

Groping for Peace

America has played the leading role both in the creation of the United Nations, and also in its continued existence. Should America be proud of her financial and moral support of the U.N.? Or has this unruly international political child become so ungovernable that America is having second thoughts?

The United Nations has been in existence for nearly a third of a century. Has this world's "last hope for peace" been successful in keeping the peace which was won after World War II?

Goal of the United Nations

President Franklin D. Roosevelt first coined the name "United Nations" in 1941. He used this expression to describe the countries fighting against the Axis powers. But the expression "United Nations" was first used *officially* on January 1, 1942, when twenty-six nations joined in the *Declaration by United Nations*, in which they pledged themselves to continue their joint war effort, and they also promised not to make peace with the Axis powers separately.

When did the Allied leaders first declare the need for a new peace-keeping organization to replace the old League? This clearly-seen need was first stated officially on October 30, 1943, in the *Moscow Declaration on General Security* which was issued by the United States, Great Britain, China and the USSR. Those same four nations convened the *Dumbarton Oaks Conference* (August-October, 1944), at which time they drafted specific proposals for a charter for the new organization. Then in February, 1945, further agreement was reached by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin at the *Yalta Conference*. It was decided that all states which had adhered to the 1942 declaration, and which had declared war on Germany or Japan by March 1, 1945, would be invited to attend the founding U.N. conference which was to be held in San Francisco from April 25 through June 26, 1945.

San Francisco Conference of 1945

Only thirteen days after Roosevelt's death in April, 1945, delegates from fifty nations met in San Francisco for the United Nations Confer-

ence on International Organization. At that historic conference, major disagreements arose between the Big Three (Russia, Britain and the U.S.) and the smaller, less powerful nations.

When the delegates at the San Francisco Conference refused to open their deliberations with prayer, many (especially the more devout ones) predicted that the U.N. would not bear any significant fruit for good.

The Big Three were adamant in their belief that they could guarantee future peace only if they continued to cooperate as they had done during the war. Britain, Russia and the U.S. all insisted that the United Nations Charter should give them the power to *veto* actions of the Security Council.

The smaller, less powerful nations disagreed. They strongly opposed the veto power, but in the end they had to bow to the wishes of the Big Three. They did, however, succeed in adding to the importance of other United Nations organs, such as the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council. They hoped that important responsibilities could be shared more equally in the General Assembly and in the Economic and Social Council, rather than in the Security Council, where the Big Three would wield the all-important veto power.

President Truman's Appeal

The final session of the United Nations San Francisco Conference was addressed by President Harry S. Truman. He closed his address with a sincere appeal to the delegates to do everything within their power to make the charter a success:

"By this charter," said Mr. Truman, "you have realized the objectives of many men of *vision* in your own countries who have devoted their lives to the cause of world organization for peace.

"Upon all of us, in all our countries, is now laid the duty of transforming into *action* these words which you have written. Upon our decisive action rests the hope of those who have fallen, those now living, those yet unborn — the hope for a world of free countries — with decent standards of living — which will work and co-operate in a friendly civilized community of nations.

"Let us not fail to grasp *this supreme chance* to establish a world-wide rule of reason — to create *an enduring peace under the guidance of God*."

As President Truman addressed the delegates, he told them: "You have created a great instrument for peace and security and human progress in the world. The world must now use it."

All fifty nations which attended the San Francisco Conference voted to accept the U.N. Charter on June 26, 1945. After signing the

Charter, the various Governments of the five permanent members (Britain, Russia, China, France and the United States) of the Security Council and of the other nations still had to ratify this important document. The United Nations charter was not ratified until October 24, 1945, the date annually celebrated as United Nations Day.

The U.N. Preamble

What were the *goals* of the United Nations Organization as expressed in its Preamble? Jan Christian Smuts of South Africa is credited with having drafted the U.N. Preamble. Here is the actual wording of that document:

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 sorrow 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 obligations 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 together in peace with one another as good neighbors, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles 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 Governments, through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, 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 organization to be known as the United Nations.

The U.N. Charter is in effect its *constitution*. That Charter contains the actual *plan* used for organizing the U.N. and the rules by which it is governed. The U.N. members all agree to carry out the requirements of the Charter. The Charter has 19 chapters which are divided into 111 articles which explain the *purposes* (i.e. goals), and *principles* (i.e. basic beliefs), and operating methods of the U.N.

Goals and Purposes of the U.N.

According to the U.N. Charter, there are *four purposes* and *seven principles* of the United Nations. The very *first* purpose of the U.N. is to *preserve world peace and security*. The *second*, to encourage all nations (members and non-members alike) to be *just* in their actions toward

each other. The *third*, to help all nations *cooperate* in trying to solve their problems; and the *fourth* and final purpose of the U.N. is to serve as an international agency through which the nations can work toward these all-important goals.

What are the seven all-important principles of the U.N.? The first principle is that all members have equal rights. The second — all members are expected to carry out their duties under the U.N. Charter. The third — they all agree to the principle of settling their disputes peacefully. The fourth principle states that the members of the U.N. all agree not to use force or the threat of force against other nations — except in self-defense. Fifth, U.N. members agree to help the United Nations in every action it takes to execute the purposes of the Charter. The sixth principle stipulates that the U.N. agrees to act on the belief that non-member states have the same duties as member states to help preserve world peace and security. The seventh and final principle is that the United Nations accepts the concept of not interfering in the domestic affairs of member nations.

U.N. Membership

How does a nation become a member of the U.N.? The first fifty members, when they signed and ratified the U.N. Charter in 1945, became the founding members of the U.N. Since that time, nearly one hundred other nations have joined the U.N. Presently there are 144 member nations, and others continue to apply for membership.

The U.N. Charter states that membership is open to all “peace-loving states” who are “able and willing” to carry out the solemn duties required by the Charter. Before a member nation can be accepted into the U.N., it is necessary for both the Security Council and the General Assembly to approve the application of such a would-be member.

A member nation which violates the Charter may be suspended or expelled from the U.N. Such action has never yet been taken.

Major U.N. Organs

There are six major organs of the U.N. which carry on the work of the organization: the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Secretariat, the Economic and Social Council, the International Court of Justice and the Trusteeship Council.

Besides these six major organs, a number of *specialized agencies* related to the United Nations deal with such problems as health, labor, food and agriculture tariffs and trade, atomic energy, finance and communications.

Here are the main U.N. agencies:

Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO)
General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)
International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

(WORLD BANK)

International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)
International Development Association (IDA)
International Finance Corporation (IFA)
International Labor Organization (ILO)
International Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO)
International Monetary Fund (IMF)
International Telecommunications Union (ITU)
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

(UNESCO)

Universal Postal Union (UPU)
World Health Organization (WHO)
World Meteorological Organization (WMO)

The General Assembly of the U.N. held its first session in London in the early part of 1946. At that time the delegates took up the question of where the permanent headquarters of the U.N. should be located. In December 1946 the Assembly accepted a generous gift of eight and a half million dollars from John D. Rockefeller, Jr. to buy eighteen acres of land along New York City's East River. Also, the city itself donated additional adjoining land. Then, in 1948, the U.S. Congress approved an interest-free loan of sixty-five million dollars for the construction of the U.N. buildings. The buildings, however, were not completed until the autumn of 1952.

U.N. Organizational Structure

Let us look briefly at the actual organizational structure of the United Nations. We shall examine the function of each of the six principal organs of the U.N. — the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice, and the Secretariat.

The GENERAL ASSEMBLY, in which each U.N. member has but one vote, is the chief deliberative body. This assembly is, in fact, the only major organ of the U.N. in which *all* members are represented. Regardless of a member nation's size, population, wealth, or power, each has only *one* vote. The General Assembly elects or takes part in electing the members of the other major U.N. organs, and it also directs the operations of some U.N. bodies. Furthermore, the Assembly also controls the U.N. budget and it decides how much of the budget each member should contribute, and how much of the United Nations' funds each U.N. body should receive.

But the General Assembly has no real executive power. The only

decisions of the General Assembly which the U.N. members must obey are those concerning the U.N. budget. The Assembly can make endless *recommendations*, but that is all that it can do — except for its budgetary recommendations — which must be obeyed by all U.N. members.

The responsibility for keeping the world's peace does not rest with the General Assembly, but with the Security Council. However, in 1950 the General Assembly approved a resolution called "Uniting for Peace," in which it gave the General Assembly power to step in whenever peace is threatened and when the Security Council fails to Act. The Assembly can in such emergencies, *recommend* actions for the U.N., including the use of armed force if and when necessary.

The U.N. Charter charges the SECURITY COUNCIL with the responsibility of keeping the peace. The Council is empowered to investigate any situation which threatens the peace of the world.

The Security Council has only *five permanent* members (Britain, France, the People's Republic of China, Russia and the U.S.) and ten non-permanent members. These non-permanent members of the U.N. are elected to two-year terms by the General Assembly. Each member of the Security Council has only one delegate on the Council.

The TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL of the U.N. supervises the administration of lands which have been entrusted to the care of individual U.N. member nations. Originally, there were eleven territories which were held under trusteeship administration. Nine of these have now gained their independence. The Trust Territory of New Guinea (under Australian administration) and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (under American administration) are the only territories which are still under the authority of the Trusteeship Council.

The INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE, located at The Hague in the Netherlands, is the main *judicial* body of the U.N. It is composed of fifteen judges who are elected to nine-year terms. No two judges may come from the same nation, and the world's major civilizations and legal traditions must be represented at all times in that judicial body. Traditionally, this court includes one judge from each of the nations who are permanent members of the Security Council.

All members of the U.N. have automatic access to this court, with the proviso that any nation which seeks a ruling from the court must agree to accept its decision.

A number of international disputes concerning fishing rights and the ownership of border territory have been settled by this court. Those disputes included quarrels between Britain and Norway, Belgium and the Netherlands, and Nicaragua and Honduras.

Also, some non-member states such as Switzerland and Liechtenstein, have taken their disputes before the court for settlement.

The SECRETARIAT is the executive or administrative arm of the United Nations. Its Chief Executive is the Secretary-General, whose executive office is the most important single position of authority in the U.N. He is appointed and serves for a five-year term.

U.N. Successes

In spite of disputes which arose early in the development of the U.N., some initial successes were achieved. Russia actually cooperated with the U.S. and the West in some U.N.-sponsored actions.

These early successes included the settlement (1946) of the Syrian and Lebanese controversy with France and Great Britain. Syria and Lebanon complained that Britain and France were illegally occupying their territory. Also, the U.N. achieved what some consider a monumental success — with its agreement to allow the partitioning of Palestine between Israel and the Arabs. The United Nations also helped to reduce tensions between India and Pakistan during the early years of their border dispute over Kashmir. In addition, the U.N. was instrumental in helping to secure the withdrawal of the Dutch from Indonesia.

But in spite of some of these initial “successes” of the United Nations, that organization, like the League of Nations before it, proved unable to help resolve the more important issues affecting the international peace and security of the world.

Crippling Veto Power

Because of serious conflict between the Soviet Union and the other members of the Big Five, the U.N. was badly crippled by Russia constantly using her veto. By the end of 1955, the U.N. veto had been used 78 times — with 75 of those being cast by Russia.

Thus, right from the beginning, the U.N. proved hopelessly shackled by the veto power of the permanent members of the Security Council.

What could the U.N. do to overcome this seemingly unsurmountable obstacle? Not much. To this very day, the veto power of the five permanent Security Council members has remained one of the main stumbling blocks to any effective United Nations action in any part of the world.

Realizing the U.N. was impotent because of Russia continually using her veto, the Western nations reacted by trying to develop the General Assembly beyond its original scope. Britain and the U.S. generally had strong support from among the Commonwealth and Latin American nations, and as a result they generally commanded a majority.

Later, however, as the number of Afro-Asian members increased in

the General Assembly, both the Russian and the Anglo-American blocs were outmaneuvered and outvoted on many important issues.

The U.N. Record

What are some of the international disputes which the U.N. has proved unable to settle?

In 1948 the U.N. didn't really bring about a peaceful solution to the Jew-Arab struggle. Even though the U.N. exerted some pressure at the time of the Suez crisis during the 1956 invasion of Suez, it was Big Power politics and their military muscle which forced the hands of Britain, France and Israel who had invaded Suez.

Then during both the Six-day War of 1967 and the Yom Kippur War of 1973, it was not the U.N., but America and Russia which dictated the final settlement. Without U.S. and Russian support, neither the Arabs, nor the Israelis would have been able to achieve their objectives.

Also, the U.N. wasn't able to prevent the Korean War.

When Communist North Korean forces attacked South Korea in 1950, Russia was boycotting the Security Council — because the U.N. had refused to admit Communist China as a member. Since Russia was not present to cast her veto, the Security Council was able to establish armed forces to repel the North Korean attack. This U.N. action gave birth to the very first U.N. army.

But what was the result of that United Nations effort to defeat Communist North Korea? Though many U.N. member nations sent troops to Korea to repel the Communists, yet that war ended in a complete stalemate.

Some consider that the U.N. must be credited with preventing crises in Cyprus from exploding into a much bigger war. This may be so. But for twenty or so years, Cyprus has continued to experience strife and bloodshed. The Greek and Turkish populations inhabiting that island still have not settled their differences. Even though U.N. forces have helped to keep friction to a minimum, yet whenever the Greeks and Turks were ready for war, the U.N. always had to step aside.

Also, during the early 1960s, when the Congo erupted in bloodshed, the U.N. was appealed to, and sent troops to help restore order in that troubled area. In the end, although U.N. forces helped the Congolese government regain control of the country and made it possible for them to return to a normal way of life, Russia, France and other U.N. members utterly refused to pay their share of the United Nations' Congo expenses. So even when the U.N. "wins," it seems to lose!

The sad truth is that the U.N. has not been able to achieve its

primary objective — the preventing of future wars — the achievement of lasting peace and security among the nations of this earth.

It is Big Power politics and military might — not the U.N. — which, when all is said and done, dictates the outcome of all major struggles on this earth today.

Furthermore, U.N. members don't even agree on what the United Nations' peacekeeping function should be. Some nations prefer to use their own forces to deal with certain types of conflicts (e.g. America in Vietnam). Other members (especially those from the Afro-Asian bloc) seem to think U.N. peacekeeping should be concerned primarily with fighting racial discrimination such as in South Africa and Rhodesia.

There are other U.N. woes. The U.N. has had its share of financial problems — almost from its inception. The U.S. has supplied about one-third of all of the United Nations' finances since it began a third of a century ago. Now, the U.S. is having a closer look at the U.N., and is beginning to be sadly disillusioned with what it finds. America's Ambassador to the U.N. has spoken out against those nations among the Afro-Asian bloc who continually ask for American financial assistance in private, while bitterly attacking America in public.

Such attacks are causing America to think twice about support of this hopelessly divided organization.

It is true that certain agreements in peripheral areas of international cooperation and disarmament have been worked out within the U.N. (e.g., cooperation in outer space, arms limitation on the international seabed, and the peaceful use of atomic energy). Nonetheless, major agreements and negotiations have all been arrived at on a bilateral basis.

As a result of the major nations preferring to use the bilateral approach to solving the major world's problems, the U.N. has played a relatively secondary role in the more recent world crises — including the Arab-Israeli Wars of 1967 and 1973, the India-Pakistan War of 1971, and the Vietnam War which finally ended in 1975.

As the United Nations' peacekeeping role has declined, it has expanded its activities in the field of economic and technological development, particularly in the less developed countries of Africa and Asia. And it is true that the U.N. and its many related agencies have made a very significant impact in areas such as disease control, technological cooperation, and aid to refugees. During the past years, the U.N. has changed its focus from rebuilding the countries ravaged by World War II to raising the living standards of the Third World. It has been able to work out a means by which the advanced, developed countries can jointly contribute, with a minimum of national antagonism, and by

which the less developed countries can receive aid with a minimum of resentment and suspicion.

Many in America, and around the world, are now disillusioned with the United Nations. They can clearly see that the U.N. has never had the proper governmental machinery with which to deal effectively with the telling problems of today's divided world. When the U.N. was born, the founding nations were unwilling to sign away to the United Nations Organization substantial portions of their own sovereignty. They were not sure they could maintain their national identities, their hopes and ideals if they gave away much of their sovereignty to a world peacekeeping organization which they weren't even certain would succeed. They had seen the impotence of the League of Nations. How could they be sure that this new organization, the United Nations, would fare any better? How could they make certain that their national interests would be properly served by such a world peacekeeping organization?

Some Pessimism

Some are now very *pessimistic* about the future of the United Nations. They are convinced the U.N. has only served to undermine peace, actually hindering the achievement of that elusive goal since World War II. They look upon the U.N. as a sounding board for the Communists, the Afro-Asians, the Arabs and others. They look upon the invitation to Yassir Arafat, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), to speak before the General Assembly, as a further step in the weakening of that organization. Many also believe that the U.N. resolution which declared that "Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination" is merely another factor contributing toward the inevitable dissolution of the United Nations. These same critics of the U.N. believe that the powerful Afro-Asian bloc which now dominates voting in the General Assembly has become a sort of Kangaroo Court.

After the U.N. passed its anti-Zionism resolution (72-35, with 32 abstentions), the U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., Daniel Patrick Moynihan, declared: "A great evil has been loosed upon the world. The abomination of anti-Semitism . . . has been given the appearance of international sanction."

Blunt Speaking

Continued U.N. viability was again shaken when General Amin, head of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), appeared before the U.N. General Assembly in the autumn of 1975 and lectured America, and at the same time demanded "the extinction of Israel as a state." The

U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., Patrick Moynihan, later commented concerning Uganda's President Idi Amin. Moynihan noted that "it's no accident, I fear, that this 'racist murderer' — as one of our leading newspapers (the *New York Times*) called him this morning — is head of the Organization of African Unity."

The U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. continued: "Every day at the U.N., on every side, we are assailed because we are a *democracy*. In the U.N. today there are in the range of *two dozen democracies* left; totalitarian Communist regimes and assorted ancient and modern despotisms make up all the rest. Nothing so unites these nations as the conviction that their success ultimately depends on our failure. Most of the new states have ended up as *enemies of freedom*."

That was blunt speaking. But many feel it is past time for the U.S., Britain and the other democracies of the world to speak up on behalf of freedom and democracy.

Many in America and elsewhere believe it is high time we take a good hard look at the United Nations to see whether all of the financial support (of which presently about one quarter of the U.N.'s entire budget comes from the U.S.) is really worth it.

GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT

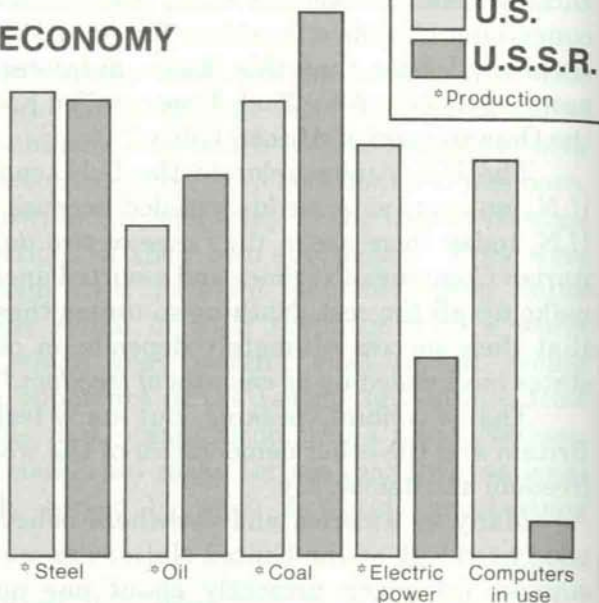
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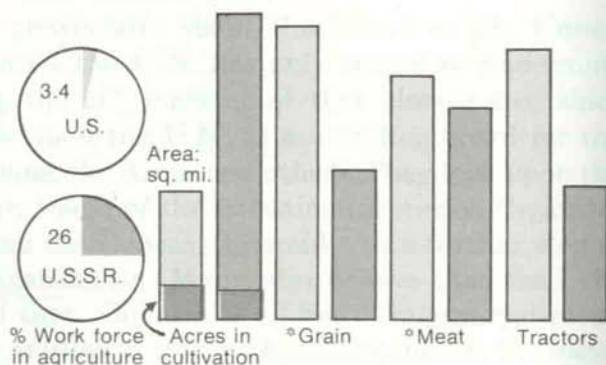
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ECONOMY



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