A bill to authorize the disposal of castor oil from the national stockpile

Be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Administrator of General Services is hereby authorized to dispose of approximately eighteen million five hundred thousand pounds of castor oil now held in the national stockpile established pursuant to the Strategic and Critical Materials Stock Piling Act (50 U.S.C. 98-98h). Such disposition may be made without regard to the requirements of section 3 of the Strategic and Critical Materials Stock Piling Act: *Provided*, That the time and method of disposition shall be fixed with due regard to the protection of the United States against avoidable loss and the protection of producers, processors, and consumers against avoidable disruption of their usual markets.

SEC. 2. (a) Disposals of the material covered by this Act may be made only after publicly advertising for bids, except as provided in subsection (b) of this section or as otherwise authorized by law. All bids may be rejected when it is in the public interest to do so.

(b) The material covered by this Act may be disposed of without advertising for bids, if—

(1) the material is to be transferred to an agency of the United States;

(2) the Administrator determines that methods of disposal other than by advertising are necessary to protect the United States against avoidable loss or to protect producers, processors, and consumers against avoidable disruption of their usual markets; or

(3) sales are to be made pursuant to requests received from other agencies of the United States in furtherance of authorized program objectives of such agencies.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION

S. 2228

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at the next printing, the name of the Senator from Texas (Mr. TOWER) be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 2228) to provide for the increase of capacity and the improvement of the operations of the Panama Canal, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

S. 2524

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at the next printing, the name of the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. SCHWEIKER) be added as a cosponsor of S. 2524, to adjust agricultural production, to provide a transitional program for farmers, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

S. 2636

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at the next printing, the name of the Senator from Utah (Mr. BENNETT) be added as a cosponsor of S. 2636, a bill to make the provisions of the Vocational Educational Act of 1963 applicable to individuals preparing to be volunteer firemen.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 61

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at the next printing, my name be added as a cosponsor of Senate Joint Resolution 61, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSOR OF AMENDMENTS

AMENDMENT NO. 240

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. WILLIAMS), I ask unanimous consent that, at the next printing of amendment No. 240 to S. 2821, the Public Transportation Assistance Act, the name of the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY) be added as a cosponsor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 254

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at the next printing, the name of the Senator from Montana (Mr. METCALF) be listed as a cosponsor of amendment No. 254 to H.R. 13270, to reform the income tax laws. His name was originally omitted through clerical error.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MILWAUKEE COMMISSIONER ZUBRENSKY FIGHTS FOR HELP FOR UPROOTED FAMILIES

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, one aspect of the Nation's highway program which has received far less attention than it deserves is the question of displaced families.

We spend a great deal of time worrying about the rising costs of highway construction, forecasts of traffic increases, automobile accidents and highway safety, and automobile air pollution. This is as it should be. But these concerns have, unfortunately, tended to eclipse another issue involved in highway construction, and one that is every bit as important; namely, what happens to the people whose homes are paved over with concrete?

The reaction of most people to this question is—"well, aren't they compensated?" The answer is yes; if—and this is a big if—they happen to own their own homes. Then there is compensation for the property that is taken, and possibly other reimbursement as well.

But what about those who rent dwelling space in the path of the highway onslaught? Who provides for them? Where do they go? Amazingly, no one has answers to these questions. These displaced tenants are forced to fend for themselves, to find new rental space elsewhere. And, in the housing crunch in which this country now finds itself, alternative housing is not always available.

I am pleased to report that in Wisconsin at least, someone is worrying about these problems, and attempting to do something about it. That someone is Leonard S. Zubrensky, a member of the Milwaukee expressway commission, and a man with some excellent ideas about how to solve these problems. Some of his ideas include an appeals tribunal which can recommend that displacees be given up to 6 months in homes taken for freeways, a county relocation agency to enable the State to take advantage of liberalized provisions of the 1968 Highway Act, and provisions which would give displacees up to 2 months rent free in homes bought for freeway purposes.

Mr. President, I think Mr. Zubrensky's efforts on behalf of displacees deserve both our commendation and our attention. His farsighted ideas which are now being tried in Milwaukee deserve to be tried on the Federal level as well. I hope they will be.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article about Mr. Zubrensky in this Sunday's Milwaukee Journal be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEW LOBBY FOR UPROOTED FAMILIES

(By Paul G. Hayes)

When one of Milwaukee's expressway commissioners views a freeway, it isn't cars he sees, but sacred cows moving at will, as in India, among the needy.

"The automobile," said Leonard S. Zubrensky last week, "has been a sacred cow in American life for so long because every poli-

For Ref: UN

Bruce

DART
INDUSTRIES INC.

DEC 4 1969

JUSTIN DART
PRESIDENT

November 25, 1969

Mr. John Cowles, Sr.
425 Portland
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55415

Dear John:

At your recent high level seminar at Battle Lake, I made a half facetious, half serious comment about the United Nations. I was making a comparison with another public body (I forget which one) and said "like the UN, it didn't do much but it was absolutely essential as a communications vehicle."

Our beloved friend, Paul Hoffman, took it upon himself to give me a cursory education on the very important and effective work being done by the UN Development Program. I am taking the liberty of asking Paul to send each of you the literature he sent to me. In the meanwhile, I am sending you a copy of the contributors to this program.

While it is quite true that the United States is the largest contributor, it is tremendously encouraging to note the broad base of financial participation.

To my very dear friend Paul, I say thanks for the enlightenment and I apologize for my impudent ignorance.

Warm regards,



cc: Glendalough participants

THE CONTRIBUTIONS ROLL-CALL

Country	First Pledge to the UNDP (or to EPTA/ Special Fund combined)		Country	First Pledge to the UNDP (or to EPTA/ Special Fund combined)		Country	First Pledge to the UNDP (or to EPTA/ Special Fund combined)	
	(AMOUNTS EXPRESSED IN U.S. DOLLAR EQUIVALENTS)	Pledge for 1969		(AMOUNTS EXPRESSED IN U.S. DOLLAR EQUIVALENTS)	Pledge for 1969		(AMOUNTS EXPRESSED IN U.S. DOLLAR EQUIVALENTS)	Pledge for 1969
Afghanistan	\$ 18,500	\$ 119,000	Guinea	\$ 20,000	\$ (a)	Norway	\$ 828,783	\$ 5,249,895
Albania	4,000	4,000	Guyana	100,000	110,000	Pakistan	274,998	1,017,600
Algeria	80,000	250,000	Haiti	36,400	(a)	Panama	5,000	58,000
Argentina	199,692	430,000	Holy See	2,000	5,000	Paraguay	22,000	(a)
Australia	1,307,500	1,451,000	Honduras	5,000	5,000	Peru	40,000	140,000
Austria	150,000	1,335,014	Hungary	85,216	66,666	Philippines	132,000	500,000
Barbados	7,500	10,000	Iceland	7,953	26,318	Poland	200,000	450,000
Belgium	687,500	2,200,000	India	1,025,000	3,000,000	Portugal	25,000	(a)
Bolivia	20,000	30,000	Indonesia	64,517	120,000	Romania	33,334	166,666
Botswana	4,170	5,600	Iran	100,495	430,000	Rwanda	2,000	5,500
Brazil	954,412	1,150,000	Iraq	84,006	220,000	Saudi Arabia	50,000	300,000
Bulgaria	29,412	64,500	Ireland	39,000	140,000	Senegal	40,000	50,000
Burma	45,000	100,000	Israel	65,000	218,000	Sierra Leone	20,000	50,000
Burundi	18,286	(a)	Italy	1,000,000	3,000,000	Singapore	30,000	80,000
Byelorussian SSR	100,000	150,000	Ivory Coast	6,000	30,000	Somalia	1,000	2,000
Cambodia	8,171	14,286	Jamaica	30,000	65,000	South Africa, Union of	20,000	(a)
Cameroon	8,000	30,000	Japan	615,000	4,000,000	Southern Yemen	960	960
Canada	4,000,000	12,500,000	Jordan	40,000	47,002	Spain	100,000	325,000
Central African Republic	7,000	4,000	Kenya	25,000	25,000	Sudan	146,350	160,000
Ceylon	25,000	175,000	Korea, Republic of	13,500	190,000	Swaziland	1,400	1,400
Chad	60,406	(a)	Kuwait	250,000	300,000	Sweden	3,005,992	18,500,000
Chile	107,993	275,848	Laos	6,000	12,000	Switzerland	810,998	2,800,000
China	40,000	127,000	Lebanon	23,438	(a)	Syrian Arab Republic	15,707	20,942
Colombia	143,193	250,000	Lesotho	10,000	7,500	Tanzania, United Rep. of	2,000	70,028
Congo (Brazzaville)	2,032	4,100	Liberia	35,000	65,000	Thailand	198,186	355,000
Congo, Dem. Republic of	105,000	(a)	Libya	16,000	250,000	Togo	5,000	6,500
Costa Rica	10,053	5,000	Luxembourg	7,000	40,000	Trinidad and Tobago	60,000	90,000
Cuba	130,000	85,000	Madagascar	8,102	24,490	Tunisia	4,000	130,000
Cyprus	8,400	16,800	Malawi	2,500	7,000	Turkey	420,000	603,000
Czechoslovakia	173,888	554,016(b)	Malaysia	25,000	90,000	Uganda	2,100	(a)
Dahomey	40,650	4,082	Maldives	1,000	1,000	Ukrainian SSR	250,000	375,000
Denmark	984,509	15,600,000	Mali	12,215	54,082	USSR	2,000,000	3,000,000
Dominican Republic	35,000	10,000	Malta	2,400	7,200	United Arab Republic	402,069	436,982
Ecuador	19,444	112,500	Mauritania	30,000	30,000	United Kingdom	3,240,000	12,960,000
El Salvador	8,700	9,700	Mexico	147,000	500,000	United States	22,036,079	70,300,000
Ethiopia	49,187	90,000	Monaco	3,039	2,672	Upper Volta	5,000	5,000
Finland	150,000	1,600,000	Mongolia	10,000	12,000	Uruguay	120,000	172,500
France	2,627,356	4,214,676	Morocco	30,000	214,143	Venezuela	390,000	870,000
Gabon	4,000	49,465	Nepal	6,000	8,820	Viet-Nam, Republic of	42,400	22,000
Gambia	2,000	3,000	Netherlands	3,642,105	8,583,333	Yemen	2,000	2,000
Germany, Fed. Republic of	1,666,666	10,250,000	New Zealand	280,000	504,032	Yugoslavia	266,667	692,640
Ghana	72,100	250,000	Nicaragua	6,429	28,000	Zambia	14,000	60,000
Greece	55,000	290,000	Niger	16,000	24,490			
Guatemala	20,000	27,000	Nigeria	210,025	93,332			
						Total		\$196,445,680

(a) Burundi, Chad, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Guinea, Haiti, Lebanon, Paraguay, Portugal, South Africa (Union of), Uganda—Pledges for the year 1969 not announced at time of publication.

(b) Subject to confirmation.

"Our confidence in the role of the United Nations in development assistance is reflected by the fact that we channel 50% of our total aid through the UN and the specialized agencies."

THE INDEPENDENT OBSERVER

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Nov. 3, 1969

Reporting on the significance of events at the UN as frequently as their importance warrants
Marion H. McVitty, Editor Edward W. McVitty, Publisher 41 W. 10 St., New York 11, N. Y.

The Soviet Union's New Policy Pattern

In recent months, the Soviet Union has taken some striking initiatives to improve its relations with the People's Republic of China and with West Germany. These initiatives have been accompanied by others looking toward regional security arrangements for Asia and for Europe as a whole. As is often the case, United Nations discussion has served to reveal these new departures as part of a larger Soviet policy in which the overall pattern is discernible.

This policy pattern emerged in the Assembly's Political Committee on the question of "Strengthening International Security". This item was proposed by the USSR and was given high priority on the Assembly agenda. The draft "Appeal to All States of the World" in which the Soviet proposal was embodied, and the reaction to it by other UN Members, indicated the impact which the evolving Soviet program could have on the mainstream of international politics.

The subject of the Soviet draft Appeal was welcomed by most UN delegations as of major importance at a time when international security seems most threatened, and the UN most impotent to remedy the situation. The text, itself, and the explanatory statements by Soviet representatives are full of temptations for the frustrated.

An appeal "to all States in the world" suggests a new approach to contacts with mainland China and other governments not Members of the Organization. The appeal calls for removal of foreign troops in the context of ending all forms of colonialism. Regional security arrangements between East and West Europe are suggested which raise hopes for a reduction of tension where the forces of the Super Powers confront each other most directly. Proposed measures to make the Security Council more effective are particularly desirable at this moment when unanimous decisions of that body have been defied.

Nevertheless, three features of this Soviet proposal, as presented, immediately engendered grave misgivings among small and large nations alike.

The withdrawal of foreign troops was to apply to United States forces, and other "imperialist" or "neo-colonialist" forces, including those of Israel in Arab States. At the same time, it was obviously not to apply to Soviet forces in Czechoslovakia. This discrimination was quickly recognized as a potential sanction for intervention in the domestic affairs of States within regional security groupings, which the Appeal also proposes to establish.

The draft Appeal specifies that regional security arrangements must include all States within each region. Thus the two Super Powers would be included in their respective regions, with the probable result that each would exert

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a disproportionate influence over smaller nations in those areas. Since in most geographic regions some nations are highly incompatible, conflicts between them would, presumably, be prevented by those regional members powerful enough to lay down the law. East and West Europe were to be a single security region, and in explanatory statements the USSR pointed out that it is both a European and an Asian nation.

Once regional security arrangements were in effect, the United Nations Security Council would have the duty to ensure "peaceful co-existence". In short, the meaning of the Charter would be reinterpreted, so that the function of the Organization would be reduced to regulating relations between "States having different social systems".

Whatever the merits of some isolated features of the Soviet plan for "strengthening international security," the plan as a whole would change the present balance of power beyond recognition, and would legalize the hegemony of the Super Powers within their respective spheres of influence.

Those results, once understood, were so unacceptable that the Soviet draft Appeal has no chance of adoption as it stands. Many delegations urged that action on the proposal be postponed, and that the crucial issue of international security be re-studied as part of the substantive matters to be considered by the Twenty-fifth Anniversary Commemorative Session next year. Indeed, even in the Political Committee debate just concluded, a great number of delegations used the Soviet proposals as a mere springboard for the expression of their larger hopes that the anniversary occasion will be used to chart a new course for effective United Nations action.

The United States, for its part, resisted the temptation to dismiss the Soviet proposal as just a propaganda exercise. Instead, the United States representative voiced doubts about the efficacy of appeals or declarations in dealing with the complex of problems related to international security. Various aspects of the issue, he pointed out, are already receiving the serious attention of appropriate UN bodies.

Initially, this statement was interpreted as a completely negative response. It was taken to mean that the United States was satisfied that what is already being done is adequate. Only a few days later Ambassador Yost caused many delegations to re-evaluate the United States position on that score.

The U. S. and the UN's Twenty-fifth Anniversary

Speaking on plans for observance of the UN anniversary next year, Ambassador Yost said,

"I would look forward to the twenty-fifth anniversary as an occasion for collective soul-searching, for a rigorous self-examination as to whether and why we have fallen short of our purposes, as to how and when we can at long last, next year, five years hence, through the coming decade make them effective."

Without ruling out the need for possible UN Charter amendment, Yost emphasized a number of specific steps which would "implement our Charter". Among

these were: agreement on guidelines for strengthening United Nations peace-keeping; new efforts to achieve conventional, as well as nuclear, disarmament; greater recourse to such peaceful means as fact-finding, arbitration and use of the International Court for the settlement of international disputes; and the removal of "harmful trade barriers to the exports of developing countries."

"In setting our goals", Ambassador Yost said, "we must, of course, be realistic. Yet, I believe there is greater danger from the kind of realism that makes for excessive caution and timidity than in a bold approach which offers the only hope of meeting successfully the challenges that face us."

In speaking thus, the U. S. Ambassador was riding the swelling tide of opinion which has been gathering momentum in this UN Assembly. In the General Debate, in debate on the Soviet draft Appeal, in discussion of plans for a substantive observance of the anniversary, the demand is being made again and again that the occasion must be marked by a new and urgent effort to save the Organization and to make it capable of serving its fundamental purposes.

It is to be hoped that the United States will sustain and develop the U. S. policy for strengthening the UN, as expressed with such quiet sincerity by Ambassador Yost. For the vast majority of smaller nations--old and new--an effective United Nations is essential to their survival as independent States. Yet in the recent drift toward a division of the world into spheres of influence, they have almost despaired of that hope.

In this Assembly, the UN majority has stubbornly opposed the new Soviet proposal which, they believe would make the UN a mere adjunct to Super Power hegemony. In this Assembly the United States has spoken out for the United Nations alternative in terms which seem to indicate that the U. S. has decided that its own best interests coincide with those of the majority.

While the new pattern of Soviet policy was rejected in this Assembly, its roots and ramifications go deep and far into current international affairs, and the USSR probably feels it has suffered only a temporary set-back.

Therefore, if the United States has not made a firm choice to cast its lot with a stronger UN, it may find itself having to beat the USSR at its own policy game. This would involve a painful effort to avoid a disadvantageous change in the balance of power without frustrating detente in Europe and Asia which is essential for defusing the most explosive international tensions.

On the other hand, if U. S. leadership toward effective world organization is sustained, the majority may be expected to follow with such enthusiasm at this juncture that the Soviet Union will be constrained to reconsider its own course.

International Crime and Punishment

Elsewhere in the main Committees of this Assembly, a somewhat perverse phenomenon is beginning to make itself felt. It might be described as a preference on the part of UN Members for the punishment of nation States rather than of guilty individuals.

Last year when an Israeli plane was sabotaged in Athens by Arabs of Lebanese origin, Israel could not be satisfied with the trial and punishment of the offenders in the Greek court. Israel had also to punish Lebanon by destroying much of its civil aviation in a military attack.

This year when an incendiary fire seriously damaged the Al Aksa Mosque in Jerusalem, the Arab States have not been satisfied that the Israeli authorities have brought the arsonist to trial. They would like to see the State of Israel punished also.

Efforts to find some practical solution to South Africa's continued occupation of Namibia, (South West Africa) are encountering a similar preoccupation with the punishment of an offending State. Great pressure is being put upon the UN Security Council to assert the responsibility which the United Nations assumed for Namibia some time ago, and to force South Africa to leave that Territory.

Since South Africa is not very vulnerable to economic sanctions, and would be a formidable Power to evict by military force, suggestions have been made this year, that a new approach might be attempted.

Namibia is the only Territory for which the UN has direct responsibility, and administrative authority. Proposals have, therefore, been made that the United Nations might begin to fulfill its role by actions taken with respect to individuals and commercial companies operating in Namibia. Such actions might involve international recognition of only those mineral claims which were licensed by the UN, and the payment to the UN, instead of to the South African government, of royalties on commercial exploitation.

Such proposals which might achieve at least a modest success have hardly been referred to in the UN debate on this issue. Instead the Afro-Asians continue to demand collective coercive action against South Africa, which the major nations continue to refuse to undertake.

The United Nations is, of course, constituted as an Organization of nation States. Collective action against nations as collective entities seems, therefore, to Member Governments the most natural way to cope with offences against international society. The older method, common within civilized nations, of apprehending and penalizing guilty individuals without punishing their innocent fellow-citizens has not yet commended itself to the United Nations.

At the last moment the current Assembly decided to place on its agenda the question of securing civil aviation against highjacking. This frightening and increasingly frequent international crime will be considered by the Legal Committee later in this session. Will that Committee be able to recommend measures to deal with the individual offenders through due process of law? Or will UN Members take the traditional line that governments--particularly the governments of political opponents--must be held responsible for the actions of their nationals?

Clarence H. T. Vitty

Editor



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