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ABIDJAN, IVORY COAST

REPORT

OF THE

UNITED STATES DELEGATION TO THE
SPRING MEETING OF THE
INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION

Held in Abidjan, Ivory Coast, April 23-28, 1973
Pursuant to law (22 U.S.C. 276, as amended)



JULY 20, 1973

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations

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(49 Stat. 425, 22 U.S.C. 276)

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Edward J. Derwinski, Representative from Illinois.

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Edward J. Derwinski, Representative from Illinois.

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

JULY 20, 1973.

Hon. SPIRO T. AGNEW,
Vice President of the United States.

Hon. CARL ALBERT,
Speaker, House of Representatives.

GENTLEMEN: In accordance with the provisions of law (49 Stat. 425; 22 U.S.C. 276, as amended) the members of the United States Delegation to the Spring Meeting of the Interparliamentary Union, Abidjan, Ivory Coast, April 23 to 28, 1973, submit herewith their report to Congress.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN SPARKMAN, *President.*

(III)

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Honorable W. Averell
Director, Bureau of the Census
Washington, D. C.
Dear Sir:
I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th inst. in relation to the report of the Interdepartmental Commission on the Census of 1950, which was submitted to the President of the United States on April 28, 1953, and which is being referred to the Committee on the Census of the House of Representatives.

Very respectfully,
John W. Edwards, Jr.

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REPORT OF THE U.S. DELEGATION TO THE SPRING MEETINGS OF THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION, ABIDJAN, IVORY COAST, APRIL 23-28, 1973

PART I—PROCEEDINGS

The Spring Meetings of the Executive Committee, Council and Study Committees of the Interparliamentary Union were held in the National Assembly building in Abidjan, Ivory Coast, from April 23 to 28, 1973.

Delegates from 58 nations and observers from 8 international organizations took part in the conference. These nations included: Australia, Austria, Bangladesh, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, Ethiopia, Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Kuwait, Laos, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Mauritania, Mongolia, Nepal, Netherlands, Niger, Norway, Poland, Republic of Korea, Republic of Vietnam, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, USSR, United Kingdom, United States, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, and Zaire.

There was a total of 368 participants of whom 277 were members of the parliament and the remaining 91 advisers, clerks of parliament and members of group secretariats.

In addition, representatives from the United Nations, FAO, UNESCO, WHO, the Council of Europe, European Parliament, Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and the Arab League were present.

UNITED STATES DELEGATION

The United States delegation was headed by Senator John J. Sparkman, President of the U.S. Group and Chairman of the delegation and included Senators Strom Thurmond and J. Bennett Johnson, Jr. and Representatives Jonathan B. Bingham, Bob Casey, Charles E. Chamberlain, Edward J. Derwinski, Lee H. Hamilton, Delbert L. Latta, Robert McClory, William O. Mills, Edward J. Patten, Richardson Preyer, Floyd Spence and W. S. Stuckey, Jr. Representatives Derwinski and Spence represented the United States on the IPU Council and Representative Derwinski attended the Executive Committee meeting.

The staff which accompanied the delegation consisted of Darrell St. Claire, Assistance Secretary of the Senate and administrative and executive Secretary of the U.S. group, W. Pat Jennings, Clerk of the House of Representatives, Miss Milrae Jensen of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Mrs. Octa Watson, assistant to the group chairman and Morris Rothenberg, adviser from the Department of State.

Military escorts accompanying the group were Capt. Richard S. Hopper, USN; Captain Dixon Lee, USN; Commander John H. Fetterman, USN; and YN2, John Burrridge.

INAUGURAL CEREMONY

The inaugural ceremony of the 112th session of the IPU Council was held on April 23 at 11:00 a.m. in Abidjan's Congress Hall, with Ivory Coast President Felix Houphouët-Boigny in the chair. A welcoming speech was made by Mr. Philippe Yace, President of the National Assembly of Ivory Coast. Mr. I. S. Djermakoye, Under-Secretary General of the United Nations then delivered a message to the meeting in the name of UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim. He focused in particular on African issues citing in this connection the Addis Ababa meeting of the Security Council and the UN-OAU sponsored conference held in Oslo on Southern African questions. Mr. André Chandernagor, President of the Interparliamentary Council, recalling previous personal experiences in the Ivory Coast, thanked the hosts for their excellent preparations for the meetings.

In his address to the conference, President Houphouët-Boigny stressed the importance of meetings such as the IPU not only to compare views about parliamentary techniques but about world problems. He declared that "we now know that the clash of arms does not resolve any of the fundamental problems of humanity." He urged an end to ideological conflicts and action on the more insidious problems of racism and segregation. Speaking as a member of the third world, he appealed to the great consumer powers to provide fair prices for the products of underdeveloped countries.

STUDY COMMITTEES

Meetings were held by all five IPU standing study committees: the Committees on Political Questions, International Security and Disarmament, the Economic and Social Committee, the Educational, Scientific and Cultural Committee, the Committee on Non-Self-Governing Territories, and the Parliamentary and Juridical Committee. The United States also participated in the work of the Subcommittee on the Rights of Women of the Economic and Social Committee. The Committees considered a number of subjects and adopted several draft resolutions for consideration by the 61st Interparliamentary Conference to be held in Santiago, Chile from October 4 to 12, 1973.

POLITICAL COMMITTEE

Senators Sparkman and Thurmond, Representatives Derwinski and Hamilton represented the United States in the Committee on Political Questions, International Security and Disarmament. This Committee met on April 24, 26 and 27 to consider two agenda items: (1) Problems of Peace in Southeast Asia; (2) Promotion of Fundamental Principles which should govern International Relations, particularly between States with Different Social Systems.

Mr. W. T. Williams of the United Kingdom was reelected Chairman of the Political Committee. Mr. A. Alniebari (Kuwait) and Sh. Bira (Mongolia) were reelected as Vice Chairmen.

Southeast Asia

The question of Southeast Asia had originally been put on the agenda as a result of a proposal by the Laotian delegation at the

Rome Conference. Two memoranda and two resolutions (by Laos and Yugoslavia) were submitted for consideration by the Political Committee. A drafting committee in which the United States was not included drew up a draft resolution which was subsequently adopted unanimously by the full Committee. The resolution (Annex A-1) welcomed the Paris Agreement on Vietnam and the Vientiane Agreement on Laos and called for the signing of an agreement to end the war in Cambodia. It asked that governments and parliaments support "measures for the immediate release of all persons detained as a result of the conflict in Vietnam, the granting of human rights and the allowing of refugees to return to their homes and land." It urged support for offers of assistance to the peoples of Indochina for reconstruction.

Principles Governing Relations

Memoranda were submitted by eight national groups as well as the Interparliamentary Bureau and resolutions by five groups including the United States were submitted. In his statement to the Political Committee on April 24 (Annex C-1), Senator Sparkman noted that the climate in which we address the question today "is a good deal warmer than would have been the case not too many years ago." He cited in this connection improved U.S. relations with the USSR and PRC, developments in Europe, Southeast Asia and Korea. He pointed out, however, that danger spots still remain which make it appropriate to consider principles which should guide relations among states. To illustrate what these principles should be, Senator Sparkman reaffirmed those cited in the IPU Conference on European Cooperation and Security as well as in the Basic Principles of Relations agreed to by the United States and the USSR on May 29, 1972. In conclusion, Senator Sparkman emphasized that "relations between countries of different ideologies must have positive components going beyond the mere prevention of conflict." These should include greater cooperation in all fields, a freer flow of information, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, religion or language.

Representative Derwinski, on behalf of the United States, participated in the drafting group which drew up the resolution later adopted unanimously by the Political Committee (Annex A-2). The draft was based in the main on the resolutions submitted by Yugoslavia and Romania with one important amendment submitted by Canada. Specifically the resolution reaffirmed various principles set forth in the United Nations Charter and the Declaration of Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States. In addition, it asserted the need to coordinate the activities of foreign capital with requirements of national development "in a spirit of international economic cooperation based upon mutual benefit and international law." In response to Canadian concerns, the resolution also supported provisions in International Covenants on Human Rights particularly as they relate to reunification of families.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE

Representatives Chamberlain, Mills, Patten and Stuckey represented the United States in the Economic and Social Committee which met

on April 24 and 27 to consider the International Monetary System. In addition, Senator Thurmond and Representative Bingham participated as observers in a meeting of the Subcommittee on Women's Rights on April 25.

Mr. P. Gregoire of Luxembourg was reelected Chairman of the Economic and Social Committee and Mr. R. Popivanov of Bulgaria, one of the Vice Chairman. Mr. T. Tamaki of Japan was elected as the other Vice Chairman.

International monetary system

In his speech to the Committee on April 24 (Annex C-2), Representative Chamberlain reviewed the developments since Bretton Woods which have generated the need for monetary reform and set forth the U.S. objective of arriving at a system "which is symmetric and equitable with respect to the obligations of both deficit and surplus countries." He noted that the United States to this end had proposed the use of reserve levels or changes as criteria for creating a presumption of need for adjustment. He noted the concern of others regarding the questions of reserve assets and convertibility but saw them as part of the adjustment process. He expressed U.S. willingness to examine problems with respect to capital movements and the possible future allocation of SDRs to developing countries. He also expressed belief that trade reform and equitable access of U.S. goods to foreign markets was also an important aspect of international monetary reform.

After a spirited discussion the Committee amended and adopted by voice vote a draft resolution (Annex A-3) submitted by a working group on which Rep. Chamberlain sat for the United States. The resolution was based on a draft submitted by the United States and modified mainly by Japan, Switzerland and Yugoslavia. The resolution called on member states of the International Monetary Fund to "intensify efforts to establish an equitable and effective adjustment process", proposed that measures be taken to reestablish equilibrium in the balance of payments and to reestablish convertibility of the most important currencies and recommended steps to improve the position of the developing countries. While joining the vote in favor of the resolution, Representative Chamberlain said the United States reserved the right to reexamine aspects of the resolution which it believed required further study.

Rights of Women

Although the United States was not a member, Senator Thurmond and Rep. Bingham, as well as other non-members, took part in the deliberations of the Subcommittee which considered "The Role of Parliament in Defending the Rights of Women as Workers and Mothers." Senator Thurmond spoke on developments in the United States which might be of interest to the Subcommittee (Annex C-3). He cited the impact of such legislation as the Equal Pay Act of 1963, Civil Rights Law of 1964, tax reform measures of 1971 and the Education Amendments of 1972. He quoted and gave the status of the Equal Rights Amendment. "While we have made definite progress", Senator Thurmond concluded, "there is clearly a great deal which remains to be done." The Rapporteur was asked to prepare a report for consideration by the Subcommittee in Santiago.

EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL COMMITTEE

The Educational, Scientific and Cultural Committee, under the chairmanship of Representative McClory, met on April 25, 26 and 27 to consider the "Development and Strengthening of Scientific Cooperation among States in the Interest of Peace and Security." Representatives Casey, Spence and Preyer and Senator Johnston represented the United States on the Committee. Representative McClory was unanimously reelected as Chairman of the Committee which also elected Mr. A. Blazej of Czechoslovakia and Mrs. P. Dam of Denmark as Vice-Chairmen.

Speaking on behalf of the U.S. Group, Representative Casey reviewed efforts both by the United States and international organizations to strengthen scientific cooperation (Annex C-4). He cited the U.S. Earth Resource Technology Satellite (ERTS-1), strengthened U.S. bilateral scientific ties with its allies, with the Soviet Union, and with Eastern Europe. He gave particular attention to accelerated U.S. efforts "to harness the power of science and technology to development". In this connection, he pointed to a variety of relevant provisions in U.S. aid programs, dissemination of U.S. technological reports and the expansion of U.S. exchange programs. On the international level, Rep. Casey stressed the importance of the 1972 Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment and the institutional arrangements approved thereafter by the UN General Assembly.

The Committee unanimously adopted a draft resolution (Annex A-4) which called upon all parliaments and governments to "promote in every possible way the development and strengthening of cooperative relations in the fields of science and technology" and "to encourage a more active mobilization of national resources and efforts for the development of the scientific and technological potential of all countries." The resolution also urged that full account be taken of the United Nations World Plan of Action for the Application of Science and Technology to Development.

PARLIAMENTARY AND JURIDICAL COMMITTEE

Representatives Spence, Latta and Patten represented the United States in the Parliamentary and Juridical Committee which met on April 25 and 26 to discuss "Methods and Means of Parliamentary Control over Government and Administration Activities." Mr. A. Saint-Remy of Belgium was elected Chairman of the Committee; Mr. G. Fairweather of Canada and Mr. F. Babaha of Mauritania as Vice Chairmen. Representative Spence spoke on behalf of the United States delegation (Annex C-5). He pointed out that recent headlines in the United States demonstrated that the subject being discussed was not an academic one. The ultimate weapon of parliamentary control in the United States stems from the powers granted Congress in the U.S. Constitution but the expansion of government since the thirties has lent new dimensions to the problem. The Reorganization Act of 1946 aimed to strengthen the ability of Congressional Committees to exercise control over the government bureaucracy through their oversight and review functions. In addition, to fulfill its legislative and investigative functions, Congress has strengthened the Congressional Re-

search Service, established the Office of Technology Assessment and made good use of the General Accounting Office. In conclusion, Rep. Spence pointed out that whatever the changes that take place, "legislative control over executive actions will remain a cardinal feature of the American political system." No resolution was submitted by the Committee but reports will be made in Santiago by representatives of Australia, the German Democratic Republic and India.

COMMITTEE ON NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES AND ETHNIC QUESTIONS

Senator Johnston, Representatives Bingham, Derwinski and Latta took part in the meetings of the Committee on April 25, 26 and 27 to consider "Measures to be taken for the Effective Application of the United Nations Charter and International Texts relating to Human Rights in Non-Self-Governing Territories." Mr. I. M. Wane of Senegal was elected Chairman of the Committee, Mr. G. Delenschke of the GDR, Mr. Z. Gomaa of Egypt Vice-Chairman.

Senator Johnston in his speech to the Committee, (Annex C-6) said discussion of this subject was especially appropriate in this twenty-fifth anniversary year of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. While a great deal of progress has been made in the past 25 years, "the hard core of the problem remains—namely the very grave abuses of the right of self-determination" in southern Africa. This situation, he said, "remains a matter of grave concern to the United States." We share the frustrations at the intractability of the problems but oppose recourse to violence and have ourselves taken a number of steps to challenge the barriers of racism. Senator Johnston concluded that concern for self-determination should not be limited to one area or one decision but should be universal and a continual process for ensuring freedom of choice.

A final resolution was drafted on the basis of three texts submitted by Bulgaria, Rwanda and jointly by Egypt, France, India, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Tunisia and Yugoslavia. This resolution (Annex A-5) called on parliaments and governments to "offer the assistance envisaged by the United Nations to liberation movements," give assistance to refugees, and participate in the UN Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. It also supported pressure against "oppressive, racist and colonialist regimes", domestic information campaigns against racism, apartheid and colonialism and reaffirmed support for the 1960 UN Declaration against colonialism. This resolution was passed unanimously by the Committee except for one abstention (Spain). Several delegations, including the United States, stated that they had certain reservations, especially about those aspects of the resolution which might imply approval of resort to violence in southern Africa.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Representative Derwinski attended the meeting of the Executive Committee on April 23. It heard a report by the Secretary General regarding his travels and the work of the IPU Helsinki Conference on European Cooperation and Security. The Secretary General, speak-

ing on the financial situation, reported a surplus of receipts during 1972 resulting from increased sale of publications and the departure of three staff members. There was considerable discussion on the allocation of this surplus with the general consensus favoring that some of it be used to purchase portable simultaneous interpretation equipment, some be devoted to technical aid (but not in a separate fund) and the rest go to replenish the Reserve and Provident Fund. The Secretary General also reported that nothing further had been heard about the reaffiliation of Pakistan and possible membership for Kenya. He expressed the hope that the holding of the next conference in Santiago would generate more Latin American applications. He noted that the People's Republic of China had been given all the information needed if they wished to apply. A long discussion was held on Thailand's application for reaffiliation which was finally approved and sent on to the Interparliamentary Council. Inasmuch as the Executive Committee at Rome had decided that North Korea met the conditions of membership, the Chairman ruled that there was no need for the Committee to consider the question leaving the issue of postponement up to the Council.

INTERPARLIAMENTARY COUNCIL

The 112th session of the Interparliamentary Council took place on April 28, with Representatives Derwinski and Spence in attendance for the United States.

Korean Question.—One of the principal items before the Council concerned North Korea's application for membership. A Belgian proposal which provided that the final decision be postponed until Santiago, was withdrawn when confusion arose over references in a preambular paragraph to contacts between parliamentary groups from North and South Korea. At that point, the delegation from the Republic of Korea (ROK) presented a resolution calling for postponement of the question until Santiago. This key vote went against the ROK and its supporters including the United States by a margin of 35 to 43 with 28 abstentions. A Bulgarian resolution calling for immediate membership for North Korea also was defeated, 43-44-19. The Council then adopted by a vote of 57 to 28 (including the U.S.) with 20 abstentions a resolution which decided that the affiliation of Democratic People's Republic of Korea Group would become effective at Santiago and expressed the hope that current North-South talks "will accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of the country" (Annex B-1).

In other membership moves, the council readmitted Thailand and the Democratic Republic of Sudan, suspended the affiliation of the Philippines and continued the suspension of Morocco.

Middle East.—On the eve of the Abidjan meetings, the Egyptian Group asked for the inclusion on the Council agenda of a supplementary agenda item on Israel's failure to withdraw from occupied territories. Israel countered by submitting two proposals, one on Arab refusal to negotiate with Israel, the other on the need to combat terrorism. The Executive Committee combined all the proposals into

one agenda item entitled "Situation in the Middle East". By prior agreement, debate in the Council was limited to statements by Egypt, Jordan and Israel after which the Council passed a resolution proposed by the Ivory Coast which reaffirmed previous IPU decisions and put the item on the Santiago agenda (Annex B-2).

European Security.—Both the Executive Committee and the Council discussed at length proposals on new regional conferences in Europe. Caution was expressed about holding too many conferences and a resolution was passed (92-0-1) which authorized the Secretary General to consult with the National Groups concerned about "the necessary steps for the organization" of further meetings "at suitable intervals" on European Cooperation and Security (Annex B-3). In accordance with one of the decisions at the Helsinki Conference, the Conference approved IPU cosponsorship with the Italian Group of an IPU Mediterranean pollution meeting (Annex B-4). In this connection, the Council also approved some general principles which will govern IPU decisions on sponsorship in the future (Annex B-5).

Other Actions

(1) Upon recommendation of the Secretary General, the Council adopted an Appeal to the UN and to members to take action on behalf of the countries of the Sahel regions affected by four consecutive years of drought. (Annex B-6).

(2) It adopted a resolution urging national groups to respond to a questionnaire for use in a new comparative study of parliaments. (Annex B-7).

(3) It approved a joint memorandum clearing the way for closer collaboration between the Union and the Association of Secretaries General of Parliaments (Annex B-8). The 61st Conference at Santiago will consider an amendment to the Union's Statutes to ratify the principles set forth in the memorandum.

(4) It agreed (74-0-5) to incorporate human rights into the Parliamentary and Juridical Committee. In doing so, it rejected (40-51-7) a proposal by the Executive Committee that human rights be added to the terms of reference of the Non-Self-Governing Committee.

(5) It agreed on the agenda for the 61st IPU Conference which will be held in Santiago from October 4 to 12, 1973 (Annex B-9) and approved the holding of 1974 meetings in Bucharest from April 15 to 20, Tokyo from October 3 to 11. It took note of Sri Lanka's invitation to host the 1975 spring meeting in Colombo and Spain's offer to hold the 1976 conference in Madrid.

(6) The Council unanimously admitted as honorary members former Representative Alexander Pirnie and ex-Senator Everett Jordan. It also admitted Messrs. Aiken, Deachman, and Forest of Canada and Mr. de Aranegui of Spain.

Association of Secretaries General of Parliaments

Meetings of the Association of Secretaries General of Parliaments were held in Abidjan concurrently with the sessions of the Union.

Consideration was given to the inquiries then in progress on The Private Member (Backbencher), the Organization of the Staff of

Parliament, the Organization of Parliamentary Debates, Parliamentary Libraries and Research Services, and Information Means and Systems in the Service of Parliament.

The draft questionnaire on Information Means and Information Systems was tentatively adopted, subject to certain refinements by the members, and amendments were also solicited to the summary report which had been prepared on the Organization of the Staff of Parliaments.

Because of the difficulties faced by many members of the Association to attend the fall meeting in Santiago of the IPU, it was decided to hold a summer session for the Association in Geneva at which the principal item would be the memorandum drawn up by the representatives of the Interparliamentary Union and the Association for future collaboration. Further readings also were scheduled at the summer session on the Organization of Parliamentary Debates, and on Parliamentary Libraries. Two new subjects for inquiry on Parliament and the Audio Visual Media, and the Problems of Interpellations also were listed for discussion.

ANNEXES

ANNEX A: STUDY COMMITTEES RESOLUTIONS

A-1: PROBLEMS OF PEACE IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

The 61st Inter-Parliamentary Conference,

Reaffirming its attachment to the ideals and to one of the objectives of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, the safeguard and promotion of peace and security in the world,

Reaffirming its faith in that objective of the Inter-Parliamentary Union and certain that all problems should be solved by peaceful means and through negotiations,

Expressing the interest of all countries in stopping armed conflicts in Indo-China and in establishing lasting peace, which would have a positive effect upon the promotion of peaceful relations in the world in general,

Convinced that the basis of peace and prosperity of the peoples of Indo-China lies in the full realization of their right to self-determination, independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and free internal development,

Moved by the enormous sacrifices in human lives and material goods which the peoples of Indo-China have suffered during many years of armed struggle,

Welcoming the Paris Agreement of January 1973 on Ending the War and Re-Establishing Peace in Viet-Nam,

Welcoming the Vientiane Agreement of February 1973 on the Re-Establishment of Peace and the Realization of National Concord in Laos,

Stressing that the strict implementation of all provisions of those Agreements is in the interest of peace,

Concerned by the escalation of war operations in Cambodia:

(1) *Calls upon* all Governments and Parliaments actively to support—

the strict, complete and integral implementation of all the clauses of the Paris Agreement of January 1973;

the complete respect and implementation of the Vientiane Agreement of February 1973;

the signing of an agreement on ending the war and re-establishing peace in Cambodia;

measures for the immediate release of all persons detained as a result of the conflict in Viet-Nam, the granting of human rights and the allowing of the refugees to return to their homes and land;

the offering of adequate assistance to the peoples of Indo-China for reconstruction which would be available to all people, without distinction, in order to heal the wounds left by the war and to promote economic and social development;

(2) *Requests* all National Groups of the Inter-Parliamentary Union to observe the strict application of the Paris Agreements on Viet-Nam and the Vientiane Agreements on the cease-fire in Laos;

(3) *Expresses* the hope that there will be a lessening of all tension in Asia and that all peoples and Parliaments of this continent will soon be able to co-operate in order to establish a climate of mutual understanding and peace.

A-2 : PROMOTION OF FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES WHICH SHOULD GOVERN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, PARTICULARLY BETWEEN STATES WITH DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS

The 61st Inter-Parliamentary Conference,

Expressing the aspirations of all peoples for the establishment of lasting peace and welfare in the world,

Welcoming the strong tendencies toward the relaxation of tension among States, irrespective of their social systems, and the solution of disputes by peaceful means,

Reaffirming that, in the contemporary world of different social and political systems and levels of development, peaceful coexistence is an objective necessity and that differences in systems should not represent an obstacle to the development of relations of collaboration and understanding between them in the interest of all peoples,

Taking note that, in spite of the programs achieved in relations among States, there remain inequality, exploitation and subjugation,

Convinced that lasting peace can be facilitated by the faster emancipation of subject peoples,

Stressing that all States should participate on an equal footing in solving the problems burdening the world today,

Considering that the arms race, the existence of colonial and racist régimes and the widening gaps in the levels of development hinder co-operation among peoples and, thereby, the promotion of basic principles which should govern peaceful international relations,

Reaffirming the universal importance and primacy of the principles and obligations of the UN Charter,

Reaffirming also the Declaration of Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the UN Charter, which faithfully reflects the universal legal consciousness in respect of the elementary rights and obligations of States,

(1) *Affirms* the validity of the following principles:

that the inalienable right of each State to freedom, independence and national sovereignty be respected;

that each people, in accordance with its aspirations, achieve the right to self-determination;

that each people freely and independently choose a form of social and political system, and follow the ways of political and economic development which it feels best suited to its interests;

that States possess equality of rights, irrespective of their size or social and political systems;

that it is the duty of all States to refrain from the use of force or threats thereof, as well as to solve their conflicts by peaceful means and to implement in good faith their obligations under international law;

that the territorial integrity and political independence of the State are inviolable;

that all States refrain from any interference by any means and under any pretext, directly or indirectly, in the internal affairs of another State;

that all States should co-operate with one another, irrespective of differences in their political, economic and social systems;

that all interested States have access, on an equal basis, to negotiations on the establishment of mutual relations;

that the permanent sovereignty of each State over its natural resources be respected and protected, and efforts be supported to co-ordinate the activities of multi-national companies and foreign capital in general with the needs of national policies of development in a spirit of international economic co-operation based upon mutual benefit and international law;

that each people has an equal right to avail itself of achievements of importance for the whole of humanity, particularly through free exchange of persons, groups and ideas, and to protect its national and cultural integrity and its authentic cultural values;

(2) *Expresses* confidence that the parliamentarians and the public opinion of the various countries will continue to make efforts to strengthen universal peace and international security;

(3) *Supports* the provisions of the International Covenants on Human Rights adopted by the UN General Assembly, particularly that relating to the reunification of families;

(4) *Calls upon* all Parliaments and Governments to work for the full implementation of the above principles which should govern States in their international relations.

A-3: THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY SYSTEM

The 61st Inter-Parliamentary Conference,

Recognizing the importance of the efforts of the members of the International Monetary Fund and the efforts of other countries to amend the agreements governing international monetary relations,

Recognizing the desirability of establishing the convertibility of currencies into primary reserve assets, defined in particular as gold and Special Drawing Rights, and of maintaining stable but adjustable exchange rates,

Recognizing the necessity of achieving more timely and effective adjustments of balance-of-payments disequilibria,

Recognizing that a sound monetary system will be essentially conducive to a prosperous world commerce,

Recognizing that the fight against inflation in all its forms on the national and international levels will contribute to the stability of the monetary system,

Recognizing that capital transfers of a speculative nature contribute to monetary crises and are a factor of inflation,

Expressing belief that in all monetary solutions account must be taken of the interests of the developing countries,

Recognizing the need to implement reforms aimed at a monetary, commercial and financial system of universal interest,

Recognizing that each country should take no unilateral decisions but always in consultation with other countries,

Recognizing that a good monetary system, in order to be effective, must be based on proper retribution for primary commodities:

(1) *Calls upon* the members of the International Monetary Fund and all other countries to adopt measures acceptable to all countries to avoid and, if necessary, correct any imbalance in a country's balance-of-payments bearing in mind the work of the IMF Committee of Twenty and to intensify efforts to establish an equitable and effective adjustment process;

(2) *Proposes* that measures be taken so that:

(a) equilibrium in the balance-of-payments may be re-established through internal and external measures;

(b) convertibility of the most important currencies may be re-established, compensation being achieved through primary reserves, particularly gold and Special Drawing Rights;

(c) disturbing capital transfer movements, particularly of a speculative nature, may be repressed;

(d) inflation may be fought on the national and international levels;

(3) *Recommends* the establishment of effective channels between the developed or surplus nations and developing or deficit nations in order to make capital available to the developing countries;

(4) *Calls upon* all Parliaments and Governments to make efforts so that, within the international monetary system, the developing countries be accorded the preferential treatment which those countries already have in the sphere of international trade;

(5) *Recommends* that all Parliaments and Governments, in agreement with the primary monetary function of the Special Drawing Rights, support requests of the developing countries to increase the number of quotas and Special Drawing Rights in their favour in the International Monetary Fund, and to establish a link between Special Drawing Rights and the financing of development.

A-4: DEVELOPMENT AND STRENGTHENING OF SCIENTIFIC CO-OPERATION AMONG STATES IN THE INTEREST OF PEACE AND SECURITY

The 61st Inter-Parliamentary Conference.

Proceeding from the premise that the development of international co-operation in the sphere of science and technology is an important factor for building relations among States, and thereby substantially contributes to the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security,

Recognizing that the scientific and technological revolution and its impact on all fields of human endeavour offer new opportunities for economic and social progress,

Aware of the fact that all countries, regardless of their social and economic systems and level of development, can participate in international scientific and technological co-operation on a mutually advantageous basis, subject to full respect for the sovereignty of all participating States,

Noting that there is an urgent need for Governments to take measures, both independently and in concert with other Governments and international agencies, to formulate and carry out policies and pro-

grammes designed to alleviate crucial problems of environmental deterioration and to allocate scarce natural resources to their best use for the benefit of all mankind,

Convinced that no country is at present capable of carrying out independently all the types of research and development of new technology that meet the ever increasing requirements of economic and social development, and that every country can and must benefit from the international division of labour in this field,

Mindful of the fact that the diversity, depth and scope of scientific and technological research carried out in certain developed countries create favourable conditions for the sustained expansion of international co-operation, particularly for meeting the needs of developing countries,

(1) *Calls upon* the Parliaments and Governments of all countries of the world, with a view to facilitating the creation of an atmosphere of confidence and mutual understanding among States and to building up friendly relations among all nations in the interests of peace and security:

(a) To promote in every possible way the development and strengthening of co-operative relations in the fields of science and technology by encouraging scientists and scientific institutions to make use of such means as

international scientific congresses, conferences, symposia and seminars on certain problems of science and technology;

bilateral and multilateral contacts between leading industrial firms, organizations and national scientific research establishments (science councils, academies of sciences, etc.);

co-operation among national scientific and technological societies and also within the framework of international scientific associations;

direct ties between educational establishments engaged in scientific research (universities and other institutions of higher learning);

(b) To encourage a more active mobilization of national resources and efforts with the object of developing the scientific and technological potential of all countries, paying particular attention to

improving the training of scientific and technical personnel;

strengthening planning and science policy at the national level;

(c) To support the activities of UNESCO and other international organizations in this field;

(2) *Urges* the Parliaments and Governments of developed countries to take full account of the United Nations World Plan of Action for the Application of Science and Technology to Development and to seek the early implementation of the proposals formulated under the Plan;

(3) *Suggests* that developing countries actively assist by considering regional and local priorities for action within the terms of the Plan;

(4) *Calls upon* all national and international organizations concerned with bilateral and multilateral relations in the fields of science and technology to intensify their co-operation so that all countries of the world may, through joint effort, profit from modern achievements of world science and technology and, by combining their capacities, contribute constructively to the solution of the most pressing international problems.

A-5: MEASURES TO BE TAKEN FOR THE EFFECTIVE APPLICATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER AND INTERNATIONAL TEXTS RELATING TO HUMAN RIGHTS IN NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES

The 61st Inter-Parliamentary Conference.

Aware that the right of peoples to self-government constitutes one of the fundamental principles of contemporary international law,

Taking into account that this right is still frequently violated in non-self-governing territories or in those under foreign domination,

Noting that the populations of these territories are thus forced to make use of violence in order to recover their right to freedom which may cause serious confrontations that threaten international peace and security,

Noting that, in what they call their right to reply, the dominating Powers sometimes undertake actual incursions into the territory of neighbouring sovereign States which, in the long term, may cause serious armed conflicts,

Recalling the efforts of the United Nations, the Inter-Parliamentary Union and other international bodies to secure respect for Resolutions on decolonization and, more especially, the 1960 Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Concerned by the persistent refusal of the oppressive, racist and colonialist régimes to recognize and respect the right to self-government of peoples in territories under their domination,

Concerned by the negative attitude of certain countries to the implementation of the Resolutions of the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly concerning decolonization, racism and self-government, as well as by the material and economic support given to oppressive, racist and colonialist régimes.

Regretting that the sanctions decided by the United Nations in this field are not implemented,

Condemning the intensification of discriminatory practices and pressures of all sorts against peoples under foreign domination, as well as the police and military reprisals of which peoples fighting for their freedom and independence are victims,

Convinced of the urgent need to give assistance to peoples who continue to be subject to colonial or foreign domination,

1. *Declares* that the achievement of the right of peoples to self-determination, as well as the full and rapid implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples are necessary in order to restore human rights in non-self-governing territories or in those under foreign domination;

2. *Appeals* to all Parliaments to use their influence upon their respective Governments so that pressure be brought upon oppressive, racist and colonialist régimes with the aim of securing acceptance of

United Nations decisions concerning the implementation of the right to self-determination and of putting an end to all forms of violation of human rights, thus inducing them to negotiate with the liberation movements on the basis of respect for the inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and independence;

3. *Asks* Parliaments to launch—with the help of such bodies as trade unions, religious, social, professional and civic organizations, youth groups and women's associations—an information action designed to make the public of each country aware of the harmful effects of racism, apartheid and colonialism;

4. *Calls upon* all Parliaments and Governments to

(a) offer the assistance envisaged by the United Nations to liberation movements, the legitimate representatives of the peoples in territories under colonial or foreign domination;

(b) give all possible assistance to the refugees of these territories;

(c) participate in the activities of the United Nations Decade for Action to combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and support the preparation of a Convention on apartheid as a crime against humanity;

(d) define, as soon as possible, the manner in which they intend to implement the obligations arising from the Charter and Resolutions of the United Nations relating to respect for human rights in non-self-governing territories or in those under foreign domination, and to the right of peoples to self-determination, independence and sovereignty.

ANNEX B: INTER-PARLIAMENTARY COUNCIL DECISIONS

B-1: KOREA

"The Inter-Parliamentary Council,

"*Having examined* the request for affiliation presented by the Inter-Parliamentary Group constituted in Pyongyang by the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea,

"*Having noted* the report of the Executive Committee in which it is stated that the Group fulfills the conditions laid down in Article 3 of the Statutes for membership of the Union,

"*Decides* that affiliation of the Group of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea will become effective at the 113th session of the Council in Santiago (Chile), expressing the hope that the negotiations currently taking place in Korea between the two States will accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of the country."

B-2: SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

"The Inter-Parliamentary Council:

"1. *Reaffirms* the Resolutions on the 'Situation in the Middle East' adopted by the 58th and 60th Inter-Parliamentary Conferences (The Hague 1970 and Rome 1972) as well as the decision taken in that respect by the Council at its 108th session;

"2. *Decides* to include on the Agenda of the 61st Inter-Parliamentary Conference (Santiago, October 1973) an item entitled 'Situation in the Middle East'."

B-3 : RESULTS OF THE INTER-PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE ON EUROPEAN
COOPERATION AND SECURITY

"The Inter-Parliamentary Council,

"*Noting* the Final Act adopted unanimously by the Inter-Parliamentary Conference on European Co-operation and Security, held in Helsinki from January 26-31, 1973,

"*Believing* that the recommendations and the repercussions of such a Conference bear witness in an encouraging manner to the possibilities of action which exist on the inter-parliamentary level with a view to the consolidation of peace in Europe,

"*Taking into account* Resolution IV of the Helsinki Conference entitled Further Inter-Parliamentary Activities in the Field of Co-operation and Security in Europe,

"1. *Expresses* satisfaction at the results obtained in Helsinki;

"2. *Thanks* the Parliament of Finland for its generous hospitality;

"3. *Authorizes* the Secretary General to take, with the consent of the National Groups concerned, the necessary steps for the organization, within the framework of activities included in the Union's programme, of meetings at suitable intervals which would enable the European Inter-Parliamentary Groups and those of the United States of America and of Canada to consider and make a detailed study of ideas and suggestions on European co-operation and security, it being understood that any necessary expenditure would be financed by contributions from the Groups concerned;

"4. *Requests* the Secretary General to submit to the Council, as soon as possible, proposals together with budgetary estimates;

"5. *Requests* the Secretary General to communicate, in a suitable manner, the Final Act of the Helsinki Inter-Parliamentary Conference to the Intergovernmental Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe."

B-4 : INTER-PARLIAMENTARY MEETING OF MEDITERRANEAN COASTAL STATES

"The Inter-Parliamentary Council,

"*Having studied* the recommendations concerning the human environment made by the Inter-Parliamentary Conference on European Co-operation and Security,

"1. *Believes* that the Union can assist in the convocation of an Inter-Parliamentary Meeting of Mediterranean Coastal States to study problems related to the pollution of this sea and to its protection;

"2. *Believes* that the Union should either grant its sponsorship to this Meeting or organize such a Meeting, in the most suitable form, jointly with the Italian Chamber of Deputies and Inter-Parliamentary Group and with the help of the United Nations Environment Programme;

"3. *Requests* the Secretary General to undertake consultations in the light of the foregoing and to submit relevant proposals to the Council at its next session."

B-5 : SPONSORSHIP AND CO-SPONSORSHIP BY THE UNION OF INTER-PARLIAMENTARY MEETINGS

(Item XII of the agenda)

As a result of contacts made by certain organizations, the Executive Committee thought that it would be appropriate to fix the criteria which should govern the possible sponsorship or co-sponsorship¹ of inter-parliamentary meetings by the Union.

Having made a detailed study of the matter at its 161st and 162nd sessions, the Executive Committee has established the following list of criteria which it submits for consideration by the Council:

1. Granting of the Union's sponsorship to an inter-parliamentary meeting shall be an official act involving the responsibility of the entire Organization. Any decision on the matter shall in each case be taken by the Inter-Parliamentary Council, acting on a recommendation by the Executive Committee;

2. Sponsorship shall be granted as an exceptional measure and for a specific meeting whose aim is compatible with the principles, objectives and interests of the Union;

3. In order to assist the Executive Committee and the Council, the Secretary General shall in each case obtain information and guarantees concerning the programme and organization of such a meeting. Special attention shall be given to the criteria governing participation;

4. Sponsorship may be granted to a meeting convened by:

(a) One or more National Groups,

(b) One or more Parliaments, on condition that the request for sponsorship be made by the National Group or Groups concerned,

(c) An international organization, on condition that the request for sponsorship receive the immediate support of National Group, and taking into consideration detailed information received by the Inter-Parliamentary Bureau on the aims, structure and functions of such an organization;

5. When granted, sponsorship shall not extend to the publications which might result from the meeting.

In the light of these criteria, the Executive Committee considered two requests for sponsorship.

A first request for sponsorship was presented by the Preparatory Committee of the International Parliamentary Conferences on the Environment, the Executive Committee considered that this case did not conform to the second of the above criteria.

As regards the proposal contained in Section II, paragraph 10, of the Final Act of the Inter-Parliamentary Conference on European Cooperation and Security, concerning the convocation of an Inter-Parliamentary Conference of Mediterranean Coastal States, the Executive Committee made a favourable decision (see B-4).

¹ As distinct from meetings that might be organized jointly by the Union and a National Group, a Parliament or an international organization.

B-6 : APPEAL FOR INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY ON BEHALF OF COUNTRIES
OF THE SAHEL REGION AFFECTED BY DROUGHT

"The Inter-Parliamentary Council,

"*Alarmed* by the drought which has prevailed for four years in the Sahel region, bringing to many African countries ruin and the risk of famine and seriously jeopardizing their economic development,

"1. *Appeals* to Governments, the United Nations, FAO and others to offer

(a) their emergency aid programmes to the countries afflicted by this calamity;

(b) their financial and technical assistance to these countries with a view to medium and long-term action for the development, utilization and management of their water resources so that the effects of such droughts may be minimized in the future;

2. "*Urges* the National Groups to take action in their respective countries for the urgent implementation of these measures."

B-7 : PREPARATION OF A NEW COMPARATIVE STUDY OF PARLIAMENTS

"The Inter-Parliamentary Council,

"*Considering* the importance of the comparative study of Parliaments, currently undertaken by the CIDP, as a rich source of information on the structure and functioning of parliamentary Assemblies,

"*Considering* that the interest and value of this basic source of reference will depend on the number of institutions described and the accuracy of the data provided thereon,

"*Considering* that all National Groups should contribute to the success of this activity of the Union for a better comparative knowledge of representative institutions,

"*Urges* the National Groups to see that a complete answer is given by their respective Parliaments, before July 1, 1973, to the questionnaire for the Inquiry to be used as a basis for the drafting of this comparative study which was transmitted to them on March 9."

B-8 : RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNION AND ASSOCIATION OF SECRETARIES
GENERAL OF PARLIAMENTS—MEMORANDUM

In accordance with a decision taken by the Union's Executive Committee at its meeting in Rome in September 1972, following the meeting between Mr. F. Humblet, President of the Association of Secretary General of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, on August 24, 1972, a small Joint Committee met at the Union's headquarters on December 20, 1972, to study the question of relations between the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the ASGP.

The following took part in the meeting: Mr. A. Chandernagor (France), President of the Inter-Parliamentary Council; Mr. M. de Niet (Netherlands), member of the Union's Executive Committee, replacing Mr. J. Hall (United Kingdom), who was unable to attend; Mr. L. Lyon (France), member of the ASGP's Executive Committee, replacing Mr. F. Humblet (Belgium), President of the ASGP, who

was unable to attend; Mr. D. Lidderdale (United Kingdom), member of the ASGP's Executive Committee; Mr. P.-C. Terenzio, Secretary General of the Union.

The members of the Joint Committee agreed as follows:

Strengthening of Co-ordination and Collaboration between the Union and the ASGP

In order to make their respective activities more complementary and to avoid any duplication of effort, the two Organizations will co-ordinate their activities concerning the study of parliamentary institutions by consultations and collaboration at the stages of planning, discussion and implementation of projects.

(a) At the stage of *planning* of studies, and with a view of harmonizing the activities of the Union and the ASGP, the Secretary General of the Union and the President of the ASGP will hold consultations before submitting proposals to their respective governing bodies.

(b) At the stage of discussions:

(1) The ASGP is represented on the Consultative Committee of Experts of the International Centre for Parliamentary Documentation (CIDP), as it was previously on the Governing Board;

(2) The Union will be represented at the plenary sessions of the ASGP. Its representatives may be heard if he so wishes. Furthermore, it may, at its request, attend the meetings of the Executive Committee of the ASGP.

(c) At the stage of implementation, the co-operation will consist of:

(1) Mutual consultations, whenever possible, in drafting questionnaires for parliamentary studies;

(2) The CIDP's questionnaires will be sent, for information, to the Secretaries General of Parliaments when the latter are not correspondents of the CIDP;

(3) Exchange of data received in reply to such questionnaires;

(4) Communication of information gathered by other means (Symposia, monographs, publications);

(5) Consultation by the Union, on behalf of the ASGP, of its correspondents in countries not represented in the ASGP, and *vice versa*.

(6) The resources and premises of the CIDP shall be at the disposal of all members of the ASGP and its Rapporteurs.

(d) Should the Union and the ASGP study the same subject, they will act in concert to determine their respective tasks.

(e) The Union will communicate to the ASGP the list of the CIDP's national correspondents.

Organizational Measures

(1) The ASGP's special account will cease to exist and its contents will be included in the budget of the ASGP which will continue to feature in that of the Union;

(2) The ASGP will be free to dispose of its budget, and will be responsible for its administration;

(3) The ASGP will re-examine its administrative organization and working in order to assume full responsibility for its activities and more especially, the publication and circulation of Constitutional and Parliamentary Information;

(4) In February or March of each year, the President of the ASGP will consult the Union's Secretary General when preparing the ASGP's budget estimates for the attention of its Executive Committee;

(5) The Secretary General of the Union will include the budget estimates proposed by the Executive Committee of the ASGP in the Union's draft budget. Should he consider it not possible to present to the Executive Committee of the Union budgetary proposals that are identical to those agreed upon by the ASGP, he will inform the President of the ASGP accordingly, and, if the latter so wishes, will propose to the Executive Committee of the Union that it hear the point of view of the ASGP.

Institutional Measures

(1) A procedure for amending the Statutes of the Union will be set in motion, with a view to the explicit recognition of the Association of Secretaries General of Parliaments as an "autonomous section" of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, and to the definition of its ties with the Union.

(2) The Association will have to amend its Rules in order to take the foregoing decisions into account. These Rules will be submitted to the Inter-Parliamentary Council for its approval.

B-9: AGENDA OF THE 61ST INTERPARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE

After hearing the reports of the Chairmen of the Study Committees, the Council fixed the *Agenda of the 61st Inter-Parliamentary Conference* as follows:

1. Election of the President and Vice-Presidents of the Conference.
2. General Debate.
3. Problems of Peace in South-East Asia—Report to be presented, on behalf of the Committee on Political Questions, International Security and Disarmament, by Mr. A. Fosset (France).
4. Situation in the Middle East.
5. Promotion of Fundamental Principles which should govern International Relations, particularly among States with Different Social Systems—Report to be presented, on behalf of the Committee on Political Questions, International Security and Disarmament, by Mr. M. Barisic (Yugoslavia).
6. Methods and Means of Parliamentary Control over Government and Administration Activities—Report to be presented, on behalf of the Committee on Parliamentary, Juridical and Human Rights Questions, by Sir Kenneth Anderson (Australia), Mr. G. Delenschke (German Democratic Republic) and Mr. A. P. Sharma (India).
7. International Monetary System—Report to be presented, on behalf of the Economic and Social Committee, by Mr. R. Tissières (Switzerland) and Mr. M. Trajkovic (Yugoslavia).
8. Development and Strengthening of Scientific Co-operation among States in the Interest of Peace and Security—Report to be presented, on behalf of the Educational, Scientific and Cultural Committee, by Mr. B. Ford (United Kingdom) and Mr. M. Nagy (Hungary).
9. Measures to be taken for the Effective Application of the United Nations Charter and International Texts relating to Human Rights in

Non-Self Governing Territories—Report to be presented, on behalf of the Committee on Non-Self-Governing Territories and Ethnic Questions, by Mr. M. Offroy (France).

10. Election of Two Members of the Executive Committee to Replace Mr. J. Hall (United Kingdom) and Mr. M. de Niet (Netherlands) whose mandates expire in 1973.

11. Proposal to amend the Statutes.

12. Communication of the Composition of the Inter-Parliamentary Council for the Period from the 61st to the 62nd Conference.

The Council further decided that there would be a single debate on Items 2, 3 and 4, and that two plenary sittings would be devoted to consideration of the "International Monetary System". In connection with this item, the Council unanimously decided that the International Monetary Fund be added to the list of international organizations invited to follow the work of the Conference as observers. Moreover, the Council decided that the Council of Europe will be authorized to be represented by two observers, one from the Council as such and one from its Consultative Assembly.

ANNEX C: SPEECHES OF U.S. DELEGATES

C-1: STATEMENT BY SENATOR JOHN J. SPARKMAN

(Promotion of Fundamental Principles Which Should Govern International Relations, Particularly Between States with Different Social Systems—April 24, 1973)

The question of what principles should guide relations between countries having different ideologies—and indeed between those having similar ideologies—has been a focal point of international relations since the end of World War II. But the context of discussions of this subject has changed greatly and we are fortunate that the climate in which we address it today is a good deal warmer than would have been the case not too many years ago.

A number of developments illustrate this change:

The United States and the USSR have agreed on a broad set of principles to govern their relations and have implemented these principles by concluding a number of important agreements and continuing negotiations on a number of others.

The United States and the People's Republic of China have undertaken to broaden the understanding between their peoples and governments.

In Europe, important preliminary discussions are under way in Helsinki and Vienna among nations of differing ideologies regarding a Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and a Mutual and Balanced Reduction of Forces. We welcome the contribution to this process by the IPU-sponsored conference recently held in Helsinki.

The capstone will shortly be put on the complex of agreements between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic.

Cease-fire agreements have been reached in Vietnam and Laos, and talks about the political future of both countries have begun.

The U.S. and North Vietnam have also established an Economic Commission which has held its first meetings.

In Korea, talks continue between North and South.

We recognize that promising as these developments are, they represent only fragile beginnings. Peace is not yet total nor is it certain in Southeast Asia. The cycle of violence and counter-violence has intensified recently in the Near East. Danger spots remain in a number of other areas of the world. Another look at the principles which should guide relations among states is therefore appropriate.

These principles have been set forth in a number of universally agreed key documents. These include the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the Declaration on Friendly Relations. The Final Act of the IPU Conference on European Cooperation and Security in Helsinki reaffirmed in particular:

"The principles of sovereignty, inviolability of frontiers, territorial integrity and independence as well as of the right to participate in an equal footing in international relations;

The right of all peoples to choose freely, without any kind of interference, the form of their respective social and political systems;

The duty of all States to refrain from the use of force or threats thereof, as well as to solve their conflicts by peaceful means and to implement in good faith their obligations under international law."

The Basic Principles of Relations agreed to by the United States and the USSR on May 29, 1972 provides other points of guidance well worth recalling. In this document, the two nations pledge that in order to avoid situations capable of causing a dangerous exacerbation of their relations, "they will do their utmost to avoid military confrontations and to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war. They will always exercise restraint in their mutual relations and will be prepared to negotiate and settle differences by peaceful means." They agreed not to seek to "obtain unilateral advantage at the expense of the other, directly or indirectly." Both declared that in their relations with others they would "make no claim for themselves and would not recognize the claims of anyone else to any special rights or advantages in world affairs. They recognize the sovereign equality of all states. The development of U.S.-Soviet relations is not directed against third countries and their interests."

Mr. Chairman, one of the most gratifying developments in recent years has been the recognition that relations between countries of different ideologies must have positive components going beyond the mere prevention of conflict. Coexistence now means cooperation. A host of communiques which have now been signed by countries with different ideologies have called for a broadening of economic, cultural and scientific ties, for greater cooperation in all fields. They recognize the need for a freer flow of information and greater contacts among all peoples across ideological frontiers. They have urged respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, religion or language as set forth in the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The recent IPU meeting in Helsinki proclaimed its adherence to these principles on behalf of the countries of Europe as well as the United States and Canada. We can reaffirm them as well for nations

in all other regions of the world. But in reaffirming them we all recognize that what will be decisive will be their implementation in practice. Much will have to be done by our governments but members of this organization can also play an important part not only in the influence we can bring to bear on our governments but through the actions we take in organizations such as this.

C-2: STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

(International Monetary System—April 24, 1973)

Since August 1971 when President Nixon suspended the gold convertibility of the dollar, the United States has been working with other nations towards reform of the international monetary system. The Bretton Woods system, under which world monetary relations had functioned for 25 years, was no longer adequate to the needs of the world economic system. That system had as its key the United States dollar, and it might have worked if it had provided for symmetrical adjustment by all other countries. If, for example, consistently surplus countries had been under an obligation to adjust either with upward movement of the exchange rate, lowering trade barriers, or through domestic demand management, the system might have been viable. As the system actually worked, it was mainly deficit countries that actually adjusted, to avoid depletion of reserves, either through exchange rate depreciation, trade measures, or domestic demand management. This asymmetry led to increasing pressure on the dollar and growing imbalance in the world monetary system through progressive undervaluation of certain surplus countries' currencies.

In the year and a half since the Smithsonian Agreement the world has moved towards reform of the monetary system. Basically the U.S. objective in these negotiations is to arrive at a system which is symmetric and equitable with respect to the obligations on both deficit and surplus countries. We believe it is essential that exchange rate changes be more frequent, easy, and in smaller steps, for those nations desiring to adjust by that method.

The United States has put forward a proposal which would use reserve levels or changes as criteria creating a presumption of need for adjustment. That is, changes in a country's reserves beyond certain base levels would be construed as a signal that the country might be balance of payments disequilibrium. There would be many exceptions for temporary distortions to a country's reserves. If, however, international consultation concluded that the signals correctly indicated payments imbalance, the country would be expected to adjust but would have a several alternatives ways of adjustment to choose from including exchange rate change, trade measures (in surplus situations) and demand management.

Our Government believes that this is the primary and most pressing problem with respect to reform of the international monetary system. When an adequate and symmetrical adjustment system is agreed upon we believe other problems will be much easier to resolve. For example, there is concern among our negotiating partners on the questions of reserve assets and convertibility. Many suggest that these two items are most important. However, while we do not at all underestimate the

importance of these two items we believe that they actually are a part of the adjustment question. The problem of convertibility is built in to that of adjustment. Resolving one question should automatically solve the other. When the participants know the likely shape of the adjustment system, the other answers should logically follow. As for funding outstanding reserve assets, this is a transient problem. As with convertibility, this will be resolved as a logical follow-on to resolution of the adjustment question.

In the wake of the most recent monetary crisis we are involved with our negotiating partners in investigating the question of capital movements and their relation to a reformed monetary system. In general we approach this subject in the belief that the freest possible movement of capital is best for all countries of the world as it leads to an efficient allocation of resources within and between nations. However, there may be aspects of capital movements, particularly short-term movements which flow for speculative gain between currencies that add to the instability of a monetary system. We are perfectly willing to examine this prospect.

Questions of economic development and trade are also linked to the reform of the monetary system. Many countries are suggesting that economic aid to developing countries could be increased through linking future allocations of SDRs to the development process by allocating them only to developing countries. The United States is willing to examine this suggestion without prejudice or preconception.

We also believe that reform is needed in the international trading system. Many of the trading practices of our major trading partners derive from periods which immediately followed the Second World War in which inhibitions on trading for U.S. goods were common in order to preserve very tenuous balance of payments positions. This situation no longer obtains in the world, but many of the restrictions on U.S. goods are still maintained by other industrial countries. It is our belief that this led in part to the breakdown of the former monetary system. We believe that trade reform and equitable access of our goods to foreign markets is an important aspect to achieving a lasting and successful international monetary system.

C-3 : STATEMENT BY SENATOR STROM THURMOND

(The role of Parliament in defending the rights of women as workers and mothers—April 25, 1973)

Discrimination against women, like all other forms of discrimination, is a very nearly universal phenomenon, and it can be eliminated only through wide-ranging, vigorous action by men and women alike. Although the international community has firmly committed itself to this goal—through the UN Charter, the Declaration of Human Rights, and the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women—discrimination against women remains a major problem.

The status of women is not a new issue in American politics. The suffragist movement of the latter half of the nineteenth century culminated in the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment which guaranteed women the right to vote. Supporters of the Amendment hoped

that its adoption would not only guarantee the participation of women in the political system but also bring about the demise of other kinds of discrimination against women. Although more than fifty years have passed since the adoption of the Amendment, these expectations have not yet been completely fulfilled. However, during the past decade renewed and accelerating attempts have been made to eliminate sex discrimination in all areas of American society. The United States Congress has played an important role in these efforts, particularly in the economic sphere.

Two federal laws, enacted by Congress in the past decade, should be cited. One is The Equal Pay Act of 1963 whose full impact is just beginning to be felt. Under this act, employers are required to pay equal wages for equal work regardless of the sex of the employees. By June 1972 an estimated \$44.5 million had been awarded to 108,000 employees against employers in violation of the Act.

The second Act was the Civil Rights Law of 1964 which prohibits employment discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex or national origin; 1972 amendments extended coverage under this act and broadened enforcement powers.

Congress has also directed its attention to some factors other than hiring and pay practices which also restrict the employment opportunities of women. One factor which affects women both as workers and as mothers is a lack of adequate child care at a reasonable cost. To alleviate this situation, in late 1971 Congress enacted a tax reform measure which included a provision which allows lower-income working mothers to deduct the cost of child care from their income taxes.

Another factor, which has not only restricted the employment opportunities of women but has also limited the contributions they have been able to make in other sectors of society, is sex discrimination in education. The Education Amendments of 1972 prohibit sex discrimination in educational programs receiving federal funds.

During the present session of Congress a number of bills have been introduced which are aimed at various kinds of sex discrimination. Several of the bills are directed at abolishing sex discrimination in credit transactions. Other bills would prohibit discrimination in insurance policies, equalize the treatment of male and female military personnel, or improve the status of female employees of various federal agencies.

A more general piece of legislation which has been introduced during the past several sessions is a woman's equality bill which is aimed at abolishing several kinds of discrimination against women. Another significant proposal relating to the status of women is the Equal Rights Amendment. This amendment to the U.S. Constitution was passed by the House on October 12, 1971 and by the Senate on March 22, 1972. In order to become part of the Constitution it must be ratified by three-fourths of the states within seven years from March 22, 1972. So far it has been ratified by 30 states. The amendment provides:

Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

The purpose of the amendment, as its language indicates, is to guarantee the full legal equality of women in all respects—social as well as economic—throughout the country.

While we have made definite progress toward the goal of equal status for women, there is clearly a great deal which remains to be done. Moreover, under the U.S. federal system, certain areas such as marriage and family life are the subject of state rather than federal legislation. Numerous distinctions based on sex do still exist in the law. But the advances made already and the consciousness of the need for more is suggestive of the basic trend in the United States and as the discussion in this Committee suggests, of the trend throughout the world.

C-4 : STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE BOB CASEY

(Developing and Strengthening of Scientific Cooperation
Among States in the Interest of Peace and Security—
April 25, 1973)

The rise of modern science and the technological revolution has brought new dimensions to the foreign policies of all countries, large and small, developed and underdeveloped. There has been an explosion of knowledge which has brought a need for an international division of labor and new networks of international relationships. A common interest has developed transcending ideology and bypassing politics which makes international cooperation an absolute necessity and helps set the stage for improvement in the political atmosphere.

A striking feature of the recent world scene has been the increasing number of international scientific endeavors which see our planet as the astronauts do—whole and undivided, going beyond manmade divisions. Space itself provides a number of such endeavors. The U.S. launched an Earth Resource Technology Satellite (ERTS-1) on July 22, 1972 which is providing substance to hopes that surveying of earth from outer space will join space meteorology and space communications as the major examples of the benefits which space applications can provide to all nations. Experiments from 38 nations and two international organizations are included in the ERTS program and special cooperative arrangements have been worked out with Canada, Mexico, and Brazil.

Two ambitious projects are to be conducted by the Global Atmospheric Research Program, an international effort jointly sponsored by the World Meteorological Association and the International Scientific Unions. The first of these is a tropical Atlantic experiment scheduled for 1974; the second a world-wide experiment which will involve the launching of seven meteorological satellites by the U.S., the Soviet Union and Japan.

Last year, the world community took a major step forward with the holding in Stockholm of the UN Conference on the Human Environment. Later in the year, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution establishing a new organization to carry out the Stockholm Conference recommendation. This organization will include a Governing Council for Environmental Programs, an Environment Secretariat, an Environmental Coordinating Board and a voluntary Fund for the Environment which will support new or strengthened programs in a variety of fields. The new Environmental Secretariat will be headquartered in Nairobi underscoring the extensive scope of the problem.

Areas of particular interest will include the development of pollution criteria, the establishment of a system for monitoring pollutants in the environment, the conservation of genetic and other natural resources, education and training, and a center designed for exchanging information on the environment among all countries.

Scientific cooperation has become an important cement of relations among the U.S. and its allies, between the U.S. and the Communist countries of Europe and Asia, and between the developed and under-developed countries.

Well established agreements with Japan, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy and Spain have continued to provide a framework for visiting scientists and the promotion of cooperative projects. Significant progress was recorded during 1972 in U.S. bilateral scientific ties with Latin America. During the year, NATO's Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society continued its attention to environmental problems such as agreeing to have a pilot study on Urban Transportation, holding a meeting of medical experts and a symposium in Inland Water Pollution.

Significant progress was made in scientific relations between the United States and Eastern Europe. In the aftermath of President Nixon's visit to the Soviet Union, the U.S.-USSR Joint Committee on Scientific Cooperation has agreed to a large number of cooperative projects on energy, agriculture, water resources, chemical catalysis, production of substances by micro-biological means, the application of computers in management and others. A Space Agreement provides for a joint docking mission in 1975. In accordance with the Agreement on Cooperation in Environmental Protection, the two countries have already begun work on 33 cooperative projects and exchanges.

Progress has also been in U.S. scientific cooperation with Poland, Romania, Hungary and Bulgaria. On October 31 we entered into a comprehensive agreement with Poland. The National Science Foundation has endorsed six new projects in Romania and signed a broad agreement on cooperation with Hungary. The National Academy of Sciences cosponsored a symposium on science policy held in Bulgaria.

A notable new development was the formation of the International Institute of Applied Systems Analysis representing 12 countries from East and West Europe. The Institute is the first multilateral, non-governmental scientific institution organized to study large-scale problems common to industrialized nations.

Science presents new opportunities in relations between developed and developing nations. As the interests of developing countries in science and technology have risen, the United States has accelerated its efforts to harness the power of science and technology to development.

In our foreign aid program, first priority has been given to the strengthening of agricultural research capabilities in developing countries. In addition to U.S. support for the World Bank's Consultative Group, we now participate in bilateral research activities in more than 30 countries. A more recent priority is in the field of industrial technology—to assist developing countries to choose, adopt and develop technologies appropriate for their capital and labor resources.

Thus the U.S. government recently gave the Massachusetts Institute of Technology a five year grant so that its experts could adapt industrial and public works technology in the United States to the conditions of developing countries.

A key element in the transfer of technology is the need to make sure that relevant information reaches the developing countries. Only a few weeks ago the U.S. representative to ECOSOC's Committee on Science and Technology for Development proposed that the Committee sponsor a detailed study on extending the lessons of international research networks in agricultural fields to other areas of world-wide importance. The United States intends to make available to interested developing countries technological reports which will enable them to exploit previously untapped resources and processes. Many concepts and products of our research and development have been and will continue to be immediately transferrable without special large funding.

Finally, a key element in any program of international cooperation in the fields of science should be the encouragement of exchange of personnel. Exchanges in the sciences are not only vital for the solution of the problems of modern society but they strengthen international relations. The United States has exchange programs with 126 countries involving both public and private efforts, covering a wide variety of subjects.

The legislatures of the world can do their part to strengthen this wide range of endeavors. Our organization has in the past lent its encouragement to cooperation in space, environment, and many other aspects of scientific cooperation. Our consideration of this subject at this meeting reflected the growing importance which this subject holds for the future of all our people and for the peace of the world.

C-5 : STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE FLOYD SPENCE

(Methods and Means of Parliamentary Control Over Government and Administration Activities—April 25, 1973)

Anyone who has followed the headlines of recent weeks in the United States will recognize that the subject being considered by this committee has been the subject of very lively consideration in my country. And if it makes headlines, you can be sure that the subject is not an academic one. It covers both domestic and foreign policies. It goes to the heart of the U.S. political system. As such, much is unique to my own country but may also reflect the kind of problems facing others in this organization.

As you are all aware, the keystone of the American political system lies in the separation of powers among the three branches of government: executive, legislative, and judicial. As far back as the eighteenth century, the drafters of the U.S. Constitution balanced the strong powers it gave the executive branch of government with the power of judicial review by the courts and a number of potent weapons which it put into the hands of the representatives of the people serving in the Senate and the House of Representatives.

The ultimate weapon of parliamentary control which the U.S. Constitution provides for is, of course, the very right to legislate. Thus

the Constitution gives Congress the power, among other things, to lay and collect taxes, to borrow money, to regulate domestic and international commerce, to raise money for and regulate the armed forces and finally "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Departments or Officer thereof."

Through legislation, the Congress controls the organization, personnel systems and the funding of programs desired by the executive branch. In the realm of foreign policy, the Senate is given the power to ratify treaties and to rule on appointments. The ability to vote or not vote on appropriations is a key element in Congressional control.

The expansion of government since the thirties and especially since the World War II has lent new dimensions to the relationship between executive and legislative in the United States. Huge bureaucratic structures became necessary for military purposes during the war and afterwards as well as for the increasing social and economic demands put on the federal government. This growing scope of public decisions has generated more pressing needs to control administrative agencies and executive decisions. A key element in exercising this control resides in Congress.

In 1946 the Congress passed a Reorganization Act designed to strengthen the ability of Congressional Committees to accomplish this task. The Act authorized independent information and research sources for the committee so that they would not have to rely too heavily on administrative agencies. The Act marked the real beginning of a professional staff system for committees. Each standing committee was permanently authorized for four professional and six clerical staff members. The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 extensively revised committee procedures, increased the number of professional staff allowed committees, and made it possible for all standing committees to hire consultants and contract for consultative organization services and to assist their professional staffs in obtaining specialized training.

The committees and their staff play a key role in the Congressional role as reviewer of executive actions. The oversight or review functions of Congress constitute a continuous process conducted in a variety of ways: standing committee hearings, requests to the executive branch for information, committee staff studies, audits and reports by the General Accounting Office, and special committee investigations. Other oversight opportunities occur when agencies seek additional funding authority. At such times administrators are called upon to justify their requests, often finding themselves defending past actions or expenditures. Some agencies, moreover, are required to submit periodic activity reported to the appropriate House and Senate committees. Annually, the Appropriations Committees review the operations of the executive when appropriating funds for the operation of the Government, thereby providing an additional check on the executive branch.

To fulfill its legislative and investigative functions, Congressional committees and their staffs are buttressed by several other institutions. One of these is the Legislative Reference Service which was renamed in 1970 the Congressional Research Service and given expanded duties

and functions. Another is the General Accounting Office which has been used increasingly by Congress to monitor governmental functioning. A third established in 1972 was the Office of Technology Assessment which will provide Congress with independent analysis of the probable social, economic, and political impact of existing technological applications.

To sum up, through its time honored capacity to manipulate the legislative process before administrative action can begin and its review of these actions afterwards, the U.S. Congress fulfills its appointed role in the U.S. balance of power system. The fulfillment of this role is not automatic. Events and personalities often alter the balance of earlier eras or of Constitutional theorists. But American history has been notable for the redressing of any imbalances and whatever the resting point of any new equilibrium of forces, it is safe to predict that legislative control over executive actions will remain a cardinal feature of the American political system.

While circumstances differ, we suspect that the accumulation of power in executive branches of government is a phenomenon encountered in a wide variety of countries. We therefore look forward with anticipation to learning the role played and the methods used by parliaments of other nations in dealing with this problem.

C-6 : STATEMENT BY SENATOR J. BENNETT JOHNSTON, JR.

(Measures to be Taken for the Effective Application of the UN Charter and International Texts Relating to Human Rights in Non-Self-Governing Territories—April 26, 1973)

Respect for human rights and self-determination of peoples are vitally important subjects, and they have traditionally been major concerns of this Organization. We in the United States Group feel that the inclusion of these items on the agenda of the Inter-Parliamentary Union is especially appropriate in this year, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This important anniversary provides us with an excellent opportunity to review the events of the past twenty-five years, to consider the tremendous progress which has been made, and to consider as well the very serious problems which still remain.

We can all, I think, take much satisfaction from the progress which has been made during the past twenty-five years towards the goal of universal self-determination. Since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the General Assembly, more than fifty new and independent nations have come into existence, and the size of the UN itself has nearly tripled.

Unfortunately, however, our satisfaction is far from complete during this twenty-fifth anniversary year. For while impressive progress has been made, the hard core of the problem remains—namely, the very grave abuses of the right of self-determination and of human and political rights in southern Africa. In the Republic of South Africa, 18 million blacks have been denied the right to full participation in the political, economic and social life of their nation. Self-determination

and human rights have little meaning, where men continue to be demeaned for reason of their race, and to be detained and harassed for daring to question official policy.

South Africa continues to administer Namibia despite rulings by the United Nations and the International Court of Justice that it has forfeited its mandate to do so. In addition, the South African authorities are now extending to Namibia the practice of *apartheid*. In Southern Rhodesia, a regime representing a very small minority continues to impose its will on the overwhelming African majority. The Portuguese territories of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea (Bissau) are the last major areas in the southern Hemisphere still ruled by a foreign power. Here, too, the present rate of progress toward self-determination is inadequate.

It is thus clear that the situation in southern Africa remains a matter of grave concern to the United States and the world community. Racism and apartheid are abhorrent to the American people. As President Nixon pointed out in his 1972 Foreign Policy Report, such policies "violate our national ideals and constitute a direct affront to American citizens." No country can afford to ignore the tensions created in Africa by denials of self-determination.

We share the frustrations felt on the continent of Africa at the seeming intractability of the problems in southern Africa. At the same time, we oppose recourse to violence to bring about rapid social change and favor constructive alternatives to the use of force. We support continuing efforts by the world community directed at the minority regimes in southern Africa. This has included strict adherence to arms embargoes against South Africa and Portugal and, in the main, to sanctions against Rhodesia. At the same time we believe that some influence can be brought to bear through the maintenance of communications with all the peoples of the area concerned. Thus trips to the United States by significant members of the South Africa majority, the assignment of black Americans to the area, U.S. government encouragement of U.S. company efforts to open new opportunities and improve conditions for black workers,—all these constitute some of the ways in which the barriers of racism are being challenged.

In focusing our attention on the question of human rights in non-self-governing territories, let us not forget that concern for these rights including the right of selfdetermination must be universal. It cannot be limited to one region or one particular area of the world. Moreover, we view self-determination not as a one-time decision but as a continual process, whereby peoples may decide, in light of existing conditions, the manner in which they wish to exercise this right. Self-determination means freedom of choice, and for this freedom of choice to be meaningful, there must be corresponding freedom of thought, conscience, expression, movement, and association. Now during this twenty-fifth anniversary year of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, let us commit ourselves anew to the full and complete realization of all these basis human rights.

