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POLITICAL HANDBOOK OF THE WORLD 1990

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ence" convened at Arusha, Tanzania, in July 1979 by Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, and Zambia (the "Front-Line States" opposed to White rule in southern Africa). A draft declaration entitled "Southern Africa: Towards Economic Liberation" was drawn up proposing a program of action to improve regional transportation, agriculture, industry, energy, and development planning, with a view toward reducing economic dependence on the Republic of South Africa. As a follow-up to the Arusha meeting, the SADCC was formally established during a summit of the heads of state or government of nine countries (the original five plus Lesotho, Malawi, Swaziland, and Zimbabwe) that convened on April 1, 1980, at Lusaka, Zambia. Namibia became the tenth SADCC member upon achieving independence in 1990.

Structure. A Meeting of Heads of State or Government is convened annually. In addition, ministerial representatives attend an annual Council of Ministers meeting, with special sessions called during the year to discuss specific regional policies. Meetings are also held annually with donor governments and intergovernmental organizations to review existing projects and augment external financing.

The Secretariat, located at Gaborone, Botswana, is intentionally small to avoid the bureaucratic entanglements that have been viewed as crippling most African regional groupings. Under the terms of the "Lusaka Declaration" issued in 1980, individual members have been assigned coordinating roles over specified economic concerns. Thus, in July 1980 the Conference's first operational body, the Southern African Transport and Communications Commission, was formed under Mozambique's leadership. Other states have received the following assignments: Angola, energy; Botswana, livestock production, animal disease control, and crop production research; Lesotho, soil and water conservation, land utilization, and tourism; Malawi, fisheries, forestry, and wildlife; Swaziland, manpower development and training; Tanzania, industry and trade; Zambia, development funding and mining; and Zimbabwe, regional food security.

Activities. The SADCC is considered one of the most viable of the continent's regional groupings although its actual accomplishments have been modest compared to the development needs of its members. During its first six years the SADCC concentrated on the rehabilitation and expansion of transport corridors to permit the movement of goods from the interior of the region to ocean ports without the use of routes through South Africa. In 1986, however, SADCC leaders concluded that such infrastructure development would not reduce dependence on South Africa sufficiently unless accompanied by broad, long-term economic growth in the region. Consequently, the SADCC announced that additional emphasis would be given to programs and projects designed to increase production within the private and parastatal sectors, expand intra-regional trade, support national economic reform policies, and encourage international investment in the region. The current program of action encompasses some 500 projects ranging from small feasibility studies to large port and railway construction projects with a total value of \$6.5 billion.

Throughout the 1980s the Conference called for the international community to impose comprehensive, man-

datory sanctions against Pretoria to protest apartheid. However, consensus was not attained on regional action, such as the severance of air links with Pretoria, primarily because of objections from Lesotho and Swaziland, the SADCC members whose economies are most directly linked to South Africa.

During their 1987 summit the heads of government condemned the "continuation and intensification" of South Africa's "acts of aggression and destabilization" against their countries. In January 1988 donor governments and international organizations signalled their continued support for the SADCC position by pledging an additional \$1 billion to the Conference over the next four years.

At the July 1988 summit SADCC leaders again called on the White-dominated regime to negotiate an end to apartheid and institute majority rule. Pretoria's current policies were "doomed to fail", the summit leaders asserted, particularly in view of evidence that SADCC corridor transport efforts were finally beginning to divert a significant proportion of regional trade away from South Africa.

The SADCC received further encouraging news in early 1989 when the World Bank reported that regional economic growth in 1988 (4.5 percent) had exceeded population growth (3.3 percent) for the first time in 15 years. The Bank credited the improvement in part to the implementation of fiscal policy reforms by SADCC members, who subsequently vowed to pursue further structural adjustment, while attempting to ameliorate the negative effects of such change on the region's poor. The Bank demonstrated its support by pledging \$4 billion in assistance to SADCC members over the next five years. In addition, the Nordic countries established a new fund to finance export-oriented companies located in SADCC countries.

UNITED NATIONS (UN)

Established: By Charter signed at San Francisco, United States, June 26, 1945, effective October 24, 1945.

Purpose: To maintain international peace and security; to develop friendly relations among states based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; to achieve international cooperation in solving problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character; and to harmonize the actions of states in the attainment of these common ends.

Headquarters: New York, United States.

Principal Organs: General Assembly (all members), Security Council (15 members), Economic and Social Council (54 members), Trusteeship Council (5 members), International Court of Justice (15 judges), Secretariat.

Secretary General: Javier Pérez de Cuéllar (Peru).

Membership (159): See Appendix C.

Official Languages: Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, Spanish.

Working Languages: Chinese, English, French, Russian, Spanish.

Origin and development. The idea of creating a new intergovernmental organization to replace the League of Nations was born early in World War II and first found public expression in an Inter-Allied Declaration signed at London, England, on June 12, 1941, by representatives of five Commonwealth states and eight European governments-in-exile. Formal use of the term United Nations first occurred in the Declaration by United Nations, signed at Washington, DC, on January 1, 1942, on behalf of 26 states that had subscribed to the principles of the Atlantic Charter (August 14, 1941) and had pledged their full cooperation for the defeat of the Axis powers. At the Moscow (USSR) Conference on October 30, 1943, representatives of China, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States proclaimed that they "recognized the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security". In meetings at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC, between August 21 and October 7, 1944, the four powers reached agreement on preliminary proposals and determined to prepare more complete suggestions for discussion at a subsequent conference of all the United Nations.

Meeting at San Francisco, California, from April 25 to June 25, 1945, representatives of 50 states participated in the drafting of the United Nations Charter, which was formally signed on June 26. Poland was not represented at the San Francisco Conference but later signed the Charter and is counted among the 51 "original" United Nations members. Following ratification by the five permanent members of the Security Council and a majority of the other signatories, the Charter entered into force October 24, 1945. The General Assembly, convened in its first regular session on January 10, 1946, accepted an invitation to establish the permanent home of the organization in the United States; privileges and immunities of the United Nations headquarters were defined in a Headquarters Agreement with the United States government signed June 26, 1947.

The membership of the UN, which increased from 51 to 60 during the period 1945-1950, remained frozen at that level for the next five years as a result of US-Soviet disagreements over admission. The deadlock was broken in 1955 when the superpowers agreed on a "package" of 16 new members: four Soviet-bloc states, four Western states, and eight "uncommitted" states. Since then, states have normally been admitted with little delay. The exceptions are worth noting. The admission of the two Germanies in 1973 led to proposals for admission of the two Koreas and of the two Vietnams. Neither occurred, formal application of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the post-Thieu Republic of Vietnam being rejected by the Security Council

on August 18, 1975. On November 16, 1976, the United States used its 18th veto in the Security Council to prevent the admission of the recently united Socialist Republic of Vietnam, having earlier in the same session, on June 23, 1976, employed its 15th veto to prevent Angola from joining. Later in the session, however, the United States relented and Angola gained admission. In July 1977 Washington dropped its objection to Vietnamese membership as well. With the admission of Brunei, the total membership during the 39th session of the General Assembly in 1984 rose to 159, a figure still short of the organization's goal of universality. Total membership rose briefly to 160 with the admission of Namibia (which achieved independence in March 1990) before falling back to 159 after the merger of North and South Yemen into a single republic the following May. As of July 15, 1990, states that were not members included the Holy See (Vatican City State), Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Republic of Korea, Monaco, San Marino, Switzerland, Kiribati, Liechtenstein, Nauru, Tonga, and Tuvalu; most, however, participate in certain of the United Nations' associated bodies (see Appendix C), while the first six have formal observer status in the General Assembly and maintain permanent observer missions at UN headquarters. (In July 1990 Liechtenstein submitted a membership request, which was subsequently endorsed by the Security Council, and is expected to be admitted at the beginning of the General Assembly's annual session in September.)

Structure. The UN system can be viewed as comprising (1) the principal organs, (2) subsidiary organs established to deal with particular aspects of the organization's responsibilities, (3) a number of specialized and related agencies, and (4) a series of ad hoc global conferences to examine particularly pressing issues.

The institutional structure of the principal organs resulted from complex negotiations that attempted to balance both the conflicting claims of national sovereignty and international responsibility, and the rights of large and small states. The principle of sovereign equality of all member states is exemplified in the General Assembly; that of the special responsibility of the major powers, in the composition and procedure of the Security Council. The other principal organs included in the Charter are the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice (ICJ), and the Secretariat.

The bulk of intergovernmental bodies related to the UN consists of a network of Specialized Agencies established by intergovernmental agreement as legal and autonomous international entities with their own memberships and organs and which, for the purpose of "coordination", are brought "into relationship" with the UN. While sharing many of their characteristics, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) remain legally distinct from the Specialized Agencies.

The proliferation of subsidiary organs can be attributed to many complex factors, including new demands and needs as more states attained independence; the effects of the "cold war"; a gradual diminution of East-West bipolarity; a greater concern with promoting economic and

ber 1986 when Australia became the eighth SPF member to tender its ratification. Those countries known to possess nuclear weapons were asked to sign the Treaty's protocols, the SPF having added an "opt-out" provision which would permit adherents to withdraw if they believed their national interests were at stake. The Soviet Union ratified the protocols in 1988 while China has signed but not formally ratified them. France, the United Kingdom, and the United States have declined to support the treaty.

Controversy has also arisen in recent years regarding tuna fishing in the region, Washington and the Forum Fisheries Agency (FFA) eventually concluding a five-year agreement (signed in 1987 and ratified in 1988) under which the US government and the tuna industry agreed to pay \$12 million annually in cash grants and development aid for trawling rights. The agreement is of political importance since US tuna boats have periodically been charged with "poaching" by SPF members, several of whom have signed bilateral fishing pacts with the Soviet Union. In 1988 the FFA moved to secure a regional accord with Japan, although Tokyo announced that it, too, favored the bilateral approach, and no agreement had been reached as of mid-1990.

The 18th annual meeting was held at Apia, Western Samoa, on May 29-30, 1987, scarcely more than two weeks after the region's first military coup had overthrown the government of Fiji. Australia and New Zealand were strongly opposed to the ouster of Fiji's elected government, while many island leaders sympathized with the desire of indigenous Fijians to protect their traditional rights; thus, the delegates settled on a statement expressing "deep concern and anguish" over the situation. Another major topic at the meeting was the political situation in New Caledonia (see France: Related Territories). Reflecting the strong feelings of the Melanesian Spearhead Group (Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu), the SPF voiced "grave disquiet" over French policies in New Caledonia and called for a settlement that would guarantee "the rights and interests of all inhabitants . . . with special recognition of Kanak rights".

The 1988 annual session was much less contentious, largely because the situation in Fiji was omitted from the agenda in response to Spearhead Group insistence that it was inappropriate for the SPF to interfere in a member's internal political affairs. In regard to New Caledonia, the summit strongly endorsed the peace plan introduced by the new French government earlier in the year.

In an effort to break the long-standing impasse on the proposed merger of the economic and technical functions of the SPF with the South Pacific Commission, the summit leaders created the South Pacific Organizations Coordinating Committee (SPOCC). The SPF envisioned the SPOCC as a loose-knit regional "umbrella" that would be able to reduce program duplication without the complications stemming from a single regional organization. The SPF also invited its "dialogue partners", particularly the SPC, to consultative meetings immediately prior to and following future SPF annual meetings. In other activity, the Forum agreed in principle to the establishment of a \$140 million regional satellite telecommunications network by the Australian Overseas Telecommunications Corpora-

tion, proposed the formation of a regional petroleum organization, authorized a study on ways to boost production and investment in smaller island countries, decried the global "greenhouse effect" that could cause elevated sea levels to inundate countries such as Kiribati and Tuvalu, and received a proposal from the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (OPANAL) for OPANAL-SPNFZ linkage.

Environmental issues dominated the annual meeting on July 10-11, 1989, at Tarawa, Kiribati, particularly the recent use of drift-net fishing in the region by Taiwanese and Japanese boats (see article on the South Pacific Commission, above). The SPF strongly condemned the technique and called for creation of a regional structure to enforce a ban on it.

The consultations with SPF dialogue partners, held in connection with the annual meeting, were described as highly successful as Canada, France, Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States (among others) addressed their growing Pacific concerns, particularly regarding fishing, potential exploitation of seabed resources, trade, and development aid. Throughout the year the SPF continued to seek expanded ties outside the region, the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) being a primary target of the outreach effort.

SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COORDINATION CONFERENCE (SADCC)

Established: During a summit meeting of Black southern African countries at Lusaka, Zambia, on April 1, 1980.

Purpose: To promote economic cooperation among independent Southern African states by synchronizing development plans and reducing economic dependence upon the Republic of South Africa.

Headquarters: Gaborone, Botswana.

Principal Organs: Meeting of Heads of State or Government (all members), Council of Ministers (all members), Executive Secretariat, Southern African Transport and Communications Commission.

Executive Secretary: Dr. Simbarashe H.S. Makoni (Zimbabwe).

Membership (10): Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Origin and development. The SADCC originated in a "Southern African Development Coordination Confer-

social development through technical-assistance programs (almost entirely financed by voluntary contributions); and a resistance to any radical change in international trade patterns. For many years, the largest and most politically significant of the subordinate organs were the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), both of which were initially venues for debates, for conducting studies and presenting reports, for convening conferences and specialized meetings, and for mobilizing the opinions of nongovernmental organizations. They also provided a way for less-developed states to formulate positions vis-à-vis the industrialized states. During the 1970s both became intimately involved in activities related to program implementation and on January 1, 1986, UNIDO became the UN's 16th Specialized Agency.

One of the most important developments in the UN system has been the use of ad hoc conferences to deal with major international problems. For a listing of such conferences and a brief description of their activities, see Appendix B. Some conferences are also discussed under General Assembly: Origin and Development, below, or within entries for various General Assembly Special Bodies or UN Specialized Agencies.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Membership (159): All members of the United Nations (see Appendix C), although South Africa has been excluded from participation since 1974.

Observers (19): African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States; African Development Bank; Agency for Technical and Cultural Cooperation; Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee; Commonwealth Secretariat; Council for Mutual Economic Assistance; European Community; Holy See; Islamic Conference; Democratic People's Republic of Korea; Republic of Korea; Latin American Economic System; League of Arab States; Monaco; Organization of African Unity; Organization of American States; Palestine (formerly designated as the observer mission of the Palestine Liberation Organization); San Marino; Switzerland.

Origin and development. Endowed with the broadest powers of discussion of any UN organ, the General Assembly may consider any matter within the scope of the Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organ provided for in the Charter. It may also make corresponding recommendations to the members or to the Security Council, although it may not make recommendations on any issue which the Security Council has under consideration unless requested to do so by that body.

The Assembly's prominence in the UN system cannot simply be traced to the Charter but rather to the vigorous exercise of its clearly designated functions and to its assertion of additional authority in areas, most notably the maintenance of peace and security, in which its Charter mandate is ambiguous.

Since all members of the UN participate in the Assembly on a one-country, one-vote basis, the kinds of resolutions

passed in the Assembly have varied considerably as the membership has changed. Thus while the Assembly's early history was dominated by "cold war" issues, the rapid expansion of the membership to include less-developed countries — now comprising an overwhelming majority — has led to a focus on issues of decolonization and development. A Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted on December 14, 1960, proclaimed the "necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations". A special committee on the implementation of this declaration, known informally as the Special Committee of Twenty-four, has maintained continuous pressure for its application to the remaining non-self-governing territories.

As the end of colonialism in the world at large approached, UN attention focused increasingly upon the problems of colonialism and racial discrimination in certain southern African territories: the Portuguese dependencies of Angola, Mozambique, and Portuguese Guinea; Southern Rhodesia; and Namibia. During the 1960s, the General Assembly moved from general assertions of moral and legal rights in this area to condemnations of specific governments, accompanied by requests for diplomatic and economic, and threats of military, sanctions. In 1972 the Assembly "condemned", for the first time, violations by the United States of Security Council sanctions against importing chrome and nickel from Southern Rhodesia. In December 1976 the Assembly took the unprecedented action of passing a resolution endorsing "armed struggle" by Namibians. Subsequently, a number of peace proposals were discussed, culminating in a 1978 UN plan for Namibian independence which called for a ceasefire between South African and indigenous forces — essentially, guerrillas of the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO), UN supervision of the truce, a gradual withdrawal of all troops in Namibia, and, seven months after the ceasefire, UN-supervised elections for a Namibian constitutional assembly. However, settlement remained elusive, in part because of a schism between South Africa and SWAPO over Pretoria's insistence on linking Namibian independence with the withdrawal of Cuban and Eastern European troops stationed in Angola. In 1987 the Council for Namibia, meeting at the ministerial level for the first time in 20 years, condemned the "Transitional Government of National Unity" installed by South Africa in June 1985 and called for the "unconditional and speedy" implementation of the 1978 plan. Negotiations intensified in 1988 and on December 22 agreement among Angola, Cuba, and South Africa opened the way to independence based on the UN plan (see article on Namibia).

The Assembly's work in the area of development formally began with a proposal by US President John F. Kennedy that the 1960s be officially designated as the UN Development Decade. The overall objective of the Decade was the attainment in each less-developed state of a minimum annual growth rate of 5 percent in aggregate national income. To this end, the developed states were asked to make available the equivalent of 1 percent of their income in the form of economic assistance and private investment. By 1967 it had become clear that not all of the objectives

would be achieved by 1970, and a 55-member Preparatory Committee for the Second UN Development Decade was established by the General Assembly in 1968 to draft an international development strategy (IDS) for the 1970s. While the publicity surrounding the demand for a new international economic order (NIEO), particularly at the 1974, 1975, and 1980 special sessions of the General Assembly, tended to overshadow the IDS, the latter maintained its effectiveness, establishing quantitative targets for the Second Development Decade and on some issues, such as human development, remaining the single most comprehensive program of action for less-developed states. Targets for the Third Development Decade, which began January 1, 1981, included the following: an average annual growth rate of 7 percent in gross domestic product; expansion of exports and imports of goods and services by not less than 7.5 and 8.0 percent, respectively; gross domestic savings of approximately one-quarter of GDP by 1990; expansion of agricultural production at an average annual rate of at least 4 percent; expansion of manufacturing output at an average yearly rate of 9 percent; reduction of infant mortality in the poorest countries to less than 120 per 1,000 live births; and life expectancy in all countries of at least 60 years.

The General Assembly has increasingly concentrated on North-South relations, with an emphasis on economic links between advanced industrialized countries (often excluding those having centrally planned economies) and less-developed countries. Major discussion topics, all of them integral to the NIEO, have included the following: international monetary reform and the transfer of real resources for financing development; transfer of technological and scientific advances, with specific emphasis on the reform of patent and licensing laws; restructuring of the economic and social sectors of the UN system; expansion of no-strings-attached aid; preferential and nonreciprocal treatment of less-developed states' trade; recognition of the full permanent sovereignty of every state over its natural resources and the right of compensation for any expropriated foreign property; the regulation of foreign investment according to domestic law; supervision of the activities of transnational corporations; a "just and equitable relationship" between the prices of imports from and exports to less-developed states ("indexation"); and enhancement of the role of commodity-producers' associations. In recent years, efforts have been made to conduct an all-encompassing discussion of development issues in the form of global negotiations. Although three UN special sessions have been held on this topic, advanced and developing countries, particularly the United States, have disagreed on the necessity, scope, and utility of such talks.

As the 1980s drew to a close, UN analyses acknowledged that little progress had been made toward most development goals, economic conditions generally having deteriorated in the Third World during the decade and development assistance from industrialized nations having "stagnated" at levels well below UN targets. Consequently, UN Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar urged the Assembly to adopt a "limited set of realistic objectives" for the Fourth Development Decade, negotiations on which were launched in early 1990.

Both the General Assembly and the Security Council are entrusted by the Charter with responsibilities concerning disarmament and the regulation of armaments. Disarmament questions have been before the organization almost continuously since 1946, and a succession of specialized bodies has been set up to deal with them. Among those currently in existence are the all-member Disarmament Commission, established in 1952 and reconstituted in 1978, and the 40-member Conference on Disarmament (known until 1984 as the Committee on Disarmament), which meets at Geneva, Switzerland, under joint US-USSR chairmanship. The UN played a role in drafting the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space, and Under Water (effective October 10, 1963), as well as the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (effective March 5, 1970). The Second Special Session on Disarmament, held June 7-July 10, 1982, at UN headquarters, had as its primary focus the adoption of a comprehensive disarmament program based on the draft program developed in 1980 by the Committee on Disarmament. Although the session heard messages from many of the world's leaders, two-thirds of the delegations, and almost 80 international organizations, no agreement was reached on the proposal. At the 37th regular session of the General Assembly, which opened in September 1982, some 60 resolutions concerning disarmament were discussed. Of those adopted, three called for negotiation of new nuclear test-ban treaties. Additional resolutions, adopted over Western opposition, called for a freeze on the production and deployment of nuclear weapons.

The General Assembly has also endorsed US-Soviet bilateral agreements on the limitation of offensive and defensive strategic weapon systems; has urged wide adherence to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction (opened for signature April 10, 1972); and in April 1981 opened for ratification a Convention on Prohibition or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons which may be deemed to be Excessively Injurious or to have Indiscriminate Effects, the intention being to protect civilians from such weapons as napalm, land mines, and booby traps.

The Assembly met in special session on May 31-June 26, 1988, in another attempt to revise and update its disarmament aims and priorities. As in 1982, however, no consensus was reached on a final declaration. "Irreconcilable differences" were reported between Western countries and Third World nations (usually supported by the Soviet bloc) on a number of issues including conventional arms controls in developing nations, proposed curbs on space weapons; nuclear-weapon-free zones, and nuclear arms questions pertaining to South Africa and Israel.

UN activity in regard to human rights also dates virtually from the organization's founding. The Assembly's adoption in 1948 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights marked what was perhaps the high point of UN action in this field. Subsequently, the Human Rights Commission directed efforts to embody key principles of the Declaration in binding international agreements. These efforts culminated in two human-rights covenants — one dealing

with economic, social, and cultural rights, and the other with civil and political rights—both of which came into force in January 1976.

On October 3, 1975, concern for human rights was, for the first time, explicitly linked with nationalism in the form of a resolution contending “that Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination”. After considerable parliamentary maneuvering, the resolution passed on November 10 by a vote of 72–35–32. Two days later, US Ambassador to the UN Daniel P. Moynihan launched what appeared to be a counterattack. He presented a draft resolution appealing to “all governments to proclaim an unconditional amnesty by releasing . . . persons deprived of their liberty primarily because they have sought peaceful expression of beliefs at variance with those held by the governments”. While the US proposal was quickly withdrawn in the face of hostile amendments, both it and the Zionism resolution suggested that a new phase was opening in what had for some years been a relatively dormant issue on the UN calendar.

Questions relating to outer space are the province of a 47-member Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, established by the General Assembly in 1960 to deal with the scientific, technical, and legal aspects of the subject. In addition to promoting scientific and technical cooperation on a wide range of space endeavors, the Committee was responsible for the adoption of the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies (entered into force October 10, 1967) and the Agreement on the Rescue of Astronauts, the Return of Astronauts, and the Return of Objects Launched into Outer Space (entered into force December 3, 1968). In July 1979 the Committee produced a new draft treaty proclaiming that the moon’s resources were “the common heritage of mankind”. In addition, the Committee’s legal subcommittee has been drafting a treaty on direct television broadcasting via satellite and home receivers, and another on satellite sensing of the earth’s minerals and living resources.

The Second Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space was held August 9–21, 1982, at Vienna, Austria, where the first space conference had convened in 1968. In addition to reiterating a call for adherence to the 1967 Treaty and for improved UN monitoring of compliance, the Conference recommended that the General Assembly adopt measures designed to accelerate the transfer of peaceful space technology, to expand access to space and its resources for developing countries, and to establish a UN information service on the world’s space programs.

Oceanic policy has also become a major UN concern. In 1968 the General Assembly established a 42-member Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in 1970 advanced a Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof. Detailed and controversial negotiations in this area have since ensued, most notably in conjunction with the Third UN Conference on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), which held eleven ses-

sions from 1973 to 1982. Delegates to the tenth session (August 1981), at Geneva, Switzerland, reluctantly agreed to discuss several sensitive issues about which the US Reagan administration had expressed reservations. Although the 440 articles of the proposed treaty had received consensual approval during previous UNCLOS sessions, the United States demanded that items such as the regulation of deep-sea mining and the distribution of members for a proposed International Seabed Authority be re-examined before it would consider approving the document.

Following a year-long review of the proposed treaty, Washington ended its absence from the Conference with the presentation of a list of demands and revisions to be discussed at the eleventh session. Although compromises were reached in a number of disputed areas, other differences remained unresolved, including the rights of retention and the entry of private enterprises to seabed exploration and exploitation sites, mandatory technology transfers from private industry to the Seabed Authority, and amending procedures. On April 30, 1982, the treaty was approved by 130 Conference members, with 17 abstentions and four voting against: Israel, Turkey, the United States, and Venezuela. The treaty was opened for ratification and signed by 117 countries on December 10, and will enter into force one year after ratification by 60 states. On December 30 the Reagan administration informed the UN that it would not pay its 25 percent share of the costs for the Preparatory Commission established under the treaty. UN officials responded that the United States was obligated to meet its assessment because the Commission is a subsidiary organ of the General Assembly, while Washington asserted that since the Commission was established by treaty, only treaty signatories were legally bound to pay the Commission’s expenses.

The Preparatory Commission has been charged with establishing the two main organs of the Convention—the International Sea-Bed Authority and the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea. In addition, the General Assembly in 1983 created the Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Law of the Sea, a permanent body whose functions include carrying out the central program on law of the sea affairs, assisting states in consistently and uniformly implementing the Convention’s provisions, and providing general information concerning the treaty.

By December 9, 1984, the deadline for signing the Convention, 159 nations had become signatories; by late 1989 instruments of ratification had been deposited by 42 countries and the UN Council for Namibia. Meanwhile, the UN announced that many countries were already complying with the provisions of the Convention.

France, Japan, India, and the Soviet Union have been registered by the Preparatory Commission as “pioneer investors” under a program established to recognize national investments already made in exploration, research, and development work related to sea-bed mining. Pioneer investors are entitled to explore allocated portions of the international sea-bed but must wait until the Convention enters into force to begin commercial exploitation.

Structure. All members of the UN, each with one vote, are represented in the General Assembly, which now meets

for a full year in regular session, normally commencing the third Tuesday in September. Special sessions (convenable, contrary to earlier practice, without formal adjournment of a regular session) may be called at the request of the Security Council, of a majority of the member states, or of one member state with the concurrence of a majority. Eighteen such sessions have thus far been held: Palestine (1947 and 1948), Tunisia (1961), Financial and Budgetary Problems (1963), Review of Peace-Keeping Operations and Southwest Africa (1967), Raw Materials and Development (1974), Development and International Economic Cooperation (1975, 1980, and 1990), Disarmament (1978, 1982, and 1988), Financing for UN Forces in Lebanon (1978), Namibia (1978 and 1986), the Economic Crisis in Africa (1986), Apartheid in South Africa (1989), and Illegal Drug Trafficking (1990).

Under the "Uniting for Peace" resolution of November 3, 1950, an emergency special session may be convened by nine members of the Security Council or by a majority of the UN members in the event that the Security Council is prevented, by lack of unanimity among its permanent members, from exercising its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The seventh, eighth, and ninth such sessions dealt, respectively, with the question of Palestine (July 22-29, 1980), negotiations for Namibian independence (September 3-14, 1981), and the occupied Arab territories (January 29-February 5, 1982).

The General Assembly elects the ten nonpermanent members of the Security Council; the 54 members of ECOSOC; the elected members of the Trusteeship Council; and, together with the Security Council (but voting independently), the judges of the International Court of Justice. On recommendation of the Security Council, it appoints the secretary general and is empowered to admit new members. The Assembly also approves the UN budget, apportions the expenses of the organization among the members, and receives and considers reports from the other UN organs.

At each session the General Assembly elects its own president and 21 vice presidents, approves its agenda, and distributes agenda items among its committees, which are grouped by its rules of procedure into three categories: Main, Procedural, and Standing.

All member states are represented on the seven Main Committees: First Committee (Political and Security), Special Political Committee (shares the work of the First Committee), Second Committee (Economic and Financial), Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural), Fourth Committee (Trusteeship, including Non-Self-Governing Territories), Fifth Committee (Administrative and Budgetary), and Sixth Committee (Legal). Each member has one vote; decisions are taken by a simple majority. Resolutions and recommendations approved by the Main Committees are returned for final action by a plenary session of the General Assembly, where each member again has one vote but where decisions on "important questions"—including recommendations on peace and security questions; election of members to UN organs; the admission, suspension, and expulsion of member states; and budget matters—require a two-thirds majority of the mem-

bers present and voting. Agenda items not referred to a Main Committee are dealt with directly by the Assembly in plenary session under the same voting rules.

There are two Procedural (Sessional) Committees. The General Committee, which is composed of 29 members (the president of the General Assembly, the 21 vice presidents, and the chairmen of the seven Main Committees), draws up the agenda of the plenary meetings, determines agenda priorities, and coordinates the proceedings of the Committees. The Credentials Committee, which consists of nine members, is appointed at the beginning of each Assembly session and is responsible for examining and reporting on credentials of representatives.

The two Standing Committees deal with continuing problems during and between the regular sessions of the General Assembly. The Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (16 members) handles the budget and accounts of the UN as well as the administrative budgets of the Specialized Agencies; the Committee on Contributions (18 members) makes recommendations on the scale of assessments to be used in apportioning expenses. The members of each Standing Committee are appointed on the basis of broad geographical representation, serve for terms of three years, retire by rotation, and are eligible for reappointment.

The General Assembly is also empowered to establish subsidiary organs and ad hoc committees. Apart from the Special Bodies (see below), some three dozen such entities of varying size presently deal with political, legal, scientific, and administrative matters. Among those of an essentially political character (with dates of establishment) are the Special Committee on the Implementation of the Declaration on Decolonization (1961), the Special Committee against Apartheid (1962), the Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations (1965), the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean (1972), the UN Council for Namibia (1967), the UN Fund for Namibia (1970), the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization (1975), the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People (1975), the Special Committee on Enhancing the Effectiveness of the Principle of Non-Use of Force in International Relations (1977), the Ad Hoc Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against the Recruitment, Use, Financing and Training of Mercenaries (1980), the Advisory Board on Disarmament Studies (1978), the Disarmament Commission (1978), and the Oil Embargo Committee (1986). Subsidiary groups dealing with legal matters include the International Law Commission (1947), the Advisory Committee on the UN Programme of Assistance in Teaching, Study, Dissemination, and Wider Appreciation of International Law (1965), and the UN Commission on International Trade Law (1966). Those dealing with scientific matters include the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (1959), the UN Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation (1955), the Advisory Committee on Science and Technology for Development (1980), and the Committee on Development and Utilization of New and Renewable Sources of Energy (1982). Among the subsidiary groups dealing with administrative and finan-

cial matters are the Investments Committee (1947), the International Civil Service Commission (1948), the UN Administrative Tribunal (1949), the UN Joint Staff Pension Fund (1948), the Committee of Trustees of the UN Trust Fund for South Africa (1965), the Joint Inspection Unit (1966), the Advisory Committee on the UN Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa (1968), the Committee on Relations with the Host Country (1971), the Committee on Conferences (1974), and the Committee on Information (1978).

Recent Activities. In 1986 the General Assembly focused much of its attention on a financial crisis generated by drastic reductions in contributions by several countries, including the United States, which withheld \$110 million of its \$210 million assessment to protest what it termed a bloated and inefficient organization that did not accord sufficient influence to major contributors in spending decisions. Calling the impending deficit a threat to the viability of the United Nations, Secretary General Pérez de Cuéllar proposed sweeping savings measures that were endorsed by the reconvened 40th Assembly in April and expanded by the 41st Assembly during its September 16–December 19 regular session. An estimated \$70 million was saved by the short-term changes, which included a recruiting freeze, the delay of planned construction, deferred promotions, and reductions in spending for travel, consultants, overtime, and temporary help.

The 41st Assembly also endorsed most of the longer-term proposals advanced by an 18-member Group of High-Level Intergovernmental Experts, which agreed that the United Nations had become “too complex, fragmented and top-heavy” and was hampered by a proliferation of internal bodies with overlapping agendas. In response, a variety of measures, such as staff reductions and the consolidation of departments, were scheduled for immediate implementation, while the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) was directed to conduct a study on further restructuring, including possible changes in the budgetary decision process. (See section on ECOSOC for details on the failure of that study to produce a consensus.)

At its regular session from September 15 to December 21, 1987, the 42nd Assembly adopted a \$1.77 billion budget for the 1988–1989 biennium. Despite the payment of some arrears by the Soviet Union (Moscow having called throughout the year for enhanced UN activity and authority in peacekeeping and other areas), the financial status of the organization remained precarious and Pérez de Cuéllar declared that the organization might be forced to borrow money to avoid insolvency unless increased contributions were forthcoming.

Apart from budgetary matters, much of the session's discussion centered on highly visible UN participation in peace negotiations involving Afghanistan, Central America, the Persian Gulf, and southern Africa. Other resolutions denounced the continued Soviet presence in Afghanistan, deplored cuts in foreign aid to Africa and the lack of success in the continent's recovery program, appealed again for sanctions against South Africa, and committed the United Nations to a leadership role in a campaign to halt the spread of AIDS. The Assembly also approved lengthy documents drafted by subsidiary bodies on long-

term environmental concerns and measures to inhibit the threat or use of force in international relations.

The 42nd Assembly was reconvened on February 29–March 2 and March 18–23, 1988, to discuss Washington's efforts to close the observer mission offices of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (see section on International Court of Justice for details) and on May 11–12 to approve a special plan of economic cooperation for Central America under which the United Nations hopes to mobilize \$4.3 billion in assistance for the region.

In mid-1988 officials reported that arrears had reached \$602 million in the UN's regular budget and \$687 million in the peacekeeping budgets, leaving the organization “virtually without reserves”. However, the financial picture improved in September as Washington, responsible for more than \$520 million of the arrears, described the UN reform efforts as “making good progress” and announced plans to release some of its withheld 1988 dues. Further emphasizing Washington's new attitude, US President Reagan told the 43rd General Assembly, held September 26–December 22, that “the United Nations has the opportunity to live and breathe as never before”. The Soviet Union also continued to promote an expanded UN mandate as General Secretary Gorbachev became the first Soviet head of state to address the Assembly since 1960. Both Reagan and Gorbachev praised the United Nations for its recent success in regional peace negotiations (see sections on the Secretariat and the Security Council), which had significantly enhanced the organization's prestige in much of the world. However, the conflict in the Middle East remained a source of contention, the Assembly reiterating its appeal for a UN-sponsored peace conference while condemning Israel's “persistent policies and practices violating the human rights” of Palestinians in the occupied territories. Midway through the session one of the Assembly's sharpest controversies in recent years erupted when the United States refused to grant a visa to PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat, thereby preventing him from addressing the session on the PLO's recent declaration of an independent Palestinian state. The Assembly, calling Washington's decision a violation of the host country's legal obligations under the 1947 Headquarters Agreement, thereupon shifted its venue to Geneva, Switzerland, to hear 'Arafat (the first such move in UN history). At the end of the three-day Geneva sitting the Assembly voted to change the name of the PLO observer mission at the United Nations to the Palestine observer mission.

Other major topics of discussion at the 43rd Assembly included the dumping of nuclear and other toxic waste from industrialized nations in the Third World, the external debt crisis facing developing countries, pursuit of a political settlement in Cambodia, and proposals for negotiations on the reunification of Korea. The Assembly also approved a \$1.8 billion budget for the 1990–1991 biennium. Meeting in resumed session for two days the following April to discuss Palestinian affairs, the Assembly agreed to ask the Security Council to pursue ways of protecting Palestinians in the occupied territories.

The 44th Assembly, convening on September 19, 1989, further reflected what the *UN Chronicle* described as “an irresistible movement away from ideological confronta-

tion and towards a search for a common ground". The optimism grew out of the rapid thaw in East-West relations, which prompted the United States and the Soviet Union to pledge, in their first jointly sponsored Assembly resolution of its kind, to work toward the strengthening of the United Nations and its related organizations. However, some observers questioned the extent of Washington's commitment as the US Congress again cut the US contribution to the United Nations and refused to pay any arrears. In addition, the United States threatened to cut off its UN financing entirely if the Assembly approved a resolution upgrading the PLO's UN status. The Assembly eventually postponed a vote on the resolution amid widespread condemnation of the US pressure.

In other activity, the 44th Assembly adopted the long-discussed International Convention on the Rights of the Child, called upon the UN Environmental Program and the World Meteorological Organization to draft a treaty regarding global atmospheric warming, denounced the US invasion of Panama, and called for a "Namibia-style solution" to the conflict in Cambodia. Meanwhile, a two-day special session in December unanimously adopted guidelines for dismantling apartheid and instituting constitutional democracy in South Africa. In addition, two special sessions were held in early 1990: the first approved a plan of action against drug trafficking which emphasized demand reduction in drug consuming countries and economic assistance for poor drug producing countries; the second yielded a consensus that development policies for the Third World should favor free market orientation and "sound domestic policies".

GENERAL ASSEMBLY: SPECIAL BODIES

Over the years, the General Assembly has created a number of semiautonomous special bodies, two of which (UNCTAD, UNDP) deal with development problems, four (UNDRO, UNHCR, UNICEF, UNRWA) with relief and welfare problems, and two (UNEP, UNFPA) with demographic and environmental problems, while three (UNITAR, UNRISD, UNU) are research and training bodies. The most recent, the World Food Council, is designed to carry forward the work of the 1974 World Food Conference. A former special body, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) became a Specialized Agency on January 1, 1986.

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)

Established: By General Assembly resolution of December 11, 1946, as the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. Initially a temporary body to provide emergency assistance to children in countries ravaged by war, the Fund was made permanent by General Assembly resolution on October 6, 1953, the name being changed to United Nations Children's Fund while retaining the abbreviation UNICEF.

Purpose: To give assistance, particularly to less-developed countries, in the establishment of permanent child health and welfare services.

Headquarters: New York, United States.

Principal Organs: Executive Board (41 members), Program Committee (Committee of the Whole), Committee on Administration and Finance (18 members), National Committees, Secretariat. Membership on the Executive Board is on the following geographical basis: Africa, 9 seats; Asia, 9; Latin America, 6; Eastern Europe, 4; Western Europe and other, 12; with 1 additional seat rotating among the five groupings.

Executive Director: James P. Grant (United States).

Recent activities. UNICEF is actively involved in broadening its support of maternal and child health, nutrition, education, and social-welfare programs. To improve child health and nutrition, UNICEF has formulated four strategies: the use of oral rehydration therapy (giving the child a mixture of salt, sugar, and water during bouts of intestinal infection instead of withholding food and drink), the immunization of children against childhood diseases, the use of breastfeeding instead of artificial infant formulas, and the employment of child-growth charts by which a mother can follow her child's progress and determine when more food intake is necessary. UNICEF determined that before any of these could be truly effective, there had to be basic changes in the life-style of the poor: most importantly, increased income would be required to improve maternal and child nutrition, health, and education. A number of agricultural solutions have been suggested, including an increase in the number of small labor-intensive farms (producing both food and cash income for families). An increase in food subsidies for pregnant women and children has also been recommended. UNICEF stated that these measures, as well as others already in use, could help break the cycle of "ill-health, low energy, low productivity, low incomes and a low level of financial and energy investment in improving family and community life".

Much of UNICEF's activity is carried out under the Child Survival and Development Revolution (CSDR), adopted in 1983 to provide "a creative and practical approach" to accelerating progress for children. Programs have been extended recently to deal with the problems of children affected by armed conflicts, exploitation, abandonment, abuse, and neglect. Increased attention has also been given to the role of women in economic development, problems specific to female children, the need for family "spacing", and the provision of better water and sanitation facilities. In all the areas it covers, UNICEF's goal is to foster community-based services provided by workers selected by the community and supported by existing networks of government agencies and nongovernment organizations.

During the celebration of its 40th anniversary in 1986 UNICEF noted that extraordinary progress had been made in basic areas: infant and child mortality rates were less

than half what they were in 1950 and life expectancy and literacy rates were up substantially. UNICEF estimated that over 1.5 million children were being saved annually in developing countries through oral rehydration therapy and immunization. Projections suggested that the figure could rise to 3-5 million by 1990.

Nevertheless, in UNICEF's 1987 and 1988 *State of the World's Children* reports, Executive Director James P. Grant called for a "new political, economic, and moral ethic" to address the fact that more than 13 million children die "almost without notice" each year. The reports noted that advances had been made in recent years, due in part to the attention of the mass media, in preventing large-scale deaths from emergencies such as famine; however, similar public attention has not been given to the "silent emergencies" of frequent infection and undernutrition. In addition, UNICEF warned of the adverse effects that economic adjustment policies in developing countries were having on the poor and called for "adjustment with a human face" in addition to debt rescheduling and improved aid flows.

The 1989 report addressed the Third World debt crisis even more forcefully, estimating that 500,000 children died in 1988 from the "deceleration or reversal of development programs" resulting from debt pressures. The 1990 report described it as a "chilling injustice" that "the heaviest burden of the debt issue is falling on the growing minds and bodies of children in the developing world". UNICEF staff reports noted recent increases in child abandonment, juvenile delinquency, and drug abuse among children and reported that, after decades of progress, the world "re-treated" in the 1980s from the goal of universal education. Consequently, UNICEF was preparing a global strategy for the 1990s that would "place children at the center of the world's consciousness". Major components of the plan will include implementation of the International Convention on the Rights of the Child (adopted by the General Assembly in November 1989 after ten years of negotiations) and sponsorship of the "World Summit for Children", scheduled for September 1990 at UN headquarters.

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)

Established: By General Assembly resolution of December 30, 1964.

Purpose: To promote international trade with a view to accelerating the economic growth of less-developed countries, to formulate and implement policies related to trade and development, to review and facilitate the coordination of various institutions within the United Nations system in regard to international trade and development, to initiate action for the negotiation and adoption of multilateral legal instruments in the field of trade, and to harmonize trade and related development policies of governments and regional economic groups.

Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland.

Principal Organs: Trade and Development Board (131 members); six Main Committees: Commodities (107 mem-

bers), Invisibles and Financing Related to Trade (102 members), Manufactures (101 members), Shipping (103 members), Transfer of Technology (99 members), and Economic Cooperation among Developing Countries (110 members); Special Committee on Preferences (open to all members).

Secretary General: Kenneth K.S. Dadzie (Ghana).

Membership (167): All UN members, plus Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Holy See (Vatican City State), Republic of Korea, Liechtenstein, Monaco, San Marino, Switzerland, Tonga.

Recent activities. UNCTAD's quadrennial meeting of governmental, intergovernmental, and nongovernmental representatives is considered the world's most comprehensive forum on North-South economic issues. However, staff reports and other analyses issued prior to UNCTAD VII, held at Geneva, Switzerland, July 9-August 3, 1987, painted a gloomy picture both of UNCTAD's past accomplishments and of its prospects for aiding developing countries in the immediate future.

A major area of concern was negligible activity within UNCTAD's Integrated Programme for Commodities (IPC), established in the mid-1970s to secure fair and stable prices for 18 commodities crucial to developing countries' foreign exchange. The relatively few agreements negotiated by producers through the IPC had failed to counter the collapse of commodity prices in the early 1980s. In addition, the IPC's \$750 million Common Fund for Commodity Stabilization, approved in 1980 to combat extreme price fluctuations through buffer stocks, had failed to secure ratification by the required number of UNCTAD members.

UNCTAD reports also despaired of the global debt crisis that continued to yield a net transfer of resources from developing to developed countries. Despite the efforts of UNCTAD's Substantial New Program of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries, the latter were experiencing high unemployment, declining living standards, and falling levels of per capita output.

Overall, efforts to stimulate economic activity and promote exports were being hindered by declining access to external investment and concessional aid, as well as by fragmentation in world trading systems and growing protectionism among industrialized nations.

In April 1987 the Group of 77, which represents 127 developing countries within UNCTAD, condemned "the current crisis in international economic relations and the state of disarray and disequilibrium which characterizes these relations". The Group also criticized the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank as "being designed exclusively to protect the interests of creditor nations". However, at UNCTAD VII the Group adopted a less strident tone than at UNCTAD VI in 1983. The softening of rhetoric was deemed partially responsible for UNCTAD VII's adoption of a Final Act declaring consensus on debt, trade, development, and monetary issues. In general, the developing countries agreed to place more emphasis on private enterprise and free market activity, while the West

endorsed "flexibility" on debt repayments. Some observers suggested that the Final Act signalled a "new spirit" in North-South relations but the pronounced lack of enthusiasm from the United States for UNCTAD VII remained a concern. On the other hand, the Soviet Union and its allies underscored their growing support for UN operations by ratifying the IPC's Common Fund and agreeing to contribute to its capital.

Attention remained focused on debt issues in 1988. In September UNCTAD became one of the first major inter-governmental organizations to endorse extensive debt forgiveness by governments and commercial banks as "the only realistic way" of resolving the crisis. In another important development during 1988, UNCTAD reported that the requisite number of ratifications had been achieved for the Common Fund, which finally became operational in June 1989 as an independent institution under its own Governing Council.

In 1989 UNCTAD officials again charged that austerity measures imposed by the International Monetary Fund on many of the world's poorest countries had produced few positive results, the economies of most developing countries in Africa and Latin America having stagnated or even deteriorated, in large measure because of external debt burdens. Consequently, in marking UNCTAD's 25th anniversary, the Trade and Development Board called for a reassessment of UNCTAD's role in the 1990s in order to bring "fresh thinking" to bear on longstanding barriers to the creation of an "equitable world economy". Immediate concerns also included preparation for the Second UN Conference on the Least Developed Countries, scheduled for September 1990 at Paris, and UNCTAD VIII, to be held in 1991, where officials hope to capitalize on current improvements in international political relations to produce more effective development strategies.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

Established: By General Assembly resolution of November 22, 1965, which combined the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance (UNEPTA) with the United Nations Special Fund (UNSF).

Purpose: To coordinate and administer technical assistance provided through the UN system, in order to assist less-developed countries in their efforts to accelerate social and economic development.

Headquarters: New York, United States.

Principal Organs: Governing Council (48 members), Committee of the Whole, Executive Management Committee, Office for Projects Execution, Inter-Agency Procurement Services Unit. Membership on the Governing Council rotates on the following geographical basis: developing countries, 27 seats (Africa, 11; Asia and Yugoslavia, 9; Latin America, 7); economically more-advanced countries, 21 seats (Eastern Europe, 4; Western Europe and other, 17).

Related Organs: The following special funds and activities are administered by the UNDP: the UN Capital Develop-

ment Fund (UNCDF), established in 1960 but administered by the UNDP since 1972; the United Nations Volunteers (UNV), formed in 1971; the UN Revolving Fund for Natural Resources Exploration (UNRFRNRE), founded in 1974; Development Assistance for National Liberation Movements (DANLM), formed in 1974 as the UN Trust Fund for Colonial Countries and Peoples and renamed in 1982; the UN Sudano-Sahelian Office (UNSO), placed under the UNDP in 1976; the UN Special Fund for Landlocked Developing Countries, administered by the UNDP since 1977; the UN Fund for Science and Technology for Development (UNFSTD), established as an Interim Fund in 1979 and redesignated as of January 1982; the Energy Account, authorized by the Governing Council in 1980; the UN Development Fund for Women (UNDFW), formerly the Voluntary Fund for the UN Decade for Women, established in 1980 and renamed in 1985; and the UN Office for Emergency Operations in Africa (UNOEOA), set up in 1985.

Administrator: William H. Draper, 3rd (United States).

Recent activities. The UNDP works with over 150 governments and over 30 intergovernmental agencies to promote more rapid economic growth and better standards of living throughout Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Arab World, and parts of Europe. To this end, the UNDP currently supports over 5,300 operational projects valued at over \$7.5 billion in five main fields: (1) surveying and assessing natural resources having industrial, commercial, or export potential; (2) stimulating capital investments; (3) training in a wide range of vocational and professional skills; (4) transferring appropriate technologies and stimulating the growth of local technological capabilities; and (5) aiding economic and social planning. In addition, the General Assembly assigned the UNDP three special mandates for the 1980s: the International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade (1981-1990), the Women in Development program, and implementation of the new international economic order (NIEO). The UNDP operates 113 field offices in support of programs in more than 150 countries and territories.

Funding for UNDP activities is provided by country contributions and pledges. After suffering financial setbacks in 1983-1984, the Governing Council's Intersessional Committee recommended that United Nations members should maintain the real value of contributions from year to year, with the UNDP administrator holding informal talks with governments to assure additional funds. The UNDP financial situation subsequently improved, contributions exceeding \$1 billion for the first time in 1986 and continuing to grow thereafter. The leading contributors to the 1988 total of \$1.2 billion were the United States (\$116 million), Sweden (\$107 million), and the Netherlands (\$99 million).

Distributions are determined by indicative planning figures (IPFs) which project the amount available for a given country over a five-year period. Criteria include factors such as population, per capita gross national product (GNP), geographic constraints, debt services costs, and terms of trade. Total outlay for 1982-1986 was \$2.7 billion

social, cultural or humanitarian character, and in promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.

4. To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

To fulfil the purposes for which it was established, the United Nations acts in accordance with the following principles, as set forth in Article 2 of the Charter:

1. The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members.

2. All Members shall fulfil in good faith the obligations they have assumed under the Charter.

3. They shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means.

4. They shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

5. They shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the Charter, and to refrain from giving assistance to any State against which the Organization is taking preventive or enforcement action.

6. The United Nations is to ensure that non-members act in accordance with these principles so far as is necessary for maintaining international peace and security.

7. The Organization shall not intervene in matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State. This provision shall not, however, prejudice the application of enforcement action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression.

(For text of Charter, see Appendix, page 381. For amendments to the Charter, see Legal section, page 333).

STEPS TO THE CHARTER

Inter-Allied Declaration

The first of a series of steps which led to the establishment of the United Nations was the Inter-Allied Declaration, which was signed on 12 June 1941, at St. James's Palace, London, by the representatives of Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa and the United Kingdom, of the exiled Governments of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland and Yugoslavia, and of General de Gaulle of France. In the Declaration, the signatories, recognizing that "the only true basis of enduring peace is the willing co-operation of free peoples in a world in which, relieved of the menace of aggression, all may enjoy economic and social security," stated that it was their intention "to work together, and with other free peoples, both in war and peace, to this end."

Atlantic Charter

Two months later, on 14 August 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt of the United States and Prime Minister Winston Churchill of the United Kingdom, meeting "somewhere at sea", issued a joint declaration in which they set forth "certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries" on which they based their hopes for a better future for the world. In the document, known as the Atlantic Charter, the two signatories stated that "after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want."

They also stated that "they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea, or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments."

The two statesmen also expressed, in the document, their desire "to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security."

Declaration by United Nations

On New Year's Day 1942, the representatives of 26 nations that were fighting against the Axis signed at Washington, D.C., the Declaration by United Nations. This document marked the first formal use of the term "United Nations", which had been suggested by President Roosevelt.

In the Declaration, the signatory Governments:

"Having subscribed to a common programme of purposes and principles embodied in the . . . Atlantic Charter,

"Being convinced that complete victory over their enemies is essential to defend life, liberty, independence and religious freedom, and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands, and that they are now engaged in a common struggle against savage and brutal forces seeking to subjugate the world,

"Declare:

"(1) Each Government pledges itself to employ its full resources, military or economic, against those members of the Tripartite Pact and its adherents with which such Government is at war.

“(2) Each Government pledges itself to co-operate with the Governments signatory hereto and not to make a separate armistice or peace with the enemies.”

The Declaration was left open for signature by other nations “which are, or may be, rendering material assistance and contributions in the struggle for victory over Hitlerism.”

The 26 signatories of the Declaration of United Nations were the United States, the United Kingdom, the USSR, China, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Poland, the Union of South Africa and Yugoslavia. Later adherents to the Declaration, in order of the dates of adherence, were Mexico, Philippines, Ethiopia, Iraq, Brazil, Bolivia, Iran, Colombia, Liberia, France, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Paraguay, Venezuela, Uruguay, Turkey, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Lebanon.

France and Denmark were generally regarded as having been identified with the United Nations from the beginning. Free French Forces had fought against the Axis Powers and the Danish Minister in Washington had signified the adherence of all free Danes to the Allied cause. Since the Declaration was signed by Governments, they could not at that time formally adhere to it. When the French National Committee was constituted as a Government, France adhered formally to the Declaration. Denmark, which was not liberated until after the opening of the San Francisco Conference, was admitted as one of the United Nations by the Conference. Poland did not attend the San Francisco Conference because the composition of its new Government was not announced until 28 June—too late for the Conference. A space, however, was left for the signature of Poland, one of the original signatories of the Declaration by United Nations. Poland signed the Charter on 15 October 1945, thus becoming one of the original Members.

Moscow and Teheran Conferences

In a declaration signed in Moscow on 30 October 1943 by V. M. Molotov of the USSR, Anthony Eden of the United Kingdom, Cordell Hull of the United States, and Foo Ping-sheung, the Chinese Ambassador to the Soviet Union, the four Governments proclaimed that “they recognize the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security”.

A month later, on 1 December 1943, President Roosevelt, Premier Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill, meeting at Teheran, declared: “We recognize fully the supreme responsibility resting upon us and all the

United Nations to make a peace which will command the goodwill of the overwhelming masses of the peoples of the world and banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations.”

Dumbarton Oaks and Yalta Conferences

The first concrete step towards the creation of the United Nations was taken in the late summer of 1944 at a mansion known as Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C. In the first phase of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, from 21 August to 28 September 1944, conversations were held between the representatives of the USSR, the United Kingdom and the United States; in the second phase, from 29 September to 7 October, conversations were held between the representatives of China, the United Kingdom and the United States. This arrangement served to respect USSR neutrality in the war against Japan. As a result of the Conference, the four Powers reached a number of agreements which were embodied in proposals for the establishment of a general international organization.

The Dumbarton Oaks proposals were primarily concerned with the purposes and principles of the organization, its membership and principal organs, and arrangements for the maintenance of international peace and security and for international economic and social co-operation. According to the proposals, the key body in the United Nations for preserving world peace was to be the Security Council, on which China, France, the USSR, the United Kingdom and the United States were to be permanently represented. Agreement was not reached, however, on the question of voting procedure in the Security Council.

That question, among others, was discussed by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin at a conference at Yalta in February 1945. On 11 February 1945, following the conference, a report was issued in which the three leaders declared:

“We are resolved upon the earliest possible establishment with our Allies of a general international organization to maintain peace and security. We believe that this is essential, both to prevent aggression and to remove the political, economic and social causes of war through the close and continuing collaboration of all peace-loving peoples.

“The foundations were laid at Dumbarton Oaks. On the important question of voting procedure, however, agreement was not there reached. The present Conference has been able to resolve this difficulty.

“We have agreed that a Conference of United Nations should be called to meet at San Francisco in the United States on the 25th April 1945, to prepare the charter of such an organization, along the lines proposed in the informal conversations of Dumbarton Oaks.”

The report further stated that the Government of China and the Provisional Government of France would be invited to sponsor invitations to the Conference jointly with the United States, the United Kingdom and

the USSR and that as soon as consultations with China and France had been completed, the text of the proposals on voting procedure would be made public. China agreed to join in sponsoring the invitations. France agreed to participate in the Conference but decided not to act as a sponsoring nation.

The invitations to the Conference were issued on 5 March to those nations which had declared war on Germany or Japan by 1 March and had signed the Declaration by United Nations. The text of the invitation contained the provisions for voting in the Security Council which were subsequently adopted at San Francisco.

San Francisco Conference

Before the start of the San Francisco Conference, the Dumbarton Oaks proposals were studied and discussed by the nations of the world both collectively and individually. From 21 February to 8 March 1945, for instance, the representatives of 20 Latin American nations met in Mexico City and adopted a resolution suggesting points to be taken into consideration in the drawing up of the charter of the proposed international organization. From 4 to 13 April 1945, talks were held in London among representatives of the British Commonwealth. A statement issued at the close of the meetings indicated agreement that the Dumbarton Oaks proposals provided the basis for a charter while recognizing that clarification, improvement and expansion were called for in certain respects.

On 25 April, delegates of 50 nations met in San Francisco for the conference known officially as the United Nations Conference on International Organization. Working on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, the Yalta Agreement and amendments proposed by various Governments, the delegates, meeting both in plenary sessions and in committees, drew up the 111-Article Charter.

On 25 June, the delegates met in full session in the Opera House in San Francisco and unanimously adopted the Charter. The next day, they signed it at a ceremony in the auditorium of the Veterans' Memorial Hall.

The Charter came into force on 24 October 1945, when China, France, the USSR, the United Kingdom and the United States and a majority of the other signatories had filed their instruments of ratification.

United Nations Day

On 31 October 1947, the General Assembly decided that 24 October, the anniversary of the entry into force of the Charter of the United Nations, should thenceforth be officially called "United Nations Day" and be devoted to informing the peoples of the world of the aims and achievements of the Organization and to obtaining support for its work. Member Gov-

ernments were invited to co-operate in the observance of the anniversary.

MEMBERSHIP

The 51 original Members of the United Nations are States which took part in the San Francisco Conference or had previously signed the Declaration by United Nations, and which signed and ratified the Charter.

Membership in the United Nations is open to all peace-loving countries which accept and, in the judgement of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out the obligations of the Charter. Any country desiring to become a Member must submit an application including a declaration that it accepts the obligations set out in the Charter. New Members are admitted by a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. Membership becomes effective on the date the Assembly accepts the application.

A Member of the United Nations against which preventive or enforcement action has been taken by the Security Council may be suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. The exercise of these rights and privileges may be restored by the Security Council.

A Member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the principles of the Charter may be expelled from the Organization by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. There is no provision in the Charter concerning the re-entry into the Organization of an expelled Member.

After lengthy debate, it was agreed at the San Francisco Conference not to include any provision in the Charter for the withdrawal of Members. It was made clear, however, that it was not the purpose of the Organization to compel a Member "to continue its co-operation in the Organization", if that Member "because of exceptional circumstances" felt constrained to withdraw.

Member States of the United Nations

(As of December 1978)

The 151 Member States of the United Nations, and the date of their admission to the Organization, are as follows:

<u>Member</u>	<u>Date of Admission</u>	<u>Member</u>	<u>Date of Admission</u>
Afghanistan	19 Nov. 1946	Angola	1 Dec. 1976
Albania	14 Dec. 1955	*Argentina	24 Oct. 1945
Algeria	8 Oct. 1962	*Australia	1 Nov. 1945
(* denotes original member)		Austria	14 Dec. 1955

<i>Member</i>	<i>Date of Admission</i>	<i>Member</i>	<i>Date of Admission</i>
Bahamas	18 Sep. 1973	Fiji	13 Oct. 1970
Bahrain	21 Sep. 1971	Finland	14 Dec. 1955
Bangladesh	17 Sep. 1974	*France	24 Oct. 1945
Barbados	9 Dec. 1966	Gabon	20 Sep. 1960
*Belgium	27 Dec. 1945	Gambia	21 Sep. 1965
Benin (formerly Dahomey)	20 Sep. 1960	German Democratic Republic	18 Sep. 1973
Bhutan	21 Sep. 1971	Germany, Federal Republic of	18 Sep. 1973
*Bolivia	14 Nov. 1945	Ghana	8 Mar. 1957
Botswana	17 Oct. 1966	*Greece	25 Oct. 1945
*Brazil	24 Oct. 1945	Grenada	17 Sep. 1974
Bulgaria	14 Dec. 1955	*Guatemala	21 Nov. 1945
Burma	19 Apr. 1948	Guinea	12 Dec. 1958
Burundi	18 Sep. 1962	Guinea-Bissau	17 Sep. 1974
*Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic	24 Oct. 1945	Guyana	20 Sep. 1966
*Canada	9 Nov. 1945	*Haiti	24 Oct. 1945
Cape Verde	16 Sep. 1975	*Honduras	17 Dec. 1945
Central African Empire (formerly Central African Republic)	20 Sep. 1960	Hungary	14 Dec. 1955
Chad	20 Sep. 1960	Iceland	19 Dec. 1946
*Chile	24 Oct. 1945	*India	30 Oct. 1945
*China ¹	24 Oct. 1945	Indonesia ³	28 Sep. 1950
*Colombia	5 Nov. 1945	*Iran	24 Oct. 1945
Comoros	12 Nov. 1975	*Iraq	21 Dec. 1945
Congo	20 Sep. 1960	Ireland	14 Dec. 1955
*Costa Rica	2 Nov. 1945	Israel	11 May 1949
*Cuba	24 Oct. 1945	Italy	14 Dec. 1955
Cyprus	20 Sep. 1960	Ivory Coast	20 Sep. 1960
*Czechoslovakia	24 Oct. 1945	Jamaica	18 Sep. 1962
Democratic Kampuchea (formerly Cambodia)	14 Dec. 1955	Japan	18 Dec. 1956
Democratic Yemen	14 Dec. 1967	Jordan	14 Dec. 1955
*Denmark	24 Oct. 1945	Kenya	16 Dec. 1963
Djibouti	20 Sep. 1977	Kuwait	14 May 1963
Dominica	18 Dec. 1978	Lao People's Democratic Republic (formerly Laos)	14 Dec. 1955
*Dominican Republic	24 Oct. 1945	*Lebanon	24 Oct. 1945
*Ecuador	21 Dec. 1945	Lesotho	17 Oct. 1966
*Egypt ²	24 Oct. 1945	*Liberia	2 Nov. 1945
*El Salvador	24 Oct. 1945	Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	14 Dec. 1955
Equatorial Guinea	12 Nov. 1968	*Luxembourg	24 Oct. 1945
*Ethiopia	13 Nov. 1945	Madagascar	20 Sep. 1960
		Malawi	1 Dec. 1964
		Malaysia ⁴	17 Sep. 1957

<i>Member</i>	<i>Date of Admission</i>	<i>Member</i>	<i>Date of Admission</i>
Maldives	21 Sep. 1965	Spain	14 Dec. 1955
Mali	28 Sep. 1960	Sri Lanka	14 Dec. 1955
Malta	1 Dec. 1964	Sudan	12 Nov. 1956
Mauritania	27 Oct. 1961	Surinam	4 Dec. 1975
Mauritius	24 Apr. 1968	Swaziland	24 Sep. 1968
*Mexico	7 Nov. 1945	Sweden	19 Nov. 1946
Mongolia	27 Oct. 1961	*Syrian Arab Republic ²	24 Oct. 1945
Morocco	12 Nov. 1956	Thailand	16 Dec. 1946
Mozambique	16 Sep. 1975	Togo	20 Sep. 1960
Nepal	14 Dec. 1955	Trinidad and Tobago	18 Sep. 1962
*Netherlands	10 Dec. 1945	Tunisia	12 Nov. 1956
*New Zealand	24 Oct. 1945	*Turkey	24 Oct. 1945
*Nicaragua	24 Oct. 1945	Uganda	25 Oct. 1962
Niger	20 Sep. 1960	*Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic	24 Oct. 1945
Nigeria	7 Oct. 1960	*Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	24 Oct. 1945
*Norway	27 Nov. 1945	United Arab Emirates	9 Dec. 1971
Oman	7 Oct. 1971	*United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	24 Oct. 1945
Pakistan	30 Sep. 1947	United Republic of Cameroon	20 Sep. 1960
*Panama	13 Nov. 1945	United Republic of Tanzania ⁵	14 Dec. 1961
Papua New Guinea	10 Oct. 1975	*United States of America	24 Oct. 1945
*Paraguay	24 Oct. 1945	Upper Volta	20 Sep. 1960
*Peru	31 Oct. 1945	*Uruguay	18 Dec. 1945
*Philippines	24 Oct. 1945	*Venezuela	15 Nov. 1945
*Poland	24 Oct. 1945	Viet Nam	20 Sept 1977
Portugal	14 Dec. 1955	Yemen	30 Sep. 1947
Qatar	21 Sep. 1971	*Yugoslavia	24 Oct. 1945
Romania	14 Dec. 1955	Zaire	20 Sep. 1960
Rwanda	18 Sep. 1962	Zambia	1 Dec. 1964
Samoa	15 Dec. 1976		
Sao Tome and Principe	16 Sep. 1975		
*Saudi Arabia	24 Oct. 1945		
Senegal	28 Sep. 1960		
Seychelles	21 Sep. 1976		
Sierra Leone	27 Sep. 1961		
Singapore	21 Sep. 1965		
Solomon Islands	19 Sept. 1978		
Somalia	20 Sep. 1960		
*South Africa	7 Nov. 1945		

¹By resolution 2758 (XXVI) of 25 October 1971, the General Assembly decided "to restore all its rights to the People's Republic of China and to recognize the representatives of its Government as the only legitimate representatives of China to the United Nations, and to expel forthwith the representatives of Chiang Kai-

Permanent Missions to the United Nations

Since the creation of the United Nations, the practice has developed of establishing permanent missions of Member States at the seat of the Organization. The General Assembly sought to regulate the submission of credentials of permanent representatives on 3 December 1948, when it recommended that credentials be issued by the head of the State, by the head of the Government, or by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and be transmitted to the Secretary-General. It was further recommended that the permanent representative, in case of temporary absence, should notify the Secretary-General of the name of his replacement; that Member States which wanted their permanent representatives to represent them on one or more organs of the United Nations should specify in their credentials the organs concerned; and finally, that changes of members of permanent missions, other than the permanent representative, should be communicated in writing to the Secretary-General by the head of the mission.

Permanent Observers

The following non-member States maintain offices of permanent observers to the United Nations: Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Holy See, Monaco, Republic of Korea and Switzerland.

shek from the place which they unlawfully occupy at the United Nations and in all the organizations related to it".

²Egypt and Syria were original Members of the United Nations from 24 October 1945. Following a plebiscite on 21 February 1958, the United Arab Republic was established by a union of Egypt and Syria and continued as a single Member. On 13 October 1961, Syria resumed its status as an independent State and simultaneously its United Nations membership. On 2 September 1971, the United Arab Republic changed its name to Arab Republic of Egypt.

³By letter of 20 January 1965, Indonesia announced its decision to withdraw from the United Nations "at this stage and under the present circumstances". By telegram of 19 September 1966, it announced its decision "to resume full co-operation with the United Nations and to resume participation in its activities". On 28 September 1966, the General Assembly took note of this decision and the President invited representatives of Indonesia to take seats in the Assembly.

⁴The Federation of Malaya joined the United Nations on 17 September 1957. On 16 September 1963, its name was changed to Malaysia, following the admission to the new federation of Singapore, Sabah (North Borneo) and Sarawak. Singapore became an independent State on 9 August 1965 and a Member of the United Nations on 21 September 1965.

⁵Tanganyika was a Member of the United Nations from 14 December 1961 and Zanzibar was a Member from 16 December 1963. Following the ratification on 26 April 1964 of Articles of Union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar, the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar continued as a single Member, changing its name to United Republic of Tanzania on 1 November 1964.

THE PRINCIPAL ORGANS

The Charter established six principal organs of the United Nations: the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice and the Secretariat.

The official languages of the General Assembly, all its Main Committees and sub-committees, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council are Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish. Those languages, together with Arabic, are the working languages of the Assembly and its seven Main Committees. The working languages of the Security Council are Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish; those of the Economic and Social Council are English, French and Spanish, and for the Trusteeship Council and the Secretariat they are English and French. The official languages of the International Court of Justice are English and French.

General Assembly

All Members of the United Nations are members of the General Assembly. Each has one vote. The Assembly has no power to compel action by any Government. Its influence is exercised through the weight of its recommendations as an expression of world opinion.

FUNCTIONS AND POWERS. The General Assembly may discuss any question or any matter within the scope of the Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organ provided for in the Charter. It may make recommendations on these questions and matters to the Member States or to the Security Council or to both, with one exception—it may not make recommendations on any dispute or situation which the Security Council has under consideration unless the Council so requests.

The Assembly may consider the general principles of co-operation in the maintenance of peace and security, including those governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments.

It may discuss any question relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by a Member State, by the Security Council or by a non-member State, if that State accepts in advance the obligations of pacific settlement contained in the Charter. Unless the matter is already being dealt with by the Security Council, the Assembly may make recommendations on any such question to the State or States concerned or to the Security Council or to both.

Subject to the same exception, the Assembly may recommend measures for the peaceful settlement of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations. It may also call to the attention of the Council situations which are likely to endanger international peace and security.

The Assembly initiates studies and makes recommendations for the purpose of promoting international co-operation in the political field and encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification; and of promoting international co-operation in the economic, social, cultural, educational and health fields and assisting in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.

The Assembly receives and considers reports of the other organs of the United Nations. It elects the 10 non-permanent members of the Security Council, the 54 members of the Economic and Social Council and those members of the Trusteeship Council which are elected. Voting independently, the Assembly and the Security Council elect the members of the International Court of Justice and, on the recommendation of the Security Council, the Assembly appoints the Secretary-General.

The finances of the United Nations are controlled by the Assembly, which considers and approves the budget and apportions the expenses among the Members. It also examines the administrative budgets of the specialized agencies.

VOTING. Decisions on important questions, such as recommendations on peace and security, the election of members of the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council, the admission, suspension and expulsion of Members, Trusteeship questions and budgetary matters, are taken by a two-thirds majority of members present and voting. Other questions require a simple majority.

SESSIONS. The Assembly meets once a year in regular session, commencing on the third Tuesday in September and normally continuing until mid-December, although the regular session may sometimes be resumed at a later date. Special sessions may be called at the request of the Security Council, a majority of Member States, or one Member State with the concurrence of a majority. An emergency special session may be called within 24 hours of a request by the Security Council on the vote of any nine of its members, or by a majority of Member States.

STRUCTURE. The Assembly adopts its own rules of procedure. At each session, it elects its President, its 17 Vice-Presidents and the Chairmen of its seven Main Committees. The Assembly distributes most agenda items among those Committees, on which every Member State has the right to be represented. The Main Committees, which prepare recommendations for approval in plenary meetings of the Assembly, are:

- First Committee (Political and Security, including the regulation of armaments)
- Special Political Committee (shares the work of the First Committee)
- Second Committee (Economic and Financial)
- Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural)

Fourth Committee (Decolonization)

Fifth Committee (Administrative and Budgetary)

Sixth Committee (Legal)

Voting in committees or sub-committees is by simple majority.

The General Committee, composed of the President of the Assembly, the 17 Vice-Presidents and the Chairmen of the seven Main Committees, makes recommendations to the Assembly regarding the adoption of the agenda, the allocation of items and the organization of work. The Credentials Committee, consisting of nine members appointed by the General Assembly on the proposal of the President, reports to the Assembly on the credentials of representatives.

Although the regular session of the Assembly lasts only three months each year, the Assembly's work goes on continuously in special committees such as those dealing with colonialism, *apartheid*, science and technology, natural resources and outer space; in the activities of bodies it has established such as the United Nations Development Programme, the World Food Council, the United Nations Environment Programme, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and the United Nations Children's Fund; in the work programme of the Secretariat; and at international conferences on specific problems.

Security Council

The organ which has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security is the Security Council. The Council is composed of five permanent members—China, France, the USSR, the United Kingdom and the United States—and 10 non-permanent members, elected by the General Assembly for two-year terms and not eligible for immediate re-election. The number of non-permanent members was increased from six to 10 by an amendment of the Charter which came into force in 1965.

FUNCTIONS AND POWERS. While other organs of the United Nations may make recommendations to Governments, the Council alone has the power to take decisions which all Member States are obligated under the Charter to accept and carry out.

The Council may investigate any dispute or situation which might lead to international friction and may recommend methods of adjusting such disputes or the terms of settlement. Disputes and situations likely to endanger international peace and security may be brought to the attention of the Council by any Member State, by a non-member State which accepts in advance the obligations of pacific settlement contained in the Charter, by the General Assembly, or by the Secretary-General.

The Council may determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression. It may make recommendations

or decide to take enforcement measures to maintain or restore international peace and security. Enforcement action may include a call on Members to apply economic sanctions and other measures short of the use of armed force. Should it consider such measures inadequate, the Council may take military action against an aggressor. Under the Charter, all Members undertake to make available to the Council on its call, in accordance with special agreements to be negotiated on the Council's initiative, the armed forces, assistance and facilities necessary for maintaining international peace and security. The Council is also responsible for formulating plans to regulate armaments. In addition, the Security Council exercises the Trusteeship functions of the United Nations in areas designated as strategic.

The Security Council makes annual and special reports to the General Assembly.

The Security Council and the General Assembly, voting independently, elect the judges of the International Court of Justice. On the Security Council's recommendation, the General Assembly appoints the Secretary-General.

VOTING AND PROCEDURE. Each member of the Council has one vote. Decisions on matters of procedure are taken by an affirmative vote of at least nine of the 15 members. Decisions on substantive matters also require nine votes, including the concurring votes of all five permanent members. This is the rule of "great Power unanimity", often referred to as the "veto". All five permanent members have exercised the right of veto at one time or another. If a permanent member does not support a decision but has no desire to block it through a veto, it may abstain; an abstention is not regarded as a veto.

The Security Council is so organized as to be able to function continuously, and a representative of each of its members must be present at all times at United Nations Headquarters. The Council may meet elsewhere than at Headquarters. In 1972, it met in Addis Ababa and, the following year, in Panama.

A State which is a Member of the United Nations but not of the Security Council may participate, without vote, in its discussions when the Council considers that that country's interests are specially affected. Both Members of the United Nations and non-members, if they are parties to a dispute being considered by the Council, are invited to take part, without vote, in the discussions; the Council lays down the conditions for participation by a non-member State.

The presidency of the Council is held monthly in turn by members in English alphabetical order. The Council decides its own rules of procedure and may establish subsidiary organs.

There are two standing committees—the Committee of Experts, which studies and advises the Council on rules of procedure and other technical matters, and the Committee on Admission of New Members; each is composed of representatives of all Council members. Over the years, the Council has also established many *ad hoc* bodies.

The Military Staff Committee, composed of the Chiefs of Staff of the five permanent members or their representatives, was established under the Charter to advise and assist the Security Council on such questions as the Council's military requirements for the maintenance of peace, the strategic direction of armed forces placed at its disposal, the regulation of armaments and possible disarmament.

Economic and Social Council

The Economic and Social Council, under the authority of the General Assembly, is the organ which co-ordinates the economic and social work of the United Nations and the specialized agencies and institutions—known as the "United Nations family" of organizations. The Council makes recommendations and initiates activities relating to development, world trade, industrialization, natural resources, human rights, the status of women, population, social welfare, science and technology, prevention of crime, and many other economic and social questions.

The membership of the Council is 54, with 18 members elected each year by the General Assembly for a three-year term. Retiring members are eligible for immediate re-election. Originally, the Council had 18 members. Amendments to the Charter which came into force in 1965 and 1973 enlarged the membership respectively to 27 and 54.

FUNCTIONS AND POWERS. The Charter sets out the following functions and powers of the Economic and Social Council: to make or initiate studies, reports and recommendations on international economic, social, cultural, educational, health and related matters; to promote respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all; to call international conferences and prepare draft conventions for submission to the General Assembly on matters within its competence; to negotiate agreements with the specialized agencies, defining their relationship with the United Nations, and to co-ordinate the activities of the specialized agencies by means of consultation with them and recommendations to them, and by means of recommendations to the General Assembly and Members of the United Nations; to perform services, approved by the Assembly, for Members of the United Nations and, upon request, for the specialized agencies; and to consult with non-governmental organizations concerned with matters with which the Council deals.

VOTING. Voting in the Economic and Social Council is by simple majority; each member has one vote.

SUBSIDIARY BODIES. The Economic and Social Council generally holds two regular sessions a year, each one month long, in New York and Geneva. Throughout the year, however, there are meetings of the Council's standing committees, commissions and other subsidiary bodies at Headquarters, or in other locations.

There are standing Committees on Non-Governmental Organizations; Negotiations with Intergovernmental Agencies; Programme and Co-ordination; Natural Resources; Review and Appraisal; and Science and Technology for Development. The Commission on Transnational Corporations is also a standing body.

The functional commissions comprise the Statistical Commission; the Population Commission; the Commission for Social Development; the Commission on Human Rights; the Commission on the Status of Women; and the Commission on Narcotic Drugs. The Commission on Human Rights has a Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. The Commission on Narcotic Drugs has a Sub-Commission on Illicit Drug Traffic and Related Matters in the Near and Middle East.

Also under the Council's authority are the regional commissions, whose aim is to assist in the economic and social development of their respective regions and to strengthen the economic relations of the countries in each region, both among themselves and with other countries. These are the Economic Commission for Africa (with headquarters in Addis Ababa), the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (Bangkok), the Economic Commission for Europe (Geneva), the Economic Commission for Latin America (Santiago) and the Economic Commission for Western Asia (Beirut).

The regional commissions study the problems of their regions and recommend courses of action to member Governments and specialized agencies. In recent years the work of the commissions has been expanded, and they have been increasingly involved in carrying out development projects.

RELATED AGENCIES. The intergovernmental agencies are separate, autonomous organizations related to the United Nations by special agreements. They have their own membership, legislative and executive bodies, secretariats and budgets, but they work with the United Nations and with each other through the co-ordinating machinery of the Economic and Social Council.

Fifteen agencies are known as "specialized agencies", a term used in the Charter. They report annually to the Economic and Social Council. The specialized agencies are listed below.

- International Labour Organisation (ILO)
- Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO)
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)
- World Health Organization (WHO)
- International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank, IBRD)
- International Finance Corporation (IFC)
- International Development Association (IDA)
- International Monetary Fund (Fund, IMF)

- International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)
- Universal Postal Union (UPU)
- International Telecommunication Union (ITU)
- World Meteorological Organization (WMO)
- Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO)
- World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO)
- International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)

The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), are also listed among the related agencies. (*For accounts of the related agencies see page 351*).

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS. The Economic and Social Council may consult non-governmental organizations on matters with which they are concerned and which fall within the competence of the Council. The Council recognizes that these organizations should have the opportunity to express their views and that they often possess special experience or technical knowledge that would be of value to the Council in its work.

Organizations which have been given consultative status may send observers to public meetings of the Council and its subsidiary bodies and may submit written statements relevant to the work of the Council. They may also consult with the United Nations Secretariat on matters of mutual concern.

Organizations in consultative status are divided into three categories: those with a basic interest in most of the activities of the Council (Category I); those which have a special competence in, and are concerned specifically with, only a few of the Council's fields of activity (Category II); and those which have a significant contribution to make to the work of the Council which may be placed on a roster for *ad hoc* consultations. In December 1977, 26 organizations were listed in Category I, 102 organizations in Category II, and 501 were on the Roster.

Trusteeship Council

The Charter assigns the Trusteeship Council responsibility for supervision of the administration of Territories placed under the International Trusteeship System. By the end of 1977, only one of the 11 original Trust Territories remained under the System and no additional Trust Territories had been established. Ten had attained self-government or independence, either as separate States or by joining neighbouring independent countries. (*See International Trusteeship System, page 278.*)

The Charter provides that the membership of the Council shall reflect a balance between members administering Trust Territories and members not doing so. The size of the Council, therefore, is not fixed. As the number of Trust Territories and of countries administering them decreased, the Council became smaller. In 1977, it included the United

States, which administered the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and the other four permanent members of the Security Council—China, France, the United Kingdom and the USSR.

FUNCTIONS AND POWERS. The Trusteeship Council, under the authority of the General Assembly, carries out the functions of the United Nations with regard to Trust Territories except in those areas which are designated as strategic. The Security Council exercises the functions of the United Nations in "strategic areas," with the assistance of the Trusteeship Council in political, economic, social and educational matters.

The Trusteeship Council considers reports submitted by the Administering Authority on the basis of a questionnaire prepared by the Council, and it examines petitions in consultation with the Administering Authority. It provides for periodic visiting missions to Trust Territories at times agreed upon with the Administering Authority, and takes other actions in conformity with the terms of the Trusteeship Agreements.

VOTING. Voting in the Trusteeship Council is by simple majority; each member has one vote. The Council meets once a year.

International Court of Justice

The International Court of Justice, whose seat is at The Hague, is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. The Court functions in accordance with its Statute, which is an integral part of the United Nations Charter. The Statute is based upon the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, which functioned under the League of Nations.

The Court is open to the parties to its Statute, which automatically includes all Members of the United Nations. A State not belonging to the United Nations may become a party to the Statute on conditions to be determined in each case by the General Assembly on recommendation of the Security Council. Switzerland (1948), Liechtenstein (1950) and San Marino (1954) are the three non-member States which are presently parties to the Statute. The Court is also open to States which are not parties to its Statute on conditions laid down by a Security Council resolution of 15 October 1946. Such States must file with the Registrar of the Court a declaration by which they accept the Court's jurisdiction in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the Statute and Rules of the Court, undertaking to comply in good faith with the decision or decisions of the Court and accepting all the obligations of a Member of the United Nations under Article 94 of the Charter. Such a declaration may be either particular or general. A particular declaration is one accepting the Court's jurisdiction in respect of a particular dispute or disputes which have already arisen. A general declaration is one accepting the jurisdiction in respect of all disputes, or of a particular class or classes of dispute, which have already arisen or which may arise in the future. The Court is not open to private individuals.

JURISDICTION. The jurisdiction of the Court comprises all cases which the parties refer to it, and all matters specifically provided for in the Charter or in treaties or conventions in force. In the event of a dispute as to whether the Court has jurisdiction, the matter is settled by the decision of the Court.

To preserve continuity with the work of the Permanent Court of International Justice, the Statute of the International Court of Justice stipulates that whenever a treaty or convention in force provided for reference to the Permanent Court, the matter is referred to the International Court as between the parties to its Statute.

States are not forced to submit cases to the Court. The Charter provides that Members of the United Nations may entrust the solution of their differences to other tribunals.

States parties to the Statute may at any time declare that they recognize as compulsory, *ipso facto* and without special agreement, in relation to any State accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the Court in all legal disputes concerning: (a) the interpretation of a treaty; (b) any question of international law; (c) the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation; and (d) the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

ADVISORY OPINIONS. The General Assembly or the Security Council may request the Court to give an advisory opinion on any legal question. Other organs of the United Nations or specialized agencies when authorized by the Assembly, may also request advisory opinions on legal questions arising within the scope of their activities.

THE LAW APPLIED BY THE COURT. In accordance with Article 38 of the Statute, the Court applies: (a) international conventions; (b) international custom; (c) the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations; and (d) judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists as subsidiary means for the determination of the rules of law. Furthermore, the Court may decide a case *ex aequo et bono*, that is, according to the principles of equity, if the parties concerned agree.

The Security Council can be called upon by one of the parties in a case to determine measures to be taken to give effect to a judgment of the Court if the other party fails to perform its obligations under that judgment.

COMPOSITION OF THE COURT. The members of the Court are 15 independent judges, of different nationalities, elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council from candidates nominated, after consultation with national and international law bodies, by government-appointed national groups of highly reputed international law experts.

The General Assembly and the Security Council hold separate elections independently of one another. They must be satisfied not only that

the persons to be elected individually possess the qualifications required in their respective countries for appointment to the highest judicial offices or are recognized authorities on international law, but also that, in the Court as a whole, the result will be the representation of the main forms of civilization and the principal legal systems of the world. To be elected, a candidate must obtain an absolute majority of votes, both in the Assembly and in the Council. The voting in the Council is without distinction as between its permanent and non-permanent members.

The Statute provides for a special joint conference procedure to be applied if, after three meetings, concurring majorities have not been achieved in the two organs for all the vacant seats. Parties to the Statute which are not Members of the United Nations may nominate candidates and take part in the elections in the General Assembly.

Judges are elected for terms of nine years and are eligible for re-election. The terms of five of the 15 judges expire at the end of every three years. The Court itself elects its President and Vice-President for three-year terms.

If there is no judge of their nationality on the bench, the parties to a case are entitled to choose *ad hoc*, or national, judges, to sit only in that particular case. Such judges take part in the decision on terms of complete equality with the other judges. All questions are decided by a majority of the judges present, with nine constituting a quorum. In the event of an equality of votes, the President of the Court has a casting vote.

ADMINISTRATION. The administration of the Court is directed by the President and carried out by a Registrar and Deputy-Registrar elected by the Court, assisted by Registry officials responsible to the Registrar and appointed by the Court.

The Court issues its own publications, which may be obtained wherever United Nations publications are distributed. They include the full texts of the Court's decisions, in the *Reports* series; case documents and speeches, printed after a case is over in the *Pleadings* series; a *Yearbook* of current information on the work of the Court; the instruments governing the Court's operation, in *Acts and Documents*; and an annual *Bibliography*.

The channel of communication with the Court is the Registrar.
(See also *Legal Questions*, page 315.)

Secretariat

The Secretariat services the other organs of the United Nations and administers the programmes and policies laid down by them. It is made up of a Secretary-General, who is the chief administrative officer of the United Nations, and such staff as the Organization may require.

The General Assembly, on the recommendation of the Security Council, appoints the Secretary-General for a term of five years. In addi-

tion to his administrative duties, the Secretary-General is called on by the Charter to perform such "other functions" as are entrusted to him by the Security Council, the General Assembly and the other main organs. He may also bring to the attention of the Security Council "any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security".

The first Secretary-General of the United Nations was Trygve Lie, of Norway, who served until 1958. Dag Hammarskjöld, of Sweden, served from 1953 until his death in a plane crash in Africa in 1961, when he was succeeded by U Thant of Burma. In December 1971, Kurt Waldheim, of Austria, was appointed and he assumed office in January 1972. In December 1976, Mr. Waldheim was reappointed to serve a second five-year term, ending 31 December 1981.

The Secretariat, an international staff working at Headquarters and in the field, carries out the day-to-day work of the Organization. Staff members come from more than 130 countries. They are international civil servants and work for the United Nations; each takes an oath not to seek or receive instructions from any Government or outside authority. Under Article 100 of the Charter, each Member State undertakes to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and the staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their duties.

The work of the Secretary-General and the staff is as varied as the list of problems dealt with by the United Nations. It includes good offices, and sometimes formal mediation, in resolving international disputes; administering peace-keeping operations; surveys of world economic trends and problems; studies in fields such as human rights and natural resources; organizing international conferences; compilation of statistics; gathering information on the extent to which decisions of the Security Council or other bodies are being carried out; interpreting speeches, translating documents, and servicing the world's communications media with information about the United Nations.

Away from Headquarters, technical experts and economic advisers work directly in the field to assist developing countries in economic development; and, from time to time, peace-keeping forces or observer groups are stationed at points of tension or potential armed conflict.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Site for Permanent Headquarters

On 10 December 1945, the Congress of the United States unanimously resolved to invite the United Nations to establish its permanent home in the United States. The invitation was accepted by the General Assembly, which was meeting in London, on 14 February 1946, after offers and suggestions for permanent sites had also been received from many other parts of the world.

Early in 1946, the Secretariat was established provisionally at Hunter College in the Bronx, New York, and in the middle of August the United Nations moved to the Sperry Gyroscope plant at Lake Success on Long Island.

On 14 December 1946, the General Assembly accepted an offer by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., of \$8.5 million for the purchase of the present 18-acre site between 42nd and 48th streets on Manhattan's East Side, bounded on the west by United Nations Plaza (formerly part of First Avenue) and on the east by the East River. Concurrently with the Rockefeller gift, the City of New York offered certain lands within and adjacent to the site, together with waterfront rights and easements. The City also undertook a \$30 million improvement programme in the immediate area, including the construction of a vehicular tunnel under First Avenue.

Once the site was decided on, the first Secretary-General, Trygve Lie, appointed the architect, Wallace K. Harrison, of the United States, to guide the architectural and development plans in co-operation with an international board of design consultants from 10 countries.

The plans prepared by the international board of consultants were unanimously adopted by the General Assembly on 20 November 1947. The corner-stone was laid on 24 October 1949—United Nations Day—at an open-air plenary meeting of the General Assembly at which the President of the United States, among others, spoke. Occupancy of the Secretariat building began in August 1950 and was completed the following June. The Security Council held its first meetings in its new chamber early in 1952, and in October of the same year the General Assembly convened for the first time in the new Assembly Hall.

The four main structures, all interconnected, that comprise Headquarters, are: the 39-storey office building of the Secretariat; the long, low Conference Building paralleling the East River; the General Assembly Hall; and the Dag Hammarskjöld Library.

The official address is United Nations, New York 10017. Telephone: (212) 754-1234.

Headquarters Agreement

On 26 June 1947, the Secretary-General and the Secretary of State of the United States signed an agreement dealing with the privileges and immunities of the United Nations Headquarters. Under this agreement, which came into force on 21 November 1947, the United Nations has the power to make necessary regulations for the Headquarters district.

Dag Hammarskjöld Library

The Dag Hammarskjöld Library is located at the south-west corner of the Headquarters site, adjoining the Secretariat building. Its construction

and furnishing were made possible by a gift from the Ford Foundation in 1959 and, at the Foundation's request, it was named for the late Secretary-General, who met his death just before the Library's dedication in 1961. It was designed to accommodate 400,000 volumes, 175 readers in the principal reading rooms and a staff of upwards of 100 persons.

The Library is highly specialized in the subjects of international law and in political, economic and social affairs and is devoted primarily to providing information, research materials and library services required by delegations and the Secretariat. It includes a collection of documents and publications of the United Nations and the specialized agencies, as well as books, periodicals and pamphlets concerning them. The Woodrow Wilson Memorial Collection, a gift of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, contains documents of the League of Nations and publications dealing with the League, the peace movements and international relations between the two World Wars. There is also a special collection of maps and geographical reference books.

Official Seal, Emblem and Flag of the United Nations

The official seal and emblem of the United Nations is a map of the world, as seen from the North Pole, surrounded by a wreath of olive branches. When the General Assembly approved the design in 1946, it also recommended that Members should adopt legislation or other appropriate measures to protect the emblem against use not authorized by the Secretary-General. In particular, the Assembly called for prohibition of the use for commercial purposes of the official seal, emblem, name or initials of the world Organization.

The United Nations flag was adopted by the General Assembly in 1947. Its design consists of the official emblem in white, centred on a light blue background. In accordance with Assembly directives, the Secretary-General drew up regulations concerning the dimensions of the flag and, on 19 December 1947, issued a Flag Code to govern the use and protect the dignity of the flag. The Code was amended in November 1952 to permit display of the flag by organizations and persons desiring to demonstrate their support for the United Nations.

ember 1973, following nearly six years
100 States, accounting for more than
ed new multilateral trade negotiations
ese negotiations, the most ambitious
ces, covered both tariff and non-tariff
agricultural products, with particular
eveloping countries. The Tokyo Dec-
bility of improvements in the General

tre in Geneva, since 1968 operated
ions Conference on Trade and Devel-
pand its activities in supporting the
ng countries.

ces to increase trade among develop-
utually advantageous tariff and trade
nt that took effect in February 1973.
natory countries had ratified the Pro-
s among Developing Countries.

ement Regarding International Trade
ted by some 50 countries under GATT
r period. It was intended to reconcile
ting countries in the traditionally sen-
by permitting the expansion of trade
s. In December 1977, it was agreed to
nd four-year period, beginning on 1

wal of protectionist pressures. Other
risen from regional groupings, dis-
monetary instability, payments im-
zation of agriculture. These devel-
ole as a forum where they can be dis-
them can be resolved, and as an in-
le effects can be countered through
ralization of world trade.

38,585,000 Swiss francs. GATT has a
neral is Olivier Long (Switzerland).
Rappard, 154 rue de Lausanne, 1211

Appendices

CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Preamble

WE THE PEOPLES
OF THE UNITED NATIONS
DETERMINED

to save succeeding generations from
the scourge of war, which twice in
our lifetime has brought untold sor-
row to mankind, and

to reaffirm faith in fundamental
human rights, in the dignity and
worth of the human person, in the
equal rights of men and women and
of nations large and small, and

to establish conditions under which
justice and respect for the obliga-
tions arising from treaties and other
sources of international law can be
maintained, and

to promote social progress and better
standards of life in larger freedom.

AND FOR THESE ENDS

to practice tolerance and live to-
gether in peace with one another as
good neighbors, and

to unite our strength to maintain in-
ternational peace and security, and

to ensure by the acceptance of prin-
ciples and the institution of methods,
that armed force shall not be used,
save in the common interest, and

to employ international machinery
for the promotion of the economic
and social advancement of all
peoples,

HAVE RESOLVED TO
COMBINE OUR EFFORTS TO
ACCOMPLISH THESE AIMS

Accordingly, our respective Gov-
ernments, through representatives
assembled in the city of San Fran-
cisco, who have exhibited their full
powers found to be in good and due
form, have agreed to the present
Charter of the United Nations and do
hereby establish an international or-
ganization to be known as the United
Nations.

The Charter of the United Nations was adopted at San Francisco on June 25, 1945, and was signed the follow-
ing day. It came into force on October 24, 1945, when a majority of the signatories had ratified it.
Amendments to Articles 23, 27 and 61 of the Charter were approved by the United Nations General As-
sembly on December 17, 1963, at the Assembly's eighteenth session, and came into force on August 31, 1965.

CHAPTER I
PURPOSES AND
PRINCIPLES

Article 1

The Purposes of the United Nations are:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;

2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;

3. To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and

4. To be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

Article 2

The Organization and its Members, in pursuit of the Purposes stated in Article 1, shall act in accordance with the following Principles.

1. The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members.

2. All Members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, shall fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter.

APPENDICES

3. All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.

4. All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.

5. All Members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter, and shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action.

6. The Organization shall ensure that states which are not Members of the United Nations act in accordance with these Principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

7. Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.

CHAPTER II
MEMBERSHIP

Article 3

The original Members of the United Nations shall be the states which, having participated in the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco, or having previously signed the Declaration by United Nations of January 1, 1942, sign the present Charter and ratify it in accordance with Article 110.

CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Article 4

1. Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations.

2. The admission of any such state to membership in the United Nations will be effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

Article 5

A Member of the United Nations against which preventive or enforcement action has been taken by the Security Council may be suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. The exercise of these rights and privileges may be restored by the Security Council.

Article 6

A Member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the Principles contained in the present Charter may be expelled from the Organization by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

CHAPTER III
ORGANS

Article 7

1. There are established as the principal organs of the United Nations: a General Assembly, a Security Council, an Economic and Social Council, a Trusteeship Council, an International Court of Justice, and a Secretariat.

2. Such subsidiary organs as may be found necessary may be established in accordance with the present Charter.

Article 8

The United Nations shall place no restrictions on the eligibility of men and women to participate in any capacity and under conditions of equality in its principal and subsidiary organs.

CHAPTER IV
THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Composition

Article 9

1. The General Assembly shall consist of all the Members of the United Nations.

2. Each member shall have not more than five representatives in the General Assembly.

Functions and Powers

Article 10

The General Assembly may discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the present Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organs provided for in the present Charter, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations to the Members of the United Nations or to the Security Council or to both on any such questions or matters.

Article 11

1. The General Assembly may consider the general principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments, and may make recommendations with regard to such principles to the Members or to the Security Council or to both.

2. The General Assembly may discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and

Markets

security brought before it by any Member of the United Nations, or by the Security Council, or by a state which is not a Member of the United Nations in accordance with Article 35, paragraph 2, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations with regard to any such questions to the state or states concerned or to the Security Council or to both. Any such question on which action is necessary shall be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly either before or after discussion.

3. The General Assembly may call the attention of the Security Council to situations which are likely to endanger international peace and security.

4. The powers of the General Assembly set forth in this Article shall not limit the general scope of Article 10.

Article 12

1. While the Security Council is exercising in respect of any dispute or situation the functions assigned to it in the present Charter, the General Assembly shall not make any recommendation with regard to that dispute or situation unless the Security Council so requests.

2. The Secretary-General, with the consent of the Security Council, shall notify the General Assembly at each session of any matters relative to the maintenance of international peace and security which are being dealt with by the Security Council and shall similarly notify the General Assembly, or the Members of the United Nations if the General Assembly is not in session, immediately the Security Council ceases to deal with such matters.

Article 13

1. The General Assembly shall initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of:

- a. promoting international cooperation in the political field and

encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification;

- b. promoting international cooperation in the economic, social, cultural, educational, and health fields, and assisting in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

2. The further responsibilities, functions and powers of the General Assembly with respect to matters mentioned in paragraph 1(b) above are set forth in Chapters IX and X.

Article 14

Subject to the provisions of Article 12, the General Assembly may recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations, including situations resulting from a violation of the provisions of the present Charter setting forth the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.

Article 15

1. The General Assembly shall receive and consider annual and special reports from the Security Council; these reports shall include an account of the measures that the Security Council has decided upon or taken to maintain international peace and security.

2. The General Assembly shall receive and consider reports from the other organs of the United Nations.

Article 16

The General Assembly shall perform such functions with respect to the international trusteeship system as are assigned to it under Chapters XII and XIII, including the approval of the trusteeship agreements for areas not designated as strategic.

Article 17

1. The General Assembly shall consider and approve the budget of the Organization.

2. The expenses of the Organization shall be borne by the Members as apportioned by the General Assembly.

3. The General Assembly shall consider and approve any financial and budgetary arrangements with specialized agencies referred to in Article 57 and shall examine the administrative budgets of such specialized agencies with a view to making recommendations to the agencies concerned.

Voting

Article 18

1. Each member of the General Assembly shall have one vote.

2. Decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting. These questions shall include: recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security, the election of the non-permanent members of the Security Council, the election of the members of the Economic and Social Council, the election of members of the Trusteeship Council in accordance with paragraph 1(c) of Article 86, the admission of new Members to the United Nations, the suspension of the rights and privileges of membership, the expulsion of Members, questions relating to the operation of the trusteeship system, and budgetary questions.

3. Decisions on other questions, including the determination of additional categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority, shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

*As amended. The original text of Article 23 reads as follows:

1. The Security Council shall consist of eleven Members of the United Nations. The Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland,

Article 19

A Member of the United Nations which is in arrears in the payment of its financial contributions to the Organization shall have no vote in the General Assembly if the amount of its arrears equals or exceeds the amount of the contributions due from it for the preceding two full years. The General Assembly may, nevertheless, permit such a Member to vote if it is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member.

Procedure

Article 20

The General Assembly shall meet in regular annual sessions and in such special sessions as occasion may require. Special sessions shall be convoked by the Secretary-General at the request of the Security Council or of a majority of the Members of the United Nations.

Article 21

The General Assembly shall adopt its own rules of procedure. It shall elect its President for each session.

Article 22

The General Assembly may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

CHAPTER V

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Composition

Article 23*

1. The Security Council shall consist of fifteen Members of the United

Nations. The Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America shall be permanent members of the Security Council. The General Assembly shall elect ten other Members of the United Nations to be non-permanent members of the Security Council, due regard being specially paid, in the first instance to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution.

2. The non-permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected for a term of two years. In the first election of the non-permanent members after the increase of the membership of the Security Council from eleven to fifteen, two of the four additional members shall be chosen for a term of one year. A retiring member shall not be eligible for immediate re-election.

3. Each member of the Security Council shall have one representative.

Functions and Powers

Article 24

1. In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf.

and the United States of America shall be permanent members of the Security Council. The General Assembly shall elect six other Members of the United Nations to be non-permanent members of the Security Council, due regard being specially paid, in the first instance to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution.

2. The non-permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected for a term of two years. In the first election of the non-permanent members, however, three shall be chosen for a term of one year. A retiring member shall not be eligible for immediate re-election.

3. Each member of the Security Council shall have one representative.

*As amended. The original text of Article 27 reads as follows:

1. Each member of the Security Council shall have one vote.
2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members.

2. In discharging these duties the Security Council shall act in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. The specific powers granted to the Security Council for the discharge of these duties are laid down in Chapters VI, VII, VIII, and XII.

3. The Security Council shall submit annual and, when necessary, special reports to the General Assembly for its consideration.

Article 25

The Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter.

Article 26

In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources, the Security Council shall be responsible for formulating, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in Article 47, plans to be submitted to the Members of the United Nations for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments.

Voting

*Article 27**

1. Each member of the Security Council shall have one vote.

Article 31

Any Member of the United Nations which is not a member of the Security Council may participate, without vote, in the discussion of any question brought before the Security Council whenever the latter considers that the interests of that Member are specially affected.

Article 32

Any Member of the United Nations which is not a member of the Security Council or any state which is not a Member of the United Nations, if it is a party to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council, shall be invited to participate, without vote, in the discussion relating to the dispute. The Security Council shall lay down such conditions as it deems just for the participation of a state which is not a Member of the United Nations.

CHAPTER VI

PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

Article 33

1. The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.

2. The Security Council shall, when it deems necessary, call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.

2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members.

3. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter VI, and under paragraph 3 of Article 52, a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting.

Procedure

Article 28

1. The Security Council shall be so organized as to be able to function continuously. Each member of the Security Council shall for this purpose be represented at all times at the seat of the Organization.

2. The Security Council shall hold periodic meetings at which each of its members may, if it so desires, be represented by a member of the government or by some other specially designated representative.

3. The Security Council may hold meetings at such places other than the seat of the Organization as in its judgment will best facilitate its work.

Article 29

The Security Council may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

Article 30

The Security Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.

3. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter VI, and under paragraph 3 of Article 52, a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting.

Article 34

The Security Council may investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article 35

1. Any Member of the United Nations may bring any dispute, or any situation of the nature referred to in Article 34, to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly.

2. A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may bring to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly any dispute to which it is a party if it accepts in advance, for the purposes of the dispute, the obligations of pacific settlement provided in the present Charter.

3. The proceedings of the General Assembly in respect of matters brought to its attention under this Article will be subject to the provisions of Articles 11 and 12.

Article 36

1. The Security Council may, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 or of a situation of like nature, recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.

2. The Security Council should take into consideration any procedures for the settlement of the dispute which have already been adopted by the parties.

3. In making recommendations under this Article the Security Council should also take into consideration that legal disputes should as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of the Court.

Article 37

1. Should the parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 fail to settle it by the means indicated in that Article, they shall refer it to the Security Council.

2. If the Security Council deems that the continuance of the dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, it shall decide whether to take action under Article 36 or to recommend such terms of settlement as it may consider appropriate.

Article 38

Without prejudice to the provisions of Articles 33 to 37, the Security Council may, if all the parties to any dispute so request, make recommendations to the parties with a view to a pacific settlement of the dispute.

CHAPTER VII

ACTION WITH RESPECT TO
THREATS TO THE PEACE,
BREACHES OF THE PEACE,
AND ACTS OF AGGRESSION*Article 39*

The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security.

Article 40

In order to prevent an aggravation of the situation, the Security Council may, before making the recommendations or deciding upon the measures provided for in Article 39, call upon the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures as it deems necessary or desirable. Such

provisional measures shall be without prejudice to the rights, claims, or position of the parties concerned. The Security Council shall duly take account of failure to comply with such provisional measures.

Article 41

The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations.

Article 42

Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations.

Article 43

1. All Members of the United Nations, in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance, and facilities, including rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

2. Such agreement or agreements shall govern the numbers and types of forces, their degree of readiness and

general location, and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be provided.

3. The agreement or agreements shall be negotiated as soon as possible on the initiative of the Security Council. They shall be concluded between the Security Council and Members or between the Security Council and groups of Members and shall be subject to ratification by the signatory states in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

Article 44

When the Security Council has decided to use force it shall, before calling upon a Member not represented on it to provide armed forces in fulfillment of the obligations assumed under Article 43, invite that Member, if the Member so desires, to participate in the decisions of the Security Council concerning the employment of contingents of that Member's armed forces.

Article 45

In order to enable the United Nations to take urgent military measures, Members shall hold immediately available national air-force contingents for combined international enforcement action. The strength and degree of readiness of these contingents and plans for their combined action shall be determined, within the limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to in Article 43, by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

Article 46

Plans for the application of armed force shall be made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

Article 47

1. There shall be established a Military Staff Committee to advise and

assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, the regulation of armaments, and possible disarmament.

2. The Military Staff Committee shall consist of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives. Any Member of the United Nations not permanently represented on the Committee shall be invited by the Committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the Committee's responsibilities requires the participation of that Member in its work.

3. The Military Staff Committee shall be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. Questions relating to the command of such forces shall be worked out subsequently.

4. The Military Staff Committee, with the authorization of the Security Council and after consultation with appropriate regional agencies, may establish regional subcommittees.

Article 48

1. The action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security shall be taken by all the Members of the United Nations or by some of them, as the Security Council may determine.

2. Such decisions shall be carried out by the Members of the United Nations directly and through their action in the appropriate international agencies of which they are members.

Article 49

The Members of the United Nations shall join in affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Security Council.

Article 50

If preventive or enforcement measures against any state are taken by the Security Council, any other state, whether a Member of the United Nations or not, which finds itself confronted with special economic problems arising from the carrying out of those measures shall have the right to consult the Security Council with regard to a solution of those problems.

Article 51

Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defense shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.

CHAPTER VIII REGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

Article 52

1. Nothing in the present Charter precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.

2. The Members of the United Nations entering into such arrangements or constituting such agencies shall make every effort to achieve

CHAPTER IX INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CO-OPERATION

Article 55

With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote:

- a. higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development;
- b. solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems; and international cultural and educational co-operation; and
- c. universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

Article 56

All Members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organization for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55.

Article 57

1. The various specialized agencies, established by intergovernmental agreement and having wide international responsibilities, as defined in their basic instruments, in economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related fields, shall be brought into relationship with the United Nations in accordance with the provisions of Article 63.

2. Such agencies thus brought into relationship with the United Nations are hereinafter referred to as specialized agencies.

peaceful settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies before referring them to the Security Council.

3. The Security Council shall encourage the development of peaceful settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies either on the initiative of the states concerned or by reference from the Security Council.

4. This Article in no way impairs the application of Articles 34 and 35.

Article 53

1. The Security Council shall, where appropriate, utilize such regional arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority. But no enforcement action shall be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council, with the exception of measures against any enemy state, as defined in paragraph 2 of this Article, provided for pursuant to Article 107 or in regional arrangements directed against renewal of aggressive policy on the part of any such state, until such time as the Organization may, on request of the Governments concerned, be charged with the responsibility for preventing further aggression by such a state.

2. The term enemy state as used in paragraph 1 of this Article applies to any state which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory of the present Charter.

Article 54

The Security Council shall at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article 58

The Organization shall make recommendations for the coordination of the policies and activities of the specialized agencies.

Article 59

The Organization shall, where appropriate, initiate negotiations among the states concerned for the creation of any new specialized agencies required for the accomplishment of the purposes set forth in Article 55.

Article 60

Responsibility for the discharge of the functions of the Organization set forth in this Chapter shall be vested in the General Assembly and, under the authority of the General Assembly, in the Economic and Social Council, which shall have for this purpose the powers set forth in Chapter X.

CHAPTER X

THE ECONOMIC AND
SOCIAL COUNCIL*Composition**Article 61**

1. The Economic and Social Council shall consist of twenty-seven Members of the United Nations elected by the General Assembly.

2. Subject to the provisions of paragraph 3, nine members of the Economic and Social Council shall be elected each year for a term of three

years. A retiring member shall be eligible for immediate re-election.

3. At the first election after the increase in the membership of the Economic and Social Council from eighteen to twenty-seven members, in addition to the members elected in place of the six members whose term of office expires at the end of that year, nine additional members shall be elected. Of these nine additional members, the term of office of three members so elected shall expire at the end of one year, and of three other members at the end of two years, in accordance with arrangements made by the General Assembly.

4. Each member of the Economic and Social Council shall have one representative.

*Functions and Powers**Article 62*

1. The Economic and Social Council may make or initiate studies and reports with respect to international economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related matters and may make recommendations with respect to any such matters to the General Assembly, to the Members of the United Nations, and to the specialized agencies concerned.

2. It may make recommendations for the purpose of promoting respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.

3. It may prepare draft conventions for submission to the General Assembly, with respect to matters falling within its competence.

4. It may call, in accordance with

*As amended. The original text of Article 27 reads as follows:

1. The Economic and Social Council shall consist of eighteen Members of the United Nations elected by the General Assembly.

2. Subject to the provisions of paragraph 3, six members of the Economic and Social Council shall be elected each year for a term of three years. A retiring member shall be eligible for immediate re-election.

3. At the first election, eighteen members of the Economic and Social Council shall be chosen. The term of office of six members so chosen shall expire at the end of one year, and of six other members at the end of two years, in accordance with arrangements made by the General Assembly.

4. Each member of the Economic and Social Council shall have one representative.

the rules prescribed by the United Nations, international conferences on matters falling within its competence.

Article 63

1. The Economic and Social Council may enter into agreements with any of the agencies referred to in Article 57, defining the terms on which the agency concerned shall be brought into relationship with the United Nations. Such agreements shall be subject to approval by the General Assembly.

2. It may coordinate the activities of the specialized agencies through consultation with and recommendations to such agencies and through recommendations to the General Assembly and to the Members of the United Nations.

Article 64

1. The Economic and Social Council may take appropriate steps to obtain regular reports from the specialized agencies. It may make arrangements with the Members of the United Nations and with the specialized agencies to obtain reports on the steps taken to give effect to its own recommendations and to recommendations on matters falling within its competence made by the General Assembly.

2. It may communicate its observations on these reports to the General Assembly.

Article 65

The Economic and Social Council may furnish information to the Security Council and shall assist the Security Council upon its request.

Article 66

1. The Economic and Social Council shall perform such functions as fall within its competence in connection with the carrying out of the rec-

ommendations of the General Assembly.

2. It may, with the approval of the General Assembly, perform services at the request of Members of the United Nations and at the request of specialized agencies.

3. It shall perform such other functions as are specified elsewhere in the present Charter or as may be assigned to it by the General Assembly.

*Voting**Article 67*

1. Each member of the Economic and Social Council shall have one vote.

2. Decisions of the Economic and Social Council shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

*Procedure**Article 68*

The Economic and Social Council shall set up commissions in economic and social fields and for the promotion of human rights, and such other commissions as may be required for the performance of its functions.

Article 69

The Economic and Social Council shall invite any Member of the United Nations to participate, without vote, in its deliberations on any matter of particular concern to that Member.

Article 70

The Economic and Social Council may make arrangements for representatives of the specialized agencies to participate, without vote, in its deliberations and in those of the commissions established by it, and for its representatives to participate in the deliberations of the specialized agencies.

Article 71

The Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence. Such arrangements may be made with international organizations and, where appropriate, with national organizations after consultation with the Member of the United Nations concerned.

Article 72

1. The Economic and Social Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.

2. The Economic and Social Council shall meet as required in accordance with its rules, which shall include provision for the convening of meetings on the request of a majority of its members.

CHAPTER XI

DECLARATION
REGARDING
NON-SELF-GOVERNING
TERRITORIES*Article 73*

Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories, and, to this end:

a. to ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their political, economic, social, and educational advancement, their just treatment, and their protection against abuses;

b. to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement;

c. to further international peace and security;

d. to promote constructive measures of development, to encourage research, and to cooperate with one another and, when and where appropriate, with specialized international bodies with a view to the practical achievement of the social, economic, and scientific purposes set forth in this Article; and

e. to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General for information purposes, subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in the territories for which they are respectively responsible other than those territories to which Chapter XII and XIII apply.

Article 74

Members of the United Nations also agree that their policy in respect of the territories to which this Chapter applies, no less than in respect of their metropolitan areas, must be based on the general principle of good-neighborliness, due account being taken of the interests and well-being of the rest of the world, in social, economic, and commercial matters.

CHAPTER XII

INTERNATIONAL
TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM*Article 75*

The United Nations shall establish under its authority an international trusteeship system for the administration and supervision of such territories as may be placed thereunder by subsequent individual agreements. These territories are hereinafter referred to as trust territories.

Article 76

The basic objectives of the trusteeship system, in accordance with the Purposes of the United Nations laid down in Article 1 of the present Charter, shall be:

a. to further international peace and security;

b. to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned, and as may be provided by the terms of each trusteeship agreement;

c. to encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion, and to encourage recognition of the interdependence of the peoples of the world; and

d. to ensure equal treatment in social, economic, and commercial matters for all Members of the United Nations and their nationals, and also equal treatment for the latter in the administration of justice, without prejudice to the attainment of the foregoing objectives and subject to the provisions of Article 80.

Article 77

1. The trusteeship system shall apply to such territories in the following categories as may be placed thereunder by means of trusteeship agreements:

a. territories now held under mandate;

b. territories which may be detached from enemy states as a result of the Second World War; and

c. territories voluntarily placed under the system by states responsible for their administration.

2. It will be a matter for subsequent agreement as to which territories in the foregoing categories will be brought under the trusteeship system and upon what terms.

Article 78

The trusteeship system shall not apply to territories which have become Members of the United Nations, relationship among which shall be based on respect for the principle of sovereign equality.

Article 79

The terms of trusteeship for each territory to be placed under the trusteeship system, including any alteration or amendment, shall be agreed upon by the states directly concerned, including the mandatory power in the case of territories held under mandate by a Member of the United Nations, and shall be approved as provided for in Articles 83 and 85.

Article 80

1. Except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship agreements, made under Articles 77, 79, and 81, placing each territory under the trusteeship system, and until such agreements have been concluded, nothing in this Chapter shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any

peoples or the terms of existing international instruments to which Members of the United Nations may respectively be parties.

2. Paragraph 1 of this Article shall not be interpreted as giving grounds for delay or postponement of the negotiation and conclusion of agreements for placing mandated and other territories under the trusteeship system as provided for in Article 77.

Article 81

The trusteeship agreement shall in each case include the terms under which the trust territory will be administered and designate the authority which will exercise the administration of the trust territory. Such authority, hereinafter called the administering authority, may be one or more states or the Organization itself.

Article 82

There may be designated, in any trusteeship agreement, a strategic area or areas which may include part or all of the trust territory to which the agreement applies, without prejudice to any special agreement or agreements made under Article 43.

Article 83

1. All functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendment, shall be exercised by the Security Council.

2. The basic objectives set forth in Article 76 shall be applicable to the people of each strategic area.

3. The Security Council shall, subject to the provisions of the trusteeship agreements and without prejudice to security considerations, avail itself of the assistance of the Trusteeship Council to perform those functions of the United Nations under the trusteeship system relating to political, eco-

nomical, social, and educational matters in the strategic areas.

Article 84

It shall be the duty of the administering authority to ensure that the trust territory shall play its part in the maintenance of international peace and security. To this end the administering authority may make use of volunteer forces, facilities, and assistance from the trust territory in carrying out the obligations towards the Security Council undertaken in this regard by the administering authority, as well as for local defense and the maintenance of law and order within the trust territory.

Article 85

1. The functions of the United Nations with regard to trusteeship agreements for all areas not designated as strategic, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendment, shall be exercised by the General Assembly.

2. The Trusteeship Council, operating under the authority of the General Assembly, shall assist the General Assembly in carrying out these functions.

CHAPTER XIII THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

Composition

Article 86

1. The Trusteeship Council shall consist of the following Members of the United Nations:

- a. those Members administering trust territories;
- b. such of those Members mentioned by name in Article 23 as are

not administering trust territories; and

c. as many other Members elected for three-year terms by the General Assembly as may be necessary to ensure that the total number of members of the Trusteeship Council is equally divided between those Members of the United Nations which administer trust territories and those which do not.

2. Each member of the Trusteeship Council shall designate one specially qualified person to represent it therein.

Functions and Powers

Article 87

The General Assembly and, under its authority, the Trusteeship Council, in carrying out their functions, may:

- a. consider reports submitted by the administering authority;
- b. accept petitions and examine them in consultation with the administering authority;
- c. provide for periodic visits to the respective trust territories at times agreed upon with the administering authority; and
- d. take these and other actions in conformity with the terms of the trusteeship agreements.

Article 88

The Trusteeship Council shall formulate a questionnaire on the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of each trust territory, and the administering authority for each trust territory within the competence of the General Assembly shall make an annual report to the General Assembly upon the basis of such questionnaire.

Voting

Article 89

1. Each member of the Trusteeship Council shall have one vote.

2. Decisions of the Trusteeship Council shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

Procedure

Article 90

1. The Trusteeship Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.

2. The Trusteeship Council shall meet as required in accordance with its rules, which shall include provision for the convening of meetings on the request of a majority of its members.

Article 91

The Trusteeship Council shall, when appropriate, avail itself of the assistance of the Economic and Social Council and of the specialized agencies in regard to matters with which they are respectively concerned.

CHAPTER XIV THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

Article 92

The International Court of Justice shall be the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. It shall function in accordance with the annexed Statute, which is based upon the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice and forms an integral part of the present Charter.

Article 93

1. All Members of the United Nations are *ipso facto* parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice.

2. A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may become a party to the Statute of the International

→ For Joe
Duggan

John R. Bolton

Current
Policy
No. 1191

91 SEP

The⁹ Concept of the "Unitary UN"

United States Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs
Washington, D.C.



Following is an address by John R. Bolton, Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs, before the Geneva Group consultative-level meeting, Geneva, June 29, 1989.

It is a special pleasure for me to participate in this my first meeting of the Geneva Group consultative level. This forum, especially through the 1980s, has provided an important and useful opportunity for exchanging views and coming to conclusions on budgetary, financial, and administrative issues affecting the organizations of the UN system. I look forward to working with all of you in continuing our efforts to assure that the significant resources, we as a group invest in the UN system, are put to good use.

Together, the members of the Geneva Group represent over 70% of the contributions to the assessed budgets of the UN system. Were we to add our voluntary contributions to the extra-budgetary activities of the UN agencies, and to the operational programs such as UNDP (UN Development Program), UNICEF (UN Children's Fund), UNHCR (UN High Commissioner for Refugees), and the WFP (World Food Program), the percentage would be at least as high. It is incumbent on members of the Geneva Group to fulfill our responsibilities to our taxpayers and to other members of the organizations by continuing to provide the leadership required for adapting the UN system to its growing responsibilities. With

your indulgence, I will take a few moments at the opening of the meeting to discuss with you our concept of the "unitary United Nations."

"The unitary United Nations concept provides us with a basis to deal coherently with the UN system on both budgetary and policy grounds. We have all noted the proliferation of committees, councils, conferences, and meetings, all of which cover essentially the same issues."

In the course of formulating the Bush Administration's diplomacy toward the UN system, it struck me that we should have a policy that treated the United Nations comprehensively. (Let me say at the outset that this analysis does not in any way implicate the IMF [International Monetary Fund], IBRD [International Bank for Reconstruction and Development], or GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade].) Instead of a series of unrelated policies toward each UN component, I felt that we needed to address the UN system in much the same way as the U.S. State Department's regional bureaus interact with the governments in their respec-

tive regions. Just as an action taken toward one specific country affects overall regional relationships, by analogy, so, too, do the actions of individual UN agencies affect the operation of the entire system. For example, the handling of UNDP support costs, which we will discuss, has a direct bearing on the assessed budgets of the specialized agencies.

The unitary United Nations concept provides us with a basis to deal coherently with the UN system on both budgetary and policy grounds. We have all noted the proliferation of committees, councils, conferences, and meetings, all of which cover essentially the same issues. Numerous governing bodies (however denominated) all spend precious time and fiscal resources discussing precisely the same issues, often in several different cities. Moreover, almost all components of the UN system have expanded their programs beyond their originally intended missions and are now duplicating each other's work. Moreover, there is always the risk of creating even more new organizations, with substantial budgetary claims, when existing agencies could handle emerging problems.

Following the unitary United Nations concept would provide us with a principled rule of decision to prune the thicket of UN governing bodies. It would also permit us to redefine the proper limits of each UN component's responsibilities and help avoid both empire building and turf fighting. By adhering to the original intent underlying

the creation of each UN component, we should achieve not only budgetary savings but also create a greater sense of political responsibility among member governments and secretariats.

Under a unitary United Nations concept, even if some elements of the UN system were to take on new responsibilities, we are not suggesting that the Geneva Group abandon its policy of zero real growth. Indeed, the possibility of added responsibilities increases the need for maintaining tight budgetary discipline. In fact, I view the unitary United Nations concept as a logical next step beyond the policy of zero real growth, which is now only applied component by component. But in implementing a policy of zero real growth, we must recognize that there will be instances where some agencies must grow to respond to new and emerging developments. Otherwise they will stagnate, and initiatives will be taken by other organizations which do not have the expertise or qualifications to do so in the most effective way possible. Any such growth, however, must be offset by reductions in other organizations so as to maintain zero real growth throughout the UN system. Difficult choices must be made not only by the secretariats but by us, the member governments; ultimately, the burden of identifying and enforcing priorities rests with us. As we have seen, it is not easy to achieve cutbacks in agency functions, but if we want to strengthen the UN system, it is incumbent upon us to take a hard look at the various components in order to rationalize and harmonize their operations.

My reference to the concept of the unitary United Nations should not be misinterpreted. I am not now suggesting a change in the mandate of the Geneva Group. I well understand that the Geneva Group does not address the whole of the UN system, and that its mandate explicitly is limited to concern for administrative, budgetary, and financial issues related to the basic infrastructure of the UN system, i.e., the regular assessed budgets of the specialized agencies and the IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency]. However, we must recognize that this infrastructure influences, and is influenced by, a much larger whole. We believe more attention must be given to this larger whole in order to be effective in addressing our concerns about the basic infrastructure.

Let me also make clear that my use of the concept of the unitary United Nations does not mean that I am advocating central control in the UN sys-

tem. I fully recognize that many of our substantive interests in the UN agencies are fostered and protected by the pluralism of the UN system. I am familiar with the longstanding efforts of some to do away with this pluralism in order to allow the whole of the UN system to be tightly orchestrated by a politicized majority in the UN General Assembly. It is because of the pluralism of the UN system, and our interest in maintaining this pluralism, that I urge the concept of the unitary United Nations. The lack of effective central control in the UN system increases the need for us, the member governments, to guide our participation in the different UN agencies with an eye on the overall system.

"...the United States looks forward to important opportunities in the UN system for dealing with critical world problems. The renewed confidence in the UN system must be further strengthened and maintained; we must guard against allowing the expected return of financial stability to result in renewal of wasteful practices."

One example of the concept of the unitary United Nations at work is in deciding upon the appropriate role of the UNDP for the 1990s. We believe that the UNDP should play a more vigorous coordinating role. Over the years, UNDP has been weakened considerably, since agencies are taking it upon themselves to do what is properly in UNDP's realm. Indeed, if the Geneva Group is to be effective in assuring the best use of resources by the United Nations' technical agencies, it will be essential that we assure a clearer division of labor between the UNDP and the technical agencies. Further, there needs to be improved communication among the major donors on the relationships between bilateral and multilateral assistance programs. The current state of play, all too often, means that resources are wasted or that we work at cross purposes in the management of a unitary UN system.

This is important because we recognize the great and growing need for the work of the UN system. In addition to the recent major increase in UN peacekeeping activities, still more can be expected. More directly related to our work at this meeting are the significant transnational problems increasingly being addressed. Certainly, the UN system has the potential to help deal with issues such as drug control, terrorism, refugees, AIDS [acquired immune deficiency syndrome], human rights, and the host of environmental problems.

Based on the reforms initiated in the United Nations and in the major specialized agencies, and on the important UN peacekeeping activities recently undertaken, President Reagan decided last year to seek restoration of U.S. financial support to the United Nations and its affiliated agencies. He included in the fiscal year (FY) 1990 budget essentially full funding for U.S. assessed contributions to the organizations of the UN system. As indicated in our paper, President Reagan also included in the FY 1990 budget the first step in a multiyear plan for payment of outstanding U.S. arrearages. This commitment to restore U.S. financial support for the UN system has been strongly endorsed by President Bush. Final approval of the budget requests by Congress remains uncertain, but we are hopeful for support of President Bush's program on Capitol Hill.

In conclusion, I want to stress that the United States looks forward to important opportunities in the UN system for dealing with critical world problems. The renewed confidence in the UN system must be further strengthened and maintained; we must guard against allowing the expected return of financial stability to result in renewal of wasteful practices. This will require continued vigor by the Geneva Group in insisting on value for money. However, building on what we have achieved in recent years, we must go a step further in identifying and enforcing priorities for the UN system as a whole in order to be sure that our financial resources are being well used. I urge that—within our own governments—we all place more emphasis on what I have called the unitary United Nations. ■

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ELEMENTS FOR THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH

Repeal the Zionism is Racism Resolution

-- We believe strongly that it is time to repeal General Assembly Resolution 3379, the odious resolution which equates Zionism with racism. Based on a despicable lie, this resolution has seriously undercut the moral authority of the U.N.

New Secretary General

-- We attach great importance to the search for a new Secretary General. We seek the most capable, dedicated individual possible, irrespective of his or her country of origin.

-- Most important, the new Secretary General will have to be able and willing to implement the reforms necessary to lead the U.N. into the 21st century.

Unitary U.N.

-- The U.N. system as a whole desperately needs reform and restructuring.

-- We believe that the concept of the unitary U.N. provides the best vehicle for reform of the organization. The U.N. system of organizations should be treated as a coherent whole, with each organization having assigned roles in carrying out programs consistent with their respective charters. Such an approach would lead to the elimination of an enormous amount of waste and duplication within the system.

-- We do not seek greater central control by the U.N. bureaucracy. Rather, member states must play a more active role in preventing the proliferation of overlapping programs.

-- We hope that a large number of member states will join us in endorsing the truth and eliminating this resolution.

Arms control

-- We warmly endorse the efforts of our close friends, the EC and Japan, to establish a U.N. arms transfer registry. We will work closely with them to ensure the passage of a resolution designed to bring needed transparency to the global arms trade.

Election Assistance

-- We believe that the U.N. can play an important role in furthering democratization around the globe by providing electoral assistance to those countries which specifically

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request it. We look forward to the Secretary General's report on U.N. electoral assistance and hope to work with other member states in sponsoring an appropriate resolution on the topic.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights [1948]

Preamble

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, therefore,

The General Assembly

Proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article 1

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and the security of person.

Article 4

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair, and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11

1. Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

2. No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State.

2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14

1. Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

2. This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15

1. Everyone has the right to a nationality.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16

1. Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to

found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

2. Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

3. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17

1. Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

2. No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21

1. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

2. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

3. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23

1. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

2. Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

3. Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

4. Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25

1. Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

2. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26

1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27

1. Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29

1. Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

2. In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

3. These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

Court of Justice on conditions to be determined in each case by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

Article 94

1. Each Member of the United Nations undertakes to comply with the decision of the International Court of Justice in any case to which it is a party.

2. If any party to a case fails to perform the obligations incumbent upon it under a judgment rendered by the Court, the other party may have recourse to the Security Council, which may, if it deems necessary, make recommendations or decide upon measures to be taken to give effect to the judgment.

Article 95

Nothing in the present Charter shall prevent Members of the United Nations from entrusting the solution of their differences to other tribunals by virtue of agreements already in existence or which may be concluded in the future.

Article 96

1. The General Assembly or the Security Council may request the International Court of Justice to give an advisory opinion on any legal question.

2. Other organs of the United Nations and specialized agencies, which may at any time be so authorized by the General Assembly, may also request advisory opinions of the Court on legal questions arising within the scope of their activities.

CHAPTER XV

THE SECRETARIAT

Article 97

The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary-General and such staff as the

Organization may require. The Secretary-General shall be appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. He shall be the chief administrative officer of the Organization.

Article 98

The Secretary-General shall act in that capacity in all meetings of the General Assembly, of the Security Council, of the Economic and Social Council, and of the Trusteeship Council, and shall perform such other functions as are entrusted to him by these organs. The Secretary-General shall make an annual report to the General Assembly on the work of the Organization.

Article 99

The Secretary-General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article 100

1. In the performance of their duties the Secretary-General and the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the Organization. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials responsible only to the Organization.

2. Each Member of the United Nations undertakes to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and the staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities.

Article 101

1. The staff shall be appointed by the Secretary-General under regulations established by the General Assembly.

2. Appropriate staffs shall be permanently assigned to the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, and, as required, to other organs of the United Nations. These staffs shall form a part of the Secretariat.

3. The paramount consideration in the employment of the staff and in the determination of the conditions of service shall be the necessity of securing the highest standards of efficiency, competence, and integrity. Due regard shall be paid to the importance of recruiting the staff on as wide a geographical basis as possible.

CHAPTER XVI
MISCELLANEOUS
PROVISIONS

Article 102

1. Every treaty and every international agreement entered into by any Member of the United Nations after the present Charter comes into force shall as soon as possible be registered with the Secretariat and published by it.

2. No party to any such treaty or international agreement which has not been registered in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 1 of this Article may invoke that treaty or agreement before any organ of the United Nations.

Article 103

In the event of a conflict between the obligations of the Members of the United Nations under the present Charter and their obligations under any other international agreement, their obligations under the present Charter shall prevail.

Article 104

The Organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its Members such

legal capacity as may be necessary for the exercise of its functions and the fulfillment of its purposes.

Article 105

1. The Organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its Members such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the fulfillment of its purposes.

2. Representatives of the Members of the United Nations and officials of the Organization shall similarly enjoy such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the independent exercise of their functions in connection with the Organization.

3. The General Assembly may make recommendations with a view to determining the details of the application of paragraphs 1 and 2 of this Article or may propose conventions to the Members of the United Nations for this purpose.

CHAPTER XVII
TRANSITIONAL SECURITY
ARRANGEMENTS

Article 106

Pending the coming into force of such special agreements referred to in Article 43 as in the opinion of the Security Council enable it to begin the exercise of its responsibilities under Article 42, the parties to the Four-Nation Declaration, signed at Moscow, October 30, 1943, and France, shall, in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 5 of that Declaration, consult with one another and as occasion requires with other Members of the United Nations with a view to such joint action on behalf of the Organization as may be necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

Article 107

Nothing in the present Charter shall invalidate or preclude action, in relation to any state which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory to the present Charter, taken or authorized as a result of that war by the Governments having responsibility for such action.

CHAPTER XVIII
AMENDMENTS

Article 108

Amendments to the present Charter shall come into force for all Members of the United Nations when they have been adopted by a vote of two thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two thirds of the Members of the United Nations, including all the permanent members of the Security Council.

Article 109

1. A General Conference of the Members of the United Nations for the purpose of reviewing the present Charter may be held at a date and place to be fixed by a two-thirds vote of the members of the General Assembly and by a vote of any seven members of the Security Council. Each Member of the United Nations shall have one vote in the conference.

2. Any alteration of the present Charter recommended by a two-thirds vote of the conference shall take effect when ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two thirds of the Members of the United Nations including all the permanent members of the Security Council.

3. If such a conference has not been held before the tenth annual session of the General Assembly following

the coming into force of the present Charter, the proposal to call such a conference shall be placed on the agenda of that session of the General Assembly, and the conference shall be held if so decided by a majority vote of the members of the General Assembly and by a vote of any seven members of the Security Council.

CHAPTER XIX
RATIFICATION AND
SIGNATURE

Article 110

1. The present Charter shall be ratified by the signatory states in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

2. The ratifications shall be deposited with the Government of the United States of America, which shall notify all the signatory states of each deposit as well as the Secretary-General of the Organization when he has been appointed.

3. The present Charter shall come into force upon the deposit of ratifications by the Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America, and by a majority of the other signatory states. A protocol of the ratifications deposited shall thereupon be drawn up by the Government of the United States of America which shall communicate copies thereof to all the signatory states.

4. The states signatory to the present Charter which ratify it after it has come into force will become original Members of the United Nations on the date of the deposit of their respective ratifications.

Article 111

The present Charter, of which the Chinese, French, Russian, English,

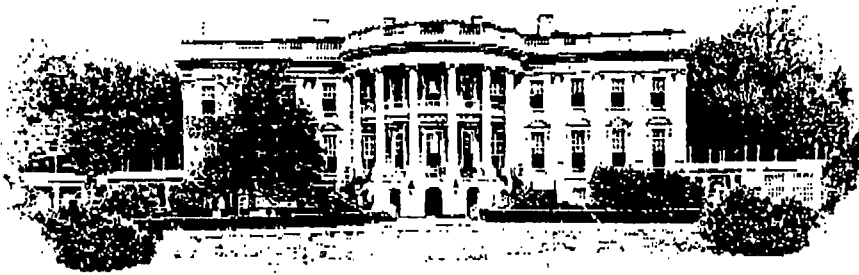
and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States of America. Duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted by that Government to the Governments of the other signatory states.

IN FAITH WHEREOF the representatives of the Governments of the United Nations have signed the present Charter.

DONE at the city of San Francisco the twenty-sixth day of June, one thousand nine hundred and forty-five.

TIME OF TRANSMISSION

TIME OF RECEIPT



THE SITUATION ROOM

PRECEDENCE: IMMEDIATE
PRIORITY
ROUTINE

RELEASER: 1817

DTG: 200110Z

MESSAGE NO. 54

CLASSIFICATION Unclas

PAGES 29

FROM JENNIFER GROSSMAN

(202)456 7752

111.5

(Name)

(Phone Number)

(Room No.)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION

TO (AGENCY)

DELIVER TO:

DEPT/ROOM NO.

PHONE NUMBER

WIT SPEECHWRITING

TONY SNOW

L.A.

1211

REMARKS

September 19, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN
 SUBJECT: UN MATERIAL

Tony, I'll try to just continue to fax you material as I process it. Here's what I have right now. P.S. -- keep organized! Yenta says use those files she gave you. Attached material:

- 1) regurgitation of what you saw as outline, I copied my notes of what you relayed, you'll probably understand it better than I.
- 2) Address by Bush when he was US Ambassador to UN. Has a bit on founders' vision. Some of the nice things UN has done.
- 3) News Summary update on new members.
- 4) Bush's 1990 address to UN. You should have a copy, but here's another just in case.
 - p. 2: irrepressibility of human spirit and "power of individuals"
 - pp. 2-3, bottom 6: part I.A. of your outline, UN freed from Cold War Freeze
 - pp. 4-5: Iraq
 - p. 7: the visionary stuff
 - p. 8: countdown 2000
- 5) Article on new President of the General Assembly
- 6) Address by Bush when Ambassador to the UN, at Annual Dinner Inaugurating the '71 UN Day Program
- 7) ***Address by Bush when Ambassador to the UN, to UN Plenary on situation in the Middle East.
 - talks about Resolution 242
- 8) Article from Bob, "Ten Minutes to Midnight"

RE YOUR QUESTIONS

- 1) Guido de Marco is the outgoing President of the General Assembly. Samir Shihabi is incoming President. (see article)

QUOTES

- 1) "The United Nations will not abolish sin, but it can make it more difficult for the sinners."
 --Ivor Richard, Great Britain, fmr ambassador to the

United Nations

2) "The United Nations is messy because the world is messy"
--ibid

3) THE WAY IT WAS:
"If the United Nations is a country unto itself, then the commodity it exports most is words."
--Esther B. Fein, NY Times, 14 Oct '85



"When they speak, dead frogs fall out of their mouths."
--David Hare, on some UN representatives

"It's group therapy for the world."
--Antonio Monteiro, Portugal, on the series of debates that mark the start of each General Assembly session, NYT 27 Sept '86

4) "This organization is created to prevent you from going to hell. It isn't created to take you to heaven."
--Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., 28 Jan '54

5) APPLIC TO IRAQ: "May the United Nations ever be vigilant and potent to defeat the swallowing up of any nation at any time, by any means -- by armies with banners, by force or by fraud, by tricks or by midnight treachery."
--Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., at dedication of plaque honoring 37,000 servicemen who died while fighting under UN's unified command in Korean War, NYT, 28 Jun '60

6) ***GREAT ANECDOTE (could be used to qualify how divisions will always remain in the organization):

"Our agenda is not exhausted. The secretary general is exhausted. All of you are exhausted. I find it comforting that, beginning with our very first day, we find ourselves in such complete unanimity."

--Paul Henri Spaak (1899-1972) presiding over the first General Assembly in '46 as President of the United Nations.

September 19, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN

SUBJECT: OUTLINE

Tony, here's a regurgitation of the outline you gave me over the phone:

OUTLINE

themes: now is the time when when the UN's charter and universal declaration of human rights can be taken seriously; up to now it's efficacy has been stymied by the Cold War.

I. salutations, intro, different kind of speech because different kind of world

- A. End of the Cold War, demise of the old world order
 - 1. proof given during Gulf conflict when Sovs signed on joint effort.
 - here we can stroke UN, UN at its best, working
 - here we can fit in any Iraq updates as needed.

II. Future

- A. Defining challenges
 - 1. Regional disputes
 - 2. Trade disputes
 - GATT
- B. Values
 - the time has come to retract the shameful "Zionism is Racism"
 - other anachronistic, reprehensible resolutions
- C. The Individual as the New Unit
 - Croatia
 - 1. Individual rights
 - 2. Power rests with the people, not with the governments

III. This is not, and cannot be Pax Americana

- it is an order in which individuals must take responsibility for monitoring government
- we don't want to meddle in the internal affairs of other states, unless under extreme situations of abuse (?)

3 2 8 0 0 0 0 1 0 2 1

UNITED STATES MISSION
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

RELEASE ON DELIVERY.
2:30 P.M., SUNDAY, MAY 9, 1971

Press Release USUN-55 (71)
May 7, 1971

Address by Ambassador George Bush, United States Representative
to the United Nations, at Gloucester County Community College,
Gloucester, New Jersey, Sunday, May 9, 1971

I'm sure many of you have studied the United Nations, and if so you know something about how it all began at the end of the Second World War. You know the vision that was in the minds of the UN's founders -- how they dreamed of a new age when the great powers of the world would cooperate in peace as they had as allies in war, and would take the lead in stopping aggression and settling disputes. The Security Council was even supposed to have armed forces, including air forces, at its immediate call to stop an aggressor. The UN was designed to make it possible for man's ancient dream of world peace to come true at last. But there was one big "if" -- the major powers had to cooperate.

And I'm sure you have also read about what actually happened. The optimists had a rude awakening from the dream of peace. The big-power cooperation that we all hoped for disappeared almost overnight. Military defense alliances were formed to resist communist pressure in Europe and many other places. The UN became famous not as a center of cooperation but as an arena of attack and counterattack in the cold war. A lot of pessimists in those days thought the UN was about finished.

-more-

But this time the pessimists were in for a surprise. The UN did not die. It did fail to bring a stable world peace or disarmament, but it accomplished a lot of very important things. It helped to defeat a major military aggression against South Korea. It sent peace observers and larger peace forces to help prevent large-scale war in Kashmir, the Middle East, the Congo, Cyprus and other places. And while those events were grabbing the headlines, the UN was also, rather quietly, serving as a world center for cooperation on an immense number of common interests that affect the nations of the world -- teaching people to read, giving children enough to eat, finding refugees a new place to live, stamping out endemic diseases like malaria and smallpox, coordinating disaster relief of the floods and earthquakes, promoting trade and communications and economic and social progress in every part of the world. That is still today the big untold story of the United Nations -- the part of its work that takes up more than 80 per cent of its money and talent but gets very few headlines in the press.

So the UN is still in business, more than 25 years after its founding. After only a couple of months as United States Representative there I can assure you that it still has plenty of headaches. The pessimists still have plenty of evidence for predicting, just as they were doing 20 years ago, that the UN is on its last legs. The international development program of the UN, which has worked for more than a decade to help the low-income countries, has been having serious growing pains and needs a major overhaul. The UN has a serious financial deficit because the Soviet Union and some others won't pay for past peacekeeping costs. The future ability of the UN to create peacekeeping forces is a question mark. There is too much talk and too little action. The 127 nations that make up the General Assembly are very unequal in power. The result is that majority votes in the Assembly often express strong emotions but don't reflect what can actually be done by the nations with the power to act.

And basically, it remains true today as it has been from the beginning, that the UN can only accomplish what its members are ready and able to do together. On some days, on some issues, that doesn't seem to be very much.

Really, if you are a born pessimist -- if you "got up on the wrong side of life," as somebody put it -- it's no trouble at all to prove that the UN, this time, is about through.

But I, for one, just don't believe that. I believe the UN will gradually overcome its difficulties. I expect it will continue its economic and technical and humanitarian programs and that these will be made more efficient. And I further hope and expect that the UN will play a very important part in helping the nations of the world to meet some of the new and emerging challenges of our technological age.

Let me say a word about the impact of technology. It is changing the world faster than some of us realize. Radio and jet travel have made the world a smaller place in which people of different nations and cultures know more about each other and tend to share the same aspirations. Modern medicine and public health have dramatically lengthened the life span of people in the low-income countries -- thereby solving one big problem and creating another one, a very great one, which we call the population explosion. Space science has given us fantastic new powers to discover hidden earth resources, to detect areas of pollution and drop diseases, to see hurricanes beginning to form, and before long to make reliable long-range weather forecasts which will be of immense economic value for agriculture. Underwater engineering technology is enabling us to find and use resources of petroleum and metals far beneath the surface of the seas, and far beyond the jurisdiction of any nation.

Technology thus brings us both new opportunities and new problems and dangers. The same nuclear energy that could, if it ever got loose, pretty much destroy civilization, can also be, as President Eisenhower once said, "consecrated to man's life" -- a source of power for the economies of the whole world. The same jet planes that make international contact so easy can be perverted to use for the international drug traffic; they can also be hijacked by people with some personal or political motive. The same industrial technology that has made modern Americans materially richer than kings of ancient times has also led to widespread and dangerous pollution -- so dangerous that the control of that pollution must now be undertaken on an international and even a world scale.

Every single one of these problems and opportunities of modern technology is on the active agenda of the United Nations today. Cleaning up the world environment. Reducing the dangerously rapid growth of population in many countries. Finding an orderly arrangement for nations to cooperate in mining the wealth that lies under the oceans. Preventing and punishing hijacking. Controlling and ending the vicious international drug traffic. Turning nuclear energy toward peaceful use. Putting the detection powers of the newly devised earth resource satellites into service for international development and in the fight against pollution.

This is one frontier of international cooperation -- the technological frontier -- that makes the United Nations an exciting and indispensable center in the modern world. We are constantly aware that the powers that science and technology gives us -- and which they will continue to give us during your lifetime -- can be used for either good or evil, either to build or to destroy. The choice depends to a great extent on what the governments of the world decide to do; and the UN is the place where some of these decisions are going to be made in the years ahead.

5.

BUSH

-4-

Let me add that the UN today is very conscious of the need to enlist young people in its work. We have a newly established International Corps of Volunteers, a kind of "international peace corps", which has just begun to set up shop in the UN Development Program so that young volunteers can find a constructive place in helping the developing countries of the world. In the UN Secretariat itself, new emphasis is being placed on recruiting talented young people into the international civil service. Maybe some of you will be interested in such a career.

I know very well, of course, that some people in your generation are very, very skeptical about institutions created by their elders. The United Nations is not immune to your skepticism, I'm sure, and it shouldn't be. I mentioned some of its problems and weaknesses, and I could list some more. It has done very little indeed to help solve the tragic problems of Vietnam and Southeast Asia. Its greatest single peacemaking effort today, in the Middle East, still hangs in the balance after more than 20 years. The UN is still today, as it has been from the beginning, no stronger than its 127 members, with all their age-old misunderstanding and distrust and different interests, are willing to see it become.

And let me assure you that distrust among nations is not something you can wave away with a magic wand. You have to work away at it, constantly talking and listening, constantly probing for new openings and hoping to find some new common ground even in the most difficult situations. In this game you don't hope for perfect peace; you feel very lucky indeed if conflict can be kept short of violence and if new, limited programs of cooperation can be opened up. I am enough of an optimist to believe that as international programs of cooperation grow, embracing all these new fields of technology, and involving ordinary people from countries all over the world, nations will realize more and more what tremendous interests they have in common. And that realization will help to let the steam out of the dangerous conflicts and hatreds of the past.

Some young person here may be saying that hope isn't good enough, and that the United Nations itself isn't good enough. You have a right to that opinion, but I would ask you just one question as I conclude: Have you got a better idea?

* * * * *

YUGOSLAVIA

Brokaw reports the civil war has moved into Croatia's capital. Fighting was fierce, even though the ink still was wet on the latest in a series of cease-fire agreements. (CBS-6, NBC-9)

UN/FLAGS

Jennings reports the flags of seven new members were raised at the UN today. They belong to the three Baltic states, Micronesia, the Marshall Islands, South Korea and North Korea. (ABC-8)

UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS

Rather: A new veto showdown is shaping up between President Bush and those in Congress who want to help the unemployed. The issue: a bill passed by the House today that would provide jobless benefits to the long-term unemployed.

CBS's Susan Spencer: The Democratic bill declares unemployment an emergency, something Mr. Bush so far refuses to do, and is designed both to provide money for those long out of work and to provide as much embarrassment as possible for the President.

(Rep. AuCoin: "It's time, Mr. Chairman, that the people become one of this Administration's leading economic indicators. Let's put this bill back on George Bush's desk.")

But if this bill comes to his desk, Mr. Bush vows to veto it as a budget buster.

(TV coverage: President Bush at meeting.)

Democrats insist the priorities are all wrong.

(Rep. Downey: "We have in this House voted billions of dollars to bail out the savings and loans. We've helped the Kurds in Turkey. We've helped the Bangladeshis. It's time to help Americans.")

The bill would extend benefits up to 20 weeks for the estimated 3 million Americans whose checks have run out. Money would come from a surplus in the unemployment trust fund, and down the road, from an employer tax. That idea set off Republicans.

(Rep. Walker: "I would suggest that what this House ought to be considering today is ways of creating jobs, not ways of creating more spending and more taxes in order to fund people who have been victimized by Democratic spending in the past.")

But the White House today signalled it could accept a scaled-down version taking shape in the Senate.

(Chairman Boskin: "Sensible unemployment-insurance benefit extension that was fully paid for in an acceptable manner would be something that he would support.")

Of course, accepting any compromise would challenge Mr. Bush's continuing claim that the economic recovery is well under way.

Rather discusses the issue with Spencer:

Rather: President Bush has played it pretty hard and tough on this issue so far. Why might he be prepared to compromise now?

Spencer: Well, I think if unemployment doesn't start dropping soon, he may simply have no choice. And secondly, a compromise could look a lot more appealing than listening to Democrats go around the country charging that he cares more about people overseas than he cares about people here at home. And that's exactly what Democrats are prepared to do. (CBS-3)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 28, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *CW*
FROM: EDWARD E. McNALLY *EMN*
SUBJECT: ADDRESS TO THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

I. SUMMARY

On Monday, October 1, at 11:40 a.m., you will address the 45th U.N. General Assembly. This draft was prepared with guidance from General Scowcroft, Ambassador Pickering, the State Department, Richard Haass, Nancy Dyke and other NSC staff.

II. DISCUSSION

This address (20 minutes, on teleprompter) builds on your remarks in Helsinki, to the Joint Session of Congress, and at the World Bank, calling for the world to move beyond containment and the cold war to the "new partnership of nations" you've proposed.

The remarks praise the U.N., calling for a key role in building the new partnership over the coming years. It includes particular praise for the U.N.'s response to the Gulf crisis, and renews last year's call for abolishing chemical weapons. The draft also includes two new proposals: a U.N. Electoral Commission, and U.N. membership for the Republic of Korea.

The U.N. speech also marks our last opportunity -- and our best opportunity -- to say that "the cold war is over" -- a predictable "headline" likely to resonate clear on into 1992.

It's the right thing to say because it matches the mood of the times, the theme of your speech, and your vision of a new partnership of nations. And it forthrightly acknowledges what we have already as much as said -- and what everyone recognizes is a reality.

It's the last opportunity because most observers will mark German reunification on Oct. 3 as the formal end of the cold war era. And it's the best opportunity because it's before not only "a" world forum, but the world forum -- one we've asked to play a key part in reintegrating the Soviet Union into the community of nations. For these reasons, we've [bracketed] for your consideration the "cold war is over" language that you looked at for the Joint Session of Congress speech. (Please see the bottom of page two and the top of page three.)

McNally/Simon
September 28, 1990
Draft Seven (B:UN)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
NEW YORK CITY
MONDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1990, 11:40 A.M.

Mr. President. Mr. Secretary-General. Distinguished
delegates to the United Nations:

It is a great privilege to greet you today as we begin what marks a new and historic Session of the General Assembly. My congratulations to the Honorable Guido de Marco on your election as President of the General Assembly. On a personal note, I want to say that, having witnessed the unprecedented unity and cooperation of the past two months, I have never been prouder to have once served within your ranks, and never been prouder that the U.S. is host to the U.N. \\\

45 years ago, while the fires of an epic war still raged across two oceans and two continents, a small group of men and women began a search for hope amid the ruins. They gathered in San Francisco, stepping back from the haze and the horror to try to shape a new structure that might support an ancient dream.

Intensely idealistic, and yet tempered by war, they sought to build a new kind of bridge, a bridge between nations, a bridge that might help carry humankind from its darkest hour to its brightest day. \\\

The founding of the United Nations embodied our deepest hopes for a peaceful world. And during the past year, we have come closer than ever before to realizing those hopes. We've seen a century sundered by barbed threats and barbed wire give

way to a New era of peace, cooperation, and freedom.

The Revolution of '89 swept the world almost with a life of its own, carried by a new breeze of freedom that transformed the political climate from Central Europe to Central America, and touched almost every corner of the globe.

That breeze has been sustained by a now almost universal recognition of a simple, fundamental truth: The human spirit can't be locked up forever. The truth is, people everywhere are motivated in much the same ways. And people everywhere want much the same things: The chance to live a life of purpose -- the chance to choose a life -- in which they and their children can learn, grow healthy, worship freely, and prosper through the work of their hands, their hearts and their minds.

We're not talking about the power of nations, but the power of individuals. The power to choose, the power to risk, the power to succeed. \\\

This is a new and different world. Not since 1945 have we seen the real possibility of using the United Nations as it was designed -- as a center for international collective security.

[[The changes in the Soviet Union have been critical to the emergence of a stronger U.N. The U.S.-Soviet relationship is finally beyond containment and confrontation, and now we seek to fulfill the promise of mutually shared understanding. \\\

The long twilight struggle that for 45 years has divided Europe, our two nations, and much of the world has to come to an end. Much has changed over the last two years. The Soviet Union

has taken many dramatic and important steps to again join the community of nations.

When the Soviet Union agreed with us, here in the United Nations, to condemn the aggression of Iraq, there could be no doubt that at long last, we can put four decades of history behind us.

No longer will the machinery of the United Nations be frozen by the Cold War. At long last, we can build new bridges, and tear down old walls. At long last: The cold war is over.]]

Two days from now, the world will be watching when the [cold war] is formally buried in Berlin. And in this time of testing, a fundamental question must be asked. A question not for any one nation -- but for the United Nations. And the question is this: Can we work together in a new partnership of nations? Can the collective strength of the world community, expressed by the United Nations, unite to deter and defeat aggression?

Because the [cold war's] battle of ideas is not the last epic battle of this century. Two months ago, in the waning weeks of one of history's most hopeful summers, the vast, still beauty of the peaceful Kuwaiti desert was fouled by the stench of diesel and the roar of steel tanks. Once again the sound of distant thunder echoed across a cloudless sky. And once again the world awoke to face the guns of August. \\\

But this time, the world was ready. The U.N. Security Council's resolute response to Iraq's unprovoked aggression has been without precedent. Since the invasion on August 2nd, the

NEW WORLD,
ON NO LANDER SYMBOLED

Council has passed eight major resolutions setting the terms for a solution of the crisis.

The Iraqi regime has yet to face the facts. But as I said last month: The annexation of Kuwait will not be permitted to stand. This is not simply the view of the United States. It is the view of every Kuwaiti, the Arab league, and the United Nations. Iraq's leaders should listen: it is Iraq against the world. \\\

Let me take this opportunity to make the policy of my government clear. The United States supports the use of sanctions to persuade Iraq's leaders to withdraw immediately and without condition from Kuwait. We also support the provision of food for humanitarian purposes, so long as distribution can be properly monitored. We have no quarrel with the people of Iraq; we do not wish for them to suffer.

We have dispatched military forces to the region to enforce sanctions; to deter and if need be defend against further aggression. We seek no advantage for ourselves. Nor do we seek to maintain our military forces in Saudi Arabia for one day longer than is necessary. U.S. forces were sent at the request of the Saudi Government; U.S. forces will depart the same way.

Let me also emphasize that we hope military forces will never have to be used. We seek a peaceful outcome -- a diplomatic outcome. And one more thing -- in the aftermath of Iraq's unconditional departure from Kuwait, I truly believe that there may be opportunities: for Iraq and Kuwait to settle their

differences permanently; for the states of the Gulf themselves to build new arrangements for stability; and for all the states and peoples of the region to settle the conflict that divides the Arabs from Israel. But, first, we must demonstrate that aggression will not be tolerated or rewarded.

Through the U.N. Security Council, Iraq has been judged by a jury of its peers -- the very nations of the Earth. Today, the regime stands isolated and out of step with the times, separated from the civilized world not by space, but by centuries.

Iraq's unprovoked aggression is a throw-back to another era, a dark relic from a dark time. It has plundered Kuwait, terrorized innocent civilians, and held even diplomats hostage. Iraq and its leaders must be held liable for these crimes of abuse and destruction. But this outrageous disregard for basic human rights does not come as a total surprise. Thousands of Iraqis have been executed on political and religious grounds, and even more through a genocidal, poison gas war waged against Iraq's own Kurdish villagers.

As a world community, we must act -- not only to deter the use of inhuman weapons like mustard and nerve gas -- but to eliminate the weapons entirely. That is why, one year ago, I came to the General Assembly with new proposals to banish these terrible weapons from the face of the Earth.

I promised the United States would destroy over 98 percent of its stockpile in the first eight years of a chemical weapons ban treaty, and 100 percent -- all of them -- in 10 years, if all

chemical weapons-capable nations sign the treaty.

We've stood by those promises. In June, the U.S. and the Soviet Union signed a landmark agreement to halt production, and to destroy the vast majority of our stockpiles. Today, U.S. chemical weapons are being destroyed, even as we meet.

But time is running out. This is not a merely bilateral concern. The Gulf crisis proves how important it is to act together -- and to act now -- to conclude an absolute, worldwide ban on these weapons. We must also redouble our efforts to stem the spread of nuclear weapons, biological weapons, and the ballistic missiles that can rain destruction upon distant peoples.

The United Nations can help bring about a new day, a day when these kinds of terrible weapons -- and the terrible despots who would use them -- are both a thing of the past. It is in our hands to leave these dark machines behind, in the dark ages where they belong, and to press forward to cap a historic movement towards a new world order and a long era of peace.

We have a vision of a new partnership of nations that transcends the Cold War. A partnership based on consultation, cooperation and collective action, especially through international and regional organizations. A partnership united by principle and the Rule of Law, and supported by an equitable sharing of both cost and commitment. A partnership whose goals are to increase democracy, increase prosperity, increase the peace -- and reduce arms.

And as we look to the future, the calendar offers up a

convenient milestone, a signpost by which to measure our progress as a community of nations. \\\

The Year 2000 marks a turning point, beginning not only the turn of the decade, not only the turn of the century, but also the turn of the millennium. \\\

And 10 years from now, as the 55th Session of the General Assembly begins, you will again find many of us in this Hall, our hair a bit more gray, perhaps a bit less spring in our walk. But you will not find us with any less hope or idealism, or any less confidence in the ultimate triumph of humankind. \\\

I see a world of open borders, open trade, and -- most importantly -- open minds. A world that celebrates the common heritage that belongs to all the world's people, taking pride not just in hometown or homeland but in humanity itself. \\\

I see a world touched by a spirit like that of the Olympics: Based not on competition that's driven by fear, but sought out of joy and exhilaration and a true quest for excellence. \\\

I see a world where democracy continues to win new friends and convert old foes, and where the Americas can provide a model for the future for all humankind -- the world's first completely democratic hemisphere. \\\

And I see a world building on the emerging new model of European unity. Not just Europe, but the whole world -- "whole and free." \\\

This is precisely why the present aggression in the Gulf is a menace not only to one region's security, but to the entire

world's vision of our future. It threatens to turn our dream of a new international order into a grim nightmare of anarchy, in which the law of the jungle supplants the law of nations.

That is why the United Nations reacted with such historic unity and resolve. And that is why this challenge is a test we cannot afford to fail. \\\ I am confident we will prevail. Success, too, will have lasting consequences -- reinforcing civilized standards of international conduct, setting a new precedent in international cooperation, brightening the prospects for our vision of the future.

There are 10 more years until the century is out.

10 more years to put the struggles of the 20th century permanently behind us.

10 more years to help launch a new partnership of nations.

And throughout those 10 years -- and beginning now -- the U.N. has a new and vital role in building towards that partnership. Last year's General Assembly showed how we can make greater progress towards a more pragmatic and successful U.N. And, for the first time, the U.N. Security Council is beginning to work as it was designed to work.

We have shown that the U.N. can count on the collective strength of the international community. We have shown that the U.N. can rise to the challenge of aggression, as its founders hoped it would. And now in this time of testing, we must also show that the U.N. is the place to build international support and consensus for meeting the other challenges we face.

The world remains a dangerous place. And our security and well-being often depends, in part, on events occurring far away. We need serious international cooperative efforts to make headway on threats to the environment, on terrorism, on managing the debt burden, on fighting the scourge of international drug trafficking, and on peace-keeping efforts around the world.

But the world also remains a hopeful place. Calls for democracy and human rights are being reborn everywhere. These calls are an expression of support for the values enshrined in the U.N. Charter. They encourage our hopes for a more stable, more peaceful, more prosperous world.

Free elections are the foundation of democratic government, and can produce dramatic successes, as we have seen in Namibia and Nicaragua. And the time has come to structure the U.N. role in such efforts more formally. And so today, I propose that the United Nations establish a Special Coordinator for Electoral Assistance, to be assisted by a U.N. Electoral Commission comprised of distinguished experts from around the world.

As with free elections, we also believe that universal U.N. membership for all States is central to the future of this Organization, and to the new partnership we've discussed. In support of this principle, and in conjunction with U.N. efforts to reduce regional tensions, the United States fully supports U.N. membership for the Republic of Korea. We do so without prejudice to the ultimate objective of reunification of the Korean peninsula, and without opposition to simultaneous

membership for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Building on these and other initiatives, we must join together in a new compact -- all of us -- to bring the United Nations into the 21st Century. And I call today for a major, long-term effort to do this. We should build on the success of our distinguished Secretary-General, my long-time friend and colleague, Javier Perez de Cuellar. We should strive for greater effectiveness and efficiency of the U.N.

The United States is committed to playing its part. We offer our continuing leadership, helping to maintain global security, promoting democracy and prosperity. My Administration is fully committed to supporting the United Nations, and to paying what we are obliged to pay by our commitment to the Charter. International peace and security -- and international freedom and prosperity -- require no less. \\\

The world must know and understand: From this hour, from this day, from this hall -- we step forth with a new sense of purpose, a new sense of possibilities. We stand together, prepared to swim upstream, to march uphill, to tackle the tough challenges as they come -- not only as the United Nations -- but as the nations of the world united. \\\

Let it be said of the final decade of the 20th Century: This was a time when humankind came into its own. When we emerged from the grit and the smoke of the industrial age to bring about a revolution of the spirit and of the mind, and began

a journey into a new day, a new age, and a new partnership of nations. \\\

The U.N. is now fulfilling its promise as the world's parliament of peace. I congratulate you. I support you. And I wish you Godspeed in the challenges ahead.

Thank you.

/ / /



UNITED STATES MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

799 UNITED NATIONS PLAZA
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

PRESS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE AT 6:30 P.M., EDT
WEDNESDAY, JUNE 16, 1971

Press Release USUN-85(71)
June 16, 1971

Address by Ambassador George Bush, United States Representative to the United Nations, at the Annual Dinner Inaugurating the 1971 National UN Day Program, New York Hilton, June 16, 1971.

* [Oliver Wendell Holmes put it this way -- "behind any scheme to make the world over lies the question, 'what kind of world do you want?'"

The men who shaped the UN Charter, fresh from the agonies of a devastating world war, had no trouble in giving their answer -- they wanted quite simply a world at peace or as the UN Charter puts it . . . "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind."

That was 25 years ago --

25 years of frustration --

A quarter of a century during which the failures of the UN have become crystal clear to the American people. Its successes have been much quieter -- less spectacular, sometimes obscure.

Let me outline for you what I'll bet many of your complaints are about at the UN.

First, that the UN is not reflective of the real world.

The biggest complaint has to do with the fact the General Assembly does not in its voting reflect the real world.

-- Not in popular representation.

-- Not in power.

-more-

BUSH

-8-

We at USUN and UNA desperately want you to feel a part of all of this. We want you to participate, to share in the grief and in the dreams as well. Carl Schurz put it this way.

"Ideals are like stars, you will not succeed in touching them with your hands, but like the seafaring man on the desert waters, you choose them as your guides, and, following them, you reach your destiny."

The ideals of the Charter are valid today.

What we need now is a rededication to reaching these ideals.

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UNITED STATES DELEGATION
TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY
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Press Release USUN-152(72)
December 5, 1972

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR GEORGE BUSH, UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE
TO THE UNITED NATIONS, IN PLENARY, ON THE SITUATION IN THE
MIDDLE EAST, DECEMBER 5, 1972.

Mr. President:

Since the tragic war of 1967, a torrent of words on the Middle East has engulfed this and other U.N. chambers. Bitterness and invective have characterized many statements, and these have contributed little to finding the road to a durable peace.

For this reason the United States believed that unless there was a specific practical objective which clearly could have moved the area nearer to peace, it would have been wise to forego yet another debate and resolution on the Middle East at this General Assembly. Others did not agree, and the debate is on. It is now for us -- all of us -- to do our best to see that what emerges from this debate contributes directly to an improvement in the atmosphere in the Middle East and to the prospects for peacemaking, or, if this is not possible, to ensure that opportunities for diplomacy in the months ahead are not seriously set back.

Secretary Rogers outlined the views of my Government during the general debate. He cautioned that "the momentum toward a peace settlement must be regained..neither side has permanently closed the door to future diplomatic efforts. We believe that forces favoring a peaceful settlement still have the upper hand. Our task is to do everything possible to see that they are supported."

-more-

The basic framework for the long-sought peace has been in existence since 1967. So many pro forma and perfunctory references have been made to Security Council Resolution 242 in recent years that we tend to forget the landmark quality of that guideline to peace. It is a carefully balanced document, evolved with extraordinary care to address the concerns of the parties involved as well as to serve as a basis for reconciling interests and laying the foundation for a peaceful settlement which will endure. We would do well to bear always in mind that it is the essential agreed basis for United Nations peace efforts and that this body and all its members should be mindful of the need to preserve the negotiating asset that it represents.

The heart of this resolution is that a just and lasting peace in the Middle East should include the application of two -- not one, but two -- principles: withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the 1967 conflict; and termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for, and acknowledgment of, the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area, and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force.

Clearly, the inability of the countries in the area to move forward toward a settlement, despite determined efforts by a distinguished statesman, Ambassador Gunnar Jarring as the Secretary General's Special Representative, has resulted from varying interpretations of the principles contained in Resolution 242. The issues are complex, and have deep historical and emotional roots. While my Government regrets that more progress has not been made, we are also convinced that these difficulties are not insurmountable and that further efforts must be made to bring the benefits of a peaceful settlement to all the peoples of the Middle East. We know that each side is convinced of the justice of its cause and we know that each side is concerned about its future security. We believe that a political settlement, based on mutual accommodation, could assure both.

Mr. President, the United States Government and the American people have an important, substantial interest in maintaining peace in the Middle East, preserving the cultural heritage and political independence of all its peoples, and in helping to create stable conditions in which they may freely pursue their own material and social development. We attach great importance to our relations with all the states and peoples of the area -- relations which have deep and abiding roots. We are particularly pleased that in the last year cordial and fruitful relations have been reestablished between the United States and some Arab states. We on our part are determined to conduct ourselves in a manner which will contribute to this trend of improving relations with old friends.

For this reason we supported -- and continue to support -- Security Council Resolution 242 and the mission of Ambassador Jarring. For this reason we welcome -- and continue to welcome -- the establishment of a ceasefire in much of the area, which has reduced the lives and resources and has given time for constructive reflection on the future of the area.

And what of that future? How is it to be assured in peace and harmony for the countries of the Middle East? We are still faced with the problem of the "how" -- "how" to get a reasonable process of discussion and accommodation under way, so that the peoples of that area may enjoy the benefits of a more tranquil environment?

All of us are aware that progress on the great political issues of our time has come slowly and -- in most cases -- in small steps or stages. My government has long been convinced that the most hopeful and practical means of initiating a reasonable process of discussion and accommodation on the Middle East was through practical, interim steps, such as those involved in the so-called interim Suez Canal agreement. The United States has publicly and privately indicated its willingness to play a role in helping the parties negotiate such an agreement if they so desire, and we remain available for this purpose.

Mr. President, the problems in the Middle East area are indeed complex and deeply rooted. But other problems around the world are also complex, or the product of deep historical, cultural or political divisions.

For our part, we are negotiating with the Soviet Union on the complex matter of nuclear arms and other matters. We have taken the first steps toward reducing two decades of accumulated tensions between us and the People's Republic of China. We are talking to North Vietnam about peace in Southeast Asia.

In Central Europe, the Federal Republic of Germany initiated a process that has led to the initialing of a basic treaty with the German Democratic Republic and to improved relations with the other neighbors to the East. The countries of North America and Europe are now engaged in a process of discussion of the issues that have divided Europe for almost three decades.

Others have not been inactive in trying to bridge old animosities. Parties to the Cyprus dispute are participating in intercommunal talks. In South Asia, discussions are continuing among countries who only one year ago were engaged in active hostilities. In Korea, representatives from both sides of the armistice line are engaged in exploring the prospects for greater peace and stability on their peninsula.

It seems to us that all members of this Organization have a strong interest in getting such processes started also on the problem of the Middle East. President Nixon recently indicated that a peaceful settlement in the Middle East will have a high priority for the United States.

The guidelines for negotiations between the parties have already been established in Security Council Resolution 242. This Assembly must preserve the measure of agreement that already underlies this resolution. It cannot seek to redefine the essentials for peace in the Middle East. It cannot seek to impose courses of action on the countries directly concerned, either by making new demands or by favoring the proposals or positions of one side or the other. These approaches simply will not work and may in fact endanger the relative calm that has existed since 1970.

This Assembly must instead ensure that its conclusions will reinforce the willingness of all parties in the months ahead to enter into a diplomatic process which alone can lead to the just and lasting settlement which is our common objective.

* * * *

This a copy of the editorial ran in April '90 when the clock moved back

Ten minutes to midnight

A solitary Chinese man standing in the path of a column of tanks. Demonstrating South African women being attacked by police dogs. A playwright named president of Czechoslovakia. The bodies of six Salvadoran priests. All are faces of human courage in the struggle for freedom and dignity.

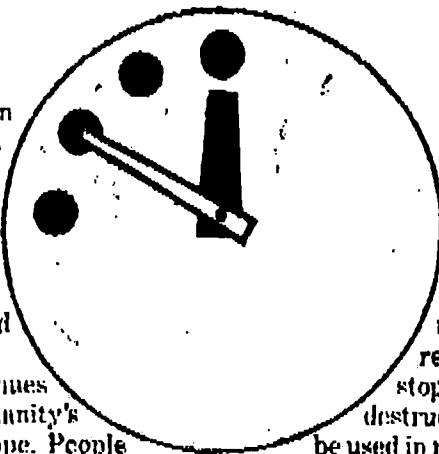
While aware that the struggle continues around the world, we rejoice in humanity's momentous victory in Eastern Europe. People revolted against the communist leaders whose power exercised through rigid bureaucracies and brutal police apparatuses, ultimately rested on the Soviet army. This time, in contrast to 1956 and 1968, the Soviets did not intervene.

Now, 44 years after Winston Churchill's "Iron Curtain" speech, the myth of monolithic communism has been shattered for all to see, the ideological conflict known as the Cold War is over, and the risk of global nuclear war being ignited in Europe is significantly diminished. Although success is in no way guaranteed, this is the greatest opportunity in four decades to create a safe, sustainable world. In response, we turn back the hands of the *Bulletin* clock four minutes, to stand at 10 minutes to midnight.

The Cold War mindset interpreted world events through the distorting prism of East-West conflict. The competition was labeled "cold" to distinguish it from World War II, a hot war where guns were fired, bombs exploded, tens of millions of people killed. Yet, during the past 46 years approximately 125 wars were fought, more than 20 million people killed.

The conflict was cold only in that World War III did not happen. Aside from the close call in Cuba in 1962, U.S. and Soviet leaders didn't square off in a direct fight that could have led to nuclear disaster. Instead, they grudgingly respected each other's right to police their respective empires, demonstrated restrained opposition to each other's bloody interventions in Vietnam and Afghanistan, fought proxy wars, and profited by becoming the world's largest arms suppliers. They popularized language that segregated most people on earth into a separate "Third World."

Through it all, the people of the United States and Soviet Union put the world at greater risk than at any time in history. Mesmerized by Cold War rhetoric, they allowed, even urged, their governments to build massive nuclear arsenals, amounting today to one million times the explosive power of the Hiroshima bomb. Until those arsenals are eliminated, the danger persists that an accident, a miscalculation, or irrational act will cause nuclear holocaust. We urge speedy conclusion of a U.S.-Soviet Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) as a next step.



Rapid progress toward nuclear disarmament by the superpowers and other nuclear-armed nations has become urgent for other reasons. Domestic strife in a nation with nuclear weapons stockpiles opens the possibility that weapons could fall into the hands of unstable groups. Furthermore, deep reductions would strengthen the case for stopping the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and minimize the risk that they will be used in regional wars. All nuclear weapons tests

should be halted.

Due to Cold War rationales, the two military superpowers are organized as national security states upheld by vast military and intelligence bureaucracies and shielded from public scrutiny by layers of secrecy. These powerful infrastructures must now be dismantled and sensible defense policies established. "National security" should no longer justify bankrupt policies and conceal misdeeds. American and Soviet citizens are just beginning to reassess their countries' genuine defense needs, a prerequisite for drastic reductions in military spending and the reallocation of resources. People must work more vigorously to demilitarize their societies and effectively address fundamental issues of poverty, hunger, and environmental damage.

The transition into the post-Cold War era will not be painless. Along with the joy and promise, the demise of the old order, as witnessed in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, can unleash previously suppressed ethnic and religious rivalries. The quest throughout the world for economic structures that avoid the unjust extremes of monopoly communism and laissez-faire capitalism will produce instability and conflict. That this is now less likely to trigger global war offers no solace to the victims.

The difficulties in creating a better world should not be underestimated, but we believe that the overall trend is positive. We are encouraged, for example, by the impressive United Nations efforts to resolve international conflicts in Namibia, Iran and Iraq, and elsewhere. The actual dismantling of U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range ballistic missiles under the INF Treaty and the unilateral Soviet withdrawals of thousands of tanks and troops from central Europe are significant deeds.

Much remains to be done before the greatest short-term threat to the planet—the risk of nuclear war—is eliminated. Additional concrete actions that disarm the relations among nations are needed before the hands of the clock can be turned back farther. Still, the termination of the Cold War has lifted a grim weight from the human psyche. It has returned to humanity its hope for a future, and the chance to create one. ■

The *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* has told the world what time it is since 1947, when its famous clock appeared on the cover. Since then, the clock has moved forward and back, reflecting the state of international security.

1947 *Seven minutes to midnight*



The clock first appears on the *Bulletin* cover as a symbol of nuclear danger.

1949 *Three minutes to midnight*



The Soviet Union explodes its first atomic bomb.

1953 *Two minutes to midnight*



The United States successfully tests a hydrogen bomb in late 1952.

1960 *Seven minutes to midnight*



The clock moves in response to the growing public understanding that nuclear weapons made war between major technical nations irrational. International scientific cooperation and efforts to aid poor nations are cited.

1963 *Twelve minutes to midnight*



The U.S. and Soviet signing of the Partial Test Ban Treaty "provides the first tangible confirmation of what has been the *Bulletin's* conviction in

recent years—that a new cohesive force has entered the interplay of forces shaping the fate of mankind."

1968 *Seven minutes to midnight*



France and China acquire nuclear weapons; wars rage in the Middle East, the Indian subcontinent, and Vietnam; world military spending increases while development funds shrink.

1969 *Ten minutes to midnight*



The U.S. Senate ratifies the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

1972 *Twelve minutes to midnight*



The United States and the Soviet Union sign the first Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I) and the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty; progress toward SALT II is anticipated.

1974 *Nine minutes to midnight*



SALT talks reach an impasse; India develops a nuclear weapon. "We find policymakers on both sides increasingly ensnared, frustrated, and neutralized by domestic forces having a vested interest in the amassing of strategic forces."

1980 *Seven minutes to midnight*



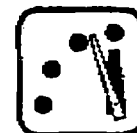
The deadlock in U.S.-Soviet arms talks continues; nationalistic wars and terrorist actions increase; the rift between rich and poor nations grows wider.

1981 *Four minutes to midnight*



Both superpowers develop more weapons for fighting a nuclear war. Terrorist actions, repression of human rights, conflicts in Afghanistan, Poland, South Africa add to world tension.

1984 *Three minutes to midnight*



The arms race accelerates. "Arms control negotiations have been reduced to a species of propaganda. . . . The blunt simplicities of force threaten to displace any other form of discourse between the superpowers."

1988 *Six minutes to midnight*



The United States and the Soviet Union sign a treaty to eliminate intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF); super-power relations improve; more nations actively oppose nuclear weapons.

1990 *Ten minutes to midnight*



(In Oct. 1989, the clock is redesigned to show the need for an expanded view of global security.)
Democratic movements in Eastern Europe shatter the myth of monolithic communism; the Cold War ends.

**THE STORY OF
THE BULLETIN CLOCK**

Snow, McGroarty, Duggan
Grossman, Simon, Bunton
UN
September 22, 1991
Draft Three

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY HALL
MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1991
11 A.M.

Mr. President, thank you very much. Mr. Secretary General,
distinguished delegates ^{to} of the United Nations, I am honored to
speak with you as you open the 46th Session of the General
Assembly.

I would like to congratulate outgoing President Guido de
Marco of Malta, and incoming President Samir Shihabi of Saudi
Arabia. I also want to salute Secretary General Javier Perez de
Cuellar, as he begins the final months of his term. Secretary
General Perez de Cuellar has served during a period of
unprecedented change and turmoil. For ~~nine~~ ^{almost 10} years we have enjoyed
the leadership of this man of peace; a man I feel proud to call
my friend. \\
JC
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You now have the important task of finding a Secretary
General who can build on Secretary General Perez de Cuellar's
outstanding record. But today, let us congratulate our friend,
and praise his spectacular service to the United Nations -- and
the people of the world.

Let me also welcome new members to this chamber: the unified
German delegation; two delegations representing Korea; the
republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania; and new missions from
the Marshall Islands and Micronesia. Just one week ago, 159

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nations enjoyed membership in the U.N. Today, the number stands at 166.

[ADDITIONAL PERSONAL REMINISCENCES]

My address will not sound like any you have heard from a President of the United States. I will not dwell on ~~a~~^{the} superpower competition that defined international politics for a half century. Instead, I will talk about the challenges of building peace and prosperity in a world leavened by the Cold War's end and the resumption of history.

Communism held history captive for years. It suspended ancient disputes; it suppressed ethnic rivalries, nationalist aspirations, and old prejudices. As it has dissolved, suspended hatreds sprung to life. People who for years had been denied their pasts began searching for their own identities -- often through peaceful and constructive means, occasionally through factionalism and bloodshed.

The revival of history presents new opportunities, and throws up old obstacles. Let's begin by discussing the opportunities.

First, the renewal of history enables people to pursue their natural instincts for enterprise. As this Century dawned, nations suffocated by feudalism or restrained by monarchy began feeling the promise and power of free enterprise.

Communism froze that progress -- until its failures became too much for even its defenders to bear. Now, citizens throughout the world have chosen enterprise over envy; personal

responsibility over the enticements of Big Brother; prosperity over the poverty of central planning.

The U.N. Charter encourages this adventure by pledging "to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples." I can think of no better way to fulfill this mission than to promote the free flow of goods and ideas.

Frankly, ideas and goods will travel around the globe with or without our help. The information revolution has destroyed the weapons of enforced isolation and ignorance.

Technology has overwhelmed tyranny, proving that the age of information also can become the age of liberation -- if we limit state power wisely and free our people to make the best use of new ideas, inventions, and insights.

By the same token, the world has learned that free markets provide levels of prosperity, growth and happiness that centrally planned economies could never offer. Even the most charitable reckoning indicates that the economies of the free world have grown at twice the rate of the former communist world during the past decade. *in recent years*

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Growth does more than fill shelves. It cultivates conditions necessary for virtue. It drives out the impulse for envy. A growing economy permits every person to gain -- not at the expense of others, but to the benefit of others. Prosperity encourages people to live as neighbors and not as predators.

Economic growth can aid international relations as well. Many nations represented here are parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The Uruguay Round, the latest in the postwar series of trade negotiations, offers hope to developing nations, many of which have been cruelly deceived by the false promises of totalitarianism.

Here in this Chamber we hear about North-South problems. But free and open trade, including unfettered access to markets and credit, offer developing countries means of self-sufficiency and economic dignity, and they permit developed economies to grow even richer.

If the Uruguay Round should fail, it could set off a new wave of protectionism and destroy our hopes for a better future. Therefore, I call upon all members of GATT to redouble their efforts to reach a successful conclusion for the Uruguay Round.

I cannot stress this enough: Economic progress will play a vital role in the new world because it supplies the soil in which democracy grows best.

Democracy is history's second bequest to our new world. This century ushered in a new era of hope and of fledgling democracy. Totalitarianism stalled that movement -- until now.

The people of the world seek government of, by and for the people; they want to enjoy their inalienable rights to freedom of property and person. In one of history's rich ironies: so-called People's republics have been toppled by the people themselves, and challenges to democracy have failed.

1991: MORE THAN A DOZEN HAVE FALLEN
- Sit Room, CIA reports

Last month, for instance, coup plotters in the Soviet Union tried to derail the forces of liberty and reform. Soviet citizens refused to follow.

The challenge facing the Soviet peoples -- that of building political systems based upon individual liberty, minority rights, democracy and free markets -- mirrors every nation's responsibility for encouraging peaceful, democratic reform. But it also testifies to the extraordinary power of the democratic ideal.

As democracy flourishes, so does the opportunity for a third historical breakthrough: international cooperation. [Less than a year ago] the Soviet Union joined the United States and a host of other nations in defending a tiny country against aggression -- and opposing Saddam Hussein. For the very first time on a matter of major importance, superpower competition took a back seat to international cooperation.

The United Nations, in one of its finest moments, constructed a measured, principled, deliberate and courageous response to Saddam Hussein. It stood up to an outlaw who invaded Kuwait, who threatened many states within the region, who sought to set a precedent for the post Cold War world that would have menaced us all.

The coalition effort established a model for the collective settlement of disputes. Members set a goal -- the liberation of Kuwait -- and devised a courageous, unified means of achieving it.

Now, for the first time, we have a real chance to fulfill the U.N. Charter's ambition of working "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war...to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and nations large and small ... to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom."

We will not revive these ideals if we fail to acknowledge the challenges that the renewal of history presents.

Consider first the challenge of nationalism.

In Europe and Asia, nationalist passions have flared anew, challenging borders, straining the fabric of international society. You see signs of this tumult here. The United Nations organized but four peacekeeping missions during its first 43 years; it ^{has} mounted ~~nine~~ ^{more @ keep} missions in the past 36 months.

Although we now seem mercifully liberated from the fear of nuclear holocaust, these smaller, virulent conflicts should trouble us all.

We must face this challenge squarely: First, by pursuing the peaceful resolution of disputes now in progress; second, and more importantly, by trying to prevent others from erupting.

No one here can promise that today's borders will remain fixed for all time. But we must strive to ensure the peaceful, democratic settlement of border disputes.

We can help by defending the inalienable rights outlined in the UN's founding documents, and enabling minorities to enjoy the

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full benefits of membership in a free society -- including the right to retain ties of kinship with ancestors and relatives in other lands. We cannot fend off legitimate national aspirations. But neither can we let hate-filled factions jeopardize the prospects for a productive peace.

Government has failed if citizens cannot speak their minds; if they cannot form political parties freely and elect governments without coercion; if they cannot practice their religion freely; if they cannot raise their families in peace; if they cannot enjoy a just return from their labor; if they cannot live fruitful lives and, at the end of their days, look upon their achievements and their society's progress with pride.

Politicians who talk about "democracy" and "freedom" but provide neither eventually will feel the sting of public disapproval, and the power of people's natural yearning to live free.

We also must promote the cause of international harmony by addressing old feuds. We can start by taking seriously the Charter's pledge "to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors."

UNGA Resolution 3379, the so-called "Zionism is racism" resolution, mocks this pledge and the principles upon which the U.N. was founded. I call upon you to repeal it without delay.

Zionism is not a policy; it is the idea that led to the creation of a home for the Jewish people, to the state of Israel. To equate Zionism with the intolerable sin of racism is to twist

history, and forget the terrible plight of Jews in World War II, and indeed throughout history. To equate Zionism with racism is to reject Israel -- something this body cannot and must not do.

This body cannot on the one hand claim to support peace in the Middle East while also challenging Israel's legitimacy. By repealing Resolution 3379 unconditionally, the U.N. will enhance its credibility and serve the cause of peace.

As we work to meet the challenge posed by the resumption of history, we also must honor the Charter's emphasis on human rights. Some nations still deny people their basic rights, and too many voices cry out for freedom. The people of Cuba suffer oppression at the hands of a dictator who hasn't gotten the word, who hasn't adapted to a world that has no use for totalitarian tyranny. Elsewhere, despots ignore the heartening fact that the rest of the world has embarked upon a new age of liberty.

The renewal of history also imposes an obligation to remain vigilant about new threats and old; to write new chapters in the book of human progress, rather than repeating mistakes and misfortunes of bygone times.

We cannot remain blind to new aggression, for instance. We must expand our efforts to control nuclear proliferation. We must work to prevent the spread of chemical and biological weapons, and the missiles to deliver them.

We must remember that self-interest will tug nations in different directions, and that struggles over perceived interests will flare sometimes into violence.

We can never say with confidence where the next conflict may arise. And we cannot promise eternal peace -- not while demagogues peddle false promises to people hungry with hope; not while terrorists use our citizens as pawns, and drug dealers destroy our people. As a result, we must band together to overwhelm affronts to basic human dignity.

It is no longer acceptable to shrug and say that one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter. Let's put the law above the crude and cowardly practice of hostage-holding. //

In a world defined by change, we must be as firm in principle as we are flexible in our response to changing international conditions.

ac ~~That is especially true today of the outlaw regime in Iraq. Six months after the passage of U.N. Security Council Resolutions 687 and 688, Saddam continues to rebuild his weapons of mass destruction and subject the Iraqi people to brutal repression.~~

ac ~~His contempt for U.N. resolutions -- first demonstrated in August 1990 -- shows that we must keep U.N. sanctions in place as long as he remains in power. It also shows that we cannot compromise for a moment in seeing that Iraq destroys all its weapons of mass destruction.~~

ac ~~This is not to say that we should punish the Iraqi people. Security Council Resolution 706 created a responsible mechanism for sending humanitarian relief to innocent Iraqi citizens. Now, we must put that mechanism to work.~~

[any additional Iraq language]

[MORE than a dozen 1991]

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We must not abandon our principled stand against Saddam's aggression. This cooperative effort has liberated Kuwait; now it must lead to a just government in Iraq. When it does, the Iraqi people can look forward to better lives; free at home, free to engage in the world beyond their borders.

The resumption of history also permits the United Nations to resume the important business of promoting the values I have discussed today. While this body cannot resolve large-scale conflicts, it can serve as a vehicle through which willing parties can settle old disputes. In the months to come, I look forward to working with Secretary General Perez de Cuellar and his successor as we pursue peace in Afghanistan, Cambodia, Cyprus, El Salvador, and the Western Sahara.

The U.N. can encourage free-market development through its international lending and aid institutions; it can discourage bad behavior through the use of appropriate sanctions.

Where institutions of freedom have lain dormant, the United Nations can offer them new life. These institutions play a crucial role in our quest for a New World Order -- an order characterized by the rule of law, rather than the resort to force; the cooperative settlement of disputes, rather than the anarchic warfare; and an unstinting belief in human rights.

Finally, you may wonder about America's role in the new world I have described. Let me assure you, The United States has no intention of striving for a Pax Americana. In a changing world, the United States remain unchanged. We will not retreat

into isolationism. We will remain engaged. We will offer freindship and leadership. In short, we seek a Pax Universalis built upon shared responsibilities and aspirations.

In this world, every nation must accept its responsibilities. The United Nations should not dictate the particular forms of governments that nations should adopt. But it can and should encourage the values upon which this organization was founded.

Together, we should insist that nations seeking our acceptance meet basic standards of human rights, that they commit to the principle of resolving their disputes peacefully ; that they honor individual rights, protect minority rights, defend democracy, and establish a fair, just rule of law.

My friends, we have an opportunity to spare our sons and daughters the sins and errors of the past; we can build a future more satisfying than any our world has ever known.

The future lies undefined before us, full of promise; littered with peril. We can choose the kind of world we want: one made peaceful by reflection and choice, or one blistered by fires of war and subjected to the whims of coercion and chance.

Take this challenge seriously. Inspire future generations to praise and venerate you -- to say: On the ruins of conflict, these brave men and women built an era of peace and understanding; they inaugurated a new world order, an order we want to preserve.

Good luck. Thank you very, very much.