


341.1
LIE

PEACE ON EARTH

0 2055 0049349 2



Peace on Earth by Tonya Lee
00011
000
341.1 LIE
Alabama Public Library



John
to
Charles
Wright

John
to
Charles
Wright

John
to
Charles
Wright

John
to
Charles
Wright

John
to
Charles
Wright

John
to
Charles
Wright

John
to
Charles
Wright

John
to
Charles
Wright

John
to
Charles
Wright

John
to
Charles
Wright

John
to
Charles
Wright

John
to
Charles
Wright

John
to
Charles
Wright

John
to
Charles
Wright

John
to
Charles
Wright

John
to
Charles
Wright

John
to
Charles
Wright

John
to
Charles
Wright

John
to
Charles
Wright

0415
LIE

☆ PEACE ON EARTH ☆

341.1
L15



PEACE ON EARTH

TRYGVE LIE

BROCK CHISHOLM

HERBERT V. EVATT

JOHN BOYD-ORR

CHARLES MALIK

RALPH BUNCHE

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

BENJAMIN COHEN

JAIME TORRES BODET

LUDWIK RAJCHMAN

CARLOS P. ROMULO

Introduction by Robert E. Sherwood

HERMITAGE HOUSE, NEW YORK, 1949

ABILENE PUBLIC LIBRARY
ABILENE, TEXAS

34426

34426

HERMITAGE PUBLIC LIBRARY
ABILENE, TEXAS

COPYRIGHT, 1949, BY THE UNITED NATIONS

Dedicated to the Peoples of the World

*No parts of this book may be reproduced in any form
without permission in writing from the publisher,
except by a reviewer who wishes to quote brief pas-
sages in connection with a review for inclusion in a
magazine or newspaper or radio broadcast.*

FIRST PRINTING

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A. BY
AMERICAN BOOK-STRATFORD PRESS, INC., NEW YORK

CONTENTS

<i>Robert E. Sherwood</i>	INTRODUCTION	I
<i>Trygve Lie</i>	THE CHARTER	7
<i>Herbert V. Evatt</i>	THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY	27
<i>Charles Malik</i>	THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL	49
<i>Eleanor Roosevelt</i>	HUMAN RIGHTS	65
<i>Jaime Torres Bodet</i>	UNESCO	75
<i>Brock Chisholm</i>	WORLD HEALTH	89
<i>John Boyd-Orr</i>	FREEDOM FROM WANT	101
<i>Ralph Bunche</i>	THE INTERNATIONAL TRUS- TEESHIP SYSTEM	113
<i>Benjamin Cohen</i>	OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE	129
<i>Ludwik Rajchman</i>	WHAT IS UNICEF?	141
<i>Carlos P. Romulo</i>	NEW ASPECTS OF PEACE	149
<i>Appendix I</i>	THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS	159
<i>Appendix II</i>	THE STATUTE OF THE INTER- NATIONAL COURT OF JUS- TICE	202
<i>Appendix III</i>	THE DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS	225
<i>Biographical Notes</i>		233

☆ PEACE ON EARTH ☆

ROBERT E. SHERWOOD

Introduction

I N "THE WISDOM OF LIFE," SCHOPENHAUER, THE GREAT German apostle of pessimism, wrote these despairing words:

"In general, the wise in all ages have always said the same things, and the fools, who at all times form the immense majority, have in their way too acted alike, and done the opposite; and so it will continue. For, as Voltaire says, we shall leave the world as foolish and wicked as we found it."

I do not know just where or in what context Voltaire said that, or whether he had his marvelously sharp tongue in his cheek when he said it. Certainly he could name a great number of lives that had been lived, including his own, that left the world less foolish and less wicked. We of today can add other lives of the past two centuries. We can look out with confidence across a world that is considerably less foolish and less wicked than it was even ten years ago. Schopenhauer's pessimism arose from an age of European retrogression when it seemed that the last hopes of the French Revo-

lution had been buried at the Congress of Vienna. That semblance was utterly wrong. The French Revolution was not dead. All ages of retrogression have been temporary. So, it may be said, have all ages of progress, but the retrogression has been negative and therefore leaves nothing of value after it, whereas the progress has been positive and has therefore lived on in the minds and the hearts of successive generations to be reasserted and resumed whenever the will of mankind gained sufficient strength.

In this book, the work of some of the pioneers of the United Nations, is assertion of tremendous progress and of faith that such progress can never be lost. There are no claims that we have achieved Utopia, or that we are anywhere near it, or even that we mortals will ever reach it. But the assurance that we are resolutely moving in that general direction is a matter of life and death importance to every man, woman and child on earth—to all people in the English-speaking world as in the Soviet Union and Latin America and Europe and Africa and Asia.

It is no exaggeration to say that this book contains material of life and death importance to every man, woman and child on earth—to people in the United States as in the Soviet Union, in the British Commonwealth as in the Republic of China and everywhere else. It is of particular significance—heart-stirring significance—to all those who fought and worked in either or both of the two World Wars and to all those who believe deeply that another one could end in another Age of Darkness inestimable in its duration and in the depth of its barbarism and misery.

As an organization for the maintenance of world peace, the United Nations is the tangible, workable expression of man's highest aspirations. There have been, throughout

history, individuals or tribes or even whole states that were naturally warlike and never entirely content except when engaged in the business of murder; but such individuals or tribes or states have always represented the abnormal and have eventually perished, impaled on the very weapons that they had forged. The great masses of normal human beings—Schopenhauer's "fools"—have always cherished the hope that the day might come when they could live at peace with their neighbors and raise their children to become free and productive men and women rather than systematic killers.

The first men who walked erect on their own two feet out of the jungle established their humanity by forming themselves into communities. They were not mere ant-hills, or bee-hives, or herds, or packs. Something developed that had never been known in the animal kingdom. We know that long before our recorded history had begun the first artisans had emerged, the first scientists, the first spiritual leaders, and the first artists. Man achieved a state of individual dignity thousands of years before he learned how to coin such words.

The first men survived and grew and reproduced their species because they had the basic, primitive knowledge that they must stand together against the terrors of nature. It was only when they had developed a certain prosperity, a sense of security derived from their conviction of superiority over the beasts, that the interests of their various communities began to clash and wars resulted. There can be no doubt that aeons passed in the story of mankind before there was any such thing as a professional soldier.

Now, however, we have known some fifty centuries when war has been accepted as an inevitable part of the price of survival. Sometimes wars have been fought for noble purposes and have produced noble results; but too often the

stupidity or rapacity of political leaders, or of financial or religious leaders, has condemned hordes of innocent, peaceful people to fruitless agony and death. And too often the people could gain no understanding of why they must suffer and die.

Now, however, the people have gained a degree of understanding far more comprehensive than some anachronistic politicians suspect. We are at a point in history when we can say that even though Utopia in the social or economic or spiritual sense may never be achieved, world peace can be achieved and the human race has no valid excuse for not proceeding to its achievement. But, as Eleanor Roosevelt said not long ago, this task can never be completed by weaklings. It can only be done by men and women who are strong in faith and in knowledge and in purpose.

This book, I believe, provides proof of that growing strength and stimulus to further growth.

Robert Sherwood

☆ I ☆

From the terrors of nature men awoke into fear of each other. In a limited physical world their intellect could not apprehend the universe.

Plurality of beliefs and apparent conflict of material interest rent the original oneness of the species, while nature stood as the common object of conquest in the search for a fuller life.

Then the sword of the mighty enslaved the weak and there was the peace of submission to force. But those peoples who had to struggle to regain their freedom discovered that they should unite against aggression, and that in order to ensure their common strength they must consent to the rule of law in their reciprocal relations. In every continent timid essays of international organization took place, and each time their scope became wider. The League of Nations was the first political body to aim at universality; it was never allowed to achieve such an essential character. The United Nations is based upon the attainment of such universality. It has succeeded in assembling all the big powers that were victorious in the last war; it still must bring in others not yet readmitted into the community of nations or which are awaiting agreement under the unanimity rule in the Security Council.

It is a far cry from the council fires of the Iroquois League to the General Assembly meetings in London, New York

and Paris. Now mankind speaks, and its voice is heard as the clarion call for lasting peace in a world community.

The creative power of man reasserts itself over and above the selfish demands of aggressive nationalism. The will for human brotherhood shall bring about the peace proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations.

TRYGVE LIE

The Charter

FEW CONSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE world have had greater significance for the human race than the United Nations Charter; yet in spite of the wide publicity that has been given to its terms, there exist some major and widespread misunderstandings and misconceptions about the Charter. I suppose that this is natural, for the widest publicity through the media of mass communications can never be a substitute for the educational processes of the schools, and the four years since the Charter came into force are far too short a time for these processes to have taken much effect. In the meantime, it is of the greatest importance for the peace of the world, that constant efforts be made toward a wider knowledge and better understanding of the Charter and Organization of the United Nations. This book in its entirety is an effort toward that end. In this chapter I propose to make very briefly certain points about the Charter, from the vantage point of four years of experience in its application, that will, I hope, help to clear up some misconceptions, contribute to fuller understanding, and stimulate further study and discussion on the part of the reader. In this

Trygve Lie

endeavor, I shall concentrate almost entirely on an evaluation of the Charter as an instrument for the maintenance of peace, since this is the area of greatest misunderstanding and greatest doubt, and it is in this aspect of its work that the final test of its success or failure will be made. Moreover, the distinguished collaborators who have contributed the chapters that follow have given to the economic, social, humanitarian, trusteeship and cultural activities of the United Nations the attention they deserve.

The representatives of the governments who wrote the Charter at Dumbarton Oaks, Yalta and San Francisco sought to create as strong an organization as all of them could agree upon and as, in their judgment, could, in practice, be effective at this stage in the history of the world. They built on the experience of past efforts to organize a peaceful world, and especially upon the experience of the League of Nations. They acted in the dual knowledge that, on the one hand, a world of utterly diverse cultures, strongly competing ideologies and vigorously resurgent nationalisms was far from ready for any form of world government, however desirable in theory such a development might be, while, on the other hand, the destructiveness of war had been developed to so universal and terrible a degree that civilization probably could not survive a third world war.

The document that resulted from their work was full of compromises, as it had to be, but it represented, in my opinion, not the lowest common denominator, but the highest common denominator of agreement attainable either then or now. It is possible that, if the decision had been made to abandon the effort to create a worldwide organization in which all the major nations and forces at work in the world would be represented, and instead an organization repre-

[8]

The Charter

senting only one part or another of the world had been established, agreement might have been reached on an organization with greater powers. This, however, would have been to abandon the effort to prevent a third world war before the effort was even under way, since nothing less than a worldwide organization that works can in the long run ensure such a result.

All that has happened since San Francisco seems to confirm that the greatest attainable measure of agreement on the delegation of powers to an international authority, whether the authority be universal or regional, was reached at that conference. If the San Francisco Conference had been called together one year or even six months after it was actually held, does anyone really believe that agreement could have been reached between East and West, or between the Great Powers or the smaller powers, on a constitution nearly as strong as the Charter? Comparative analysis of the documents will quickly show that even so-called "like-minded" nations have not, since San Francisco, agreed to give such regional organs as the Organization of American States or the Council of Europe powers in an way comparable in scope or authority with those delegated to the universal organization created by the United Nations Charter.

Much has been said of the incapacity of the United Nations. The Charter, it is said, is a statement of high-sounding principles and purposes without the means to put them into effect: the General Assembly cannot legislate; it can only discuss and recommend; the Security Council, which alone has powers of command, can exercise them only when all five Great Powers agree to do so, and that has been seldom since 1945; the Economic and Social Council, for all its elaborate machinery of commissions and related Specialized Agencies,

[9]

ABILENE PUBLIC LIBRARY
ABILENE, TEXAS

34426

and the Trusteeship Council are likewise limited to recommendations and to programs voluntarily agreed upon—they cannot compel; the International Court of Justice is the world's highest court of law, but only those nations that agree voluntarily to do so accept its jurisdiction as compulsory.

These statements, insofar as they relate to the powers of the major organs of the United Nations, are, in the main, true, but they are far from being the whole truth and they are, therefore, highly misleading. In the first place, the Purposes and Principles stated in Chapter I of the Charter, and every other provision in it, are binding commitments upon the governments—and the peoples—of all the member states.

The members declare their purpose to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace; to develop friendly relations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; to cooperate in economic, social, cultural and humanitarian matters and to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all. They dedicate the organization to be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

The members are solemnly bound to fulfill in good faith all their obligations under the Charter, to settle their international disputes by peaceful means, to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, to give the United Nations assistance in any action it takes under the Charter, to refrain from assisting any nation against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action, and to ensure that states not members of the United Nations nevertheless act in accordance with its principles insofar as this is

necessary to the maintenance of international peace and security.

These are sweeping commitments. Taken together with the provisions that follow, setting up the organization of the United Nations and defining the powers and responsibilities of the organs through which the member states are expected to carry out their commitments, they constitute very substantial delegations of many of the powers of the sovereign state to international authority, beginning with the right to make war.

These rights and duties, it is true, are confined strictly within the limits of an organization composed of and operating through member governments. Within these limits, however, they are supreme. The Charter itself declares that "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."

The Charter is, therefore, the supreme law for all the governments and peoples of the member states in their international conduct. And, since the members are bound to see that the Charter is observed in all essentials by non-member states as well, it is, in effect, the supreme law for the whole world.

It is clear that if the member states observe the obligations of the Charter and try to carry out its provisions in good faith, the peace of the world will be secured and faster progress than ever before will be achieved in the advance toward the Charter aims of higher standards of living, full employment, conditions of economic and social progress and development, universal respect for, and observance of human

rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

Will the members of the United Nations live up to the provisions of the Charter and carry them out? The League of Nations failed primarily because important member and non-member states failed to live up to the provisions of the Covenant. If a member or group of members betrays its obligations under the Charter, what then? What, exactly, are the powers of persuasion or compulsion that it is possible to invoke under the Charter to bring about and to maintain a sufficiently high degree of conformity, for no one expects perfection, to ensure the success of the organization? Is it true that these powers are so conspicuously lacking that only by prompt amendment of the Charter to strengthen it in the direction of world government is there any chance for the survival and success of the organization?

Let us begin with the powers of compulsion contained in the Charter, for that will bring us face to face with the rule of unanimity of the Great Powers in the Security Council, which is the organ of the United Nations entrusted by the Charter with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Article 27 of the Charter provides that decisions of the Security Council on all but procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent members. It is this article that gives to each of the five permanent members of the Council—China, France, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom and the United States—the power to defeat a proposal by its own vote alone, even if all or most of the other members of the Council are for it. This is the power of "veto." The unanimity requirement is absolute for all the decisions for enforcement action under

Chapter VII of the Charter. The Charter makes an exception for decisions under Chapter VI under the peaceful settlement procedures of the Charter when one of the permanent members is a party to the dispute being considered. Abstention in such circumstances is required, and the requirement of Great Power unanimity is fulfilled if the votes of the other four permanent members are all included in the necessary majority of seven votes. It should be remembered, however, that when the Security Council is acting under Chapter VI, it does not have the power to command. It can investigate, recommend, propose and persuade, but it cannot impose a settlement.

Many reasons have been advanced in defense of the unanimity rule, but the essence of the matter was stated by Edward R. Stettinius, then the United States Secretary of State, a few days after the close of the San Francisco Conference, at which he acted as Conference President:

"The requirement for unanimity of the five great nations has been criticized because each of them can exercise a veto. I submit that these five nations, possessing most of the world's power to break or preserve peace, must agree and act together if peace is to be maintained, just as they have had to agree and act together in order to make possible a United Nations victory in this war.

"The question is asked: What would happen if one of the five permanent members used the unanimity rule to veto enforcement action against itself? The answer is plain. If one of these nations ever embarked upon a course of aggression, a major war would result, no matter what the membership and voting provisions of the Security Council might be.

"The Charter does not confer any power upon the great

nations which they do not already possess in fact. Without the Charter the power of these nations to make or break the peace would still exist. What the Charter does is to place special and binding obligations upon the great nations to use—in unity together for peace, not separately for war—the power that is already in their hands. The unanimity rule is an expression of those special obligations and of their commensurate responsibilities.”

Here are stated forcefully and clearly hard facts that a great many people have refused to face and a great many more have never understood. To prevent war is the main reason for the existence of the United Nations. Enforcement action against a major power would not be police action in any sense of the word—it would be another world war. Veto or no veto, federal union or organization of sovereign states, that fact remains and must be faced.

Obviously the great majority of member nations would fight together in self-defense if one or more of the Great Powers ever did embark on a course of aggression, but that would not alter the fact that the United Nations, in such a case, had failed in its main purpose and that the terrible calamity of a third world war had befallen the world.

Where any of the five Great Powers are concerned, therefore, it is necessary to rely on other powers and influences expressed or implied in the Charter rather than upon the enforcement powers of the Security Council.

There are, in the first place, the special and binding obligations placed by the Charter upon the Great Powers, to which Mr. Stettinius referred. The voting provisions and the special place granted to the Great Powers under the Charter do not in any sense of the word place the Great Powers outside the law. On the contrary, the commitments

and obligations of the Charter are just as legally binding upon them as upon the smallest member nation, and they have additional obligations arising out of the unanimity requirement that do not weigh so heavily upon the other members. They are obligated to seek and to find sufficient agreement among themselves to make the Charter work for the prevention of war and the development of a peaceful world.

This does not mean, of course, that the Great Powers can be expected to agree about everything. No such absurd assumption was made by the founders of the United Nations. Differences of ideology and interest, some of them basic, existed among the Great Powers in 1915 just as they exist today and as they had existed not only all through the war but long before it. There is nothing new about these differences nor should there be anything unexpected about the fact that these differences came forcefully to the surface as soon as the war ended.

There was, however, one assumption made at San Francisco that has not been fulfilled, and this, in my opinion, is one of the chief reasons for the great difficulties that have arisen over the practice of the unanimity rule. This assumption was that the peace treaties with Germany, Japan and the other enemy states would be concluded within a very few months after the end of the war. Instead, four years after the end of the war, agreement has not yet been reached on the treaties for either Germany or Japan. The plan at San Francisco was that the Security Council and the other organs of the United Nations would be hardly more than organized and ready to take up their functions before the conclusion of the peace treaties. The peace treaties were to be concluded separately from and outside the United Nations.

The organization was to take over the job of maintaining peace only on the basis of a comparatively settled world. The Charter's provisions for transitional security arrangements (Articles 106 and 107) are in part a reflection of this assumption. Instead, the United Nations has had to operate as best it could with all the major issues of the settlement of the last war still unresolved.

The existence of these unsettled differences, and the animosities and lack of confidence that the continued stalemate engendered, have been responsible in large part for the difficulties and setbacks experienced by the United Nations in the first four years of its existence. If the peace treaties for Germany and Japan had been completed in the first half of 1946, as had been fully expected at San Francisco, what an enormous difference it would have made! So many causes for difference among the Great Powers would have been removed!

It is surprising and greatly encouraging that the Security Council—and the General Assembly as well—have been able in spite of this tremendous handicap of unmade peace to exercise as successfully as they have the powers of mediation and conciliation and to use the pressures toward moderation and compromise that derive from the Charter.

It is surprising mainly because so many people have in the past made the mistake of thinking of the Security Council primarily as an international policeman. This, of course, was always a wrong conception, as a better understanding of the Charter would have made clear. The Security Council's primary role as laid down in the Charter is a political one—to bring about the peaceful settlement of political disputes and differences between nations. The measure of relative success or failure of the Security Council should

not be its use of the limited enforcement powers it possesses but its ability to avoid the use of these powers because it has been able by persuasion, conciliation, mediation, compromise and other such methods to secure a peaceful settlement without the use of force.

Partly because of the delay in conclusion of the peace treaties and the evil results of this delay, to which I have referred, the unanimity rule has not operated to the satisfaction of a majority of the member states in the Security Council. Nevertheless, the fact remains that positive results have been obtained in most of the political disputes brought to the Security Council as a result of the Council's consideration and action, and that in three cases other organs of the United Nations, in one case the International Court of Justice and in others the General Assembly, have taken positive action either to settle or to keep the disputes in question within peaceful bounds.

One of the main reasons why this record of conciliation and peaceful settlement has been as good as it has been in this unsettled period is what I shall term the "compulsive power" of public opinion that has been evoked by the application of the provisions of the Charter. Even the preliminary experience of the past four years has shown that the member nations, both large and small, are extremely sensitive to the judgment of public opinion as it has been evoked by public discussion and consideration of the merits of their respective claims by both the Security Council and the General Assembly. Unjust or untenable positions cannot long be maintained in the face of this public scrutiny, and on a number of occasions such positions have already been modified or abandoned with or without the benefit of any formal decision or recommendation by either body.

Public opinion is not the same thing as law, but a body of precedents is beginning to be built up in this way that will progressively acquire the force of law in regulating the conduct of nations.

There is another aspect of what I have termed the compulsive power of public opinion as evoked in the United Nations. From the very first meetings of the Security Council and the General Assembly, the tendency has been to bring every important dispute between nations, every important cause of international friction, to the United Nations for public examination and debate. This is a tendency that can, of course, be overdone, but its general effect has been to provide a safety valve for explosive forces before they become dangerous to peace and to set in motion, in almost every case, moderating influences. There are generally two sides or more to every argument, even in this somewhat hysterical period of history. Once public debate has made this apparent, third parties, which in the United Nations are generally the smaller powers, set to work in the direction of finding another approach or of compromising the opposing views.

There are those who have been dismayed and shocked by the violence of the debates that have taken place in the Assembly and Councils of the United Nations, and who maintain that it would be far better for the world if they had never taken place and if discussions between the governments had been left to the discreet methods of traditional diplomacy behind, of course, closed and well-insulated doors. No one would dispute that restraint of language is a virtue, but I would rather hear the worst insults of an angry debate in the General Assembly of the United Nations than read the exquisitely polite and dignified language in which for-

eign offices know how to couch a declaration of war. Words do not kill people; wars do. Keeping disputes and grievances locked behind closed doors is one of the best ways of permitting them to get out of control of the people who want peace and into the hands of those to whom war has traditionally been a legitimate instrument of national policy. Keeping disputes and grievances out in the open, where they can be examined and dealt with before it is too late, is one of the best ways yet devised for preventing wars from starting.

The provisions of the United Nations Charter, particularly Articles 11 and 14 and 34 and 35, have made of the Security Council and the General Assembly unrivalled instruments for bringing public opinion to bear on the policies of governments in the direction of peace and away from war. The General Assembly is authorized to discuss and make recommendations on "any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security" and "any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations." Any nation may bring before the Security Council any dispute or situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, and the Security Council may investigate any such situation and make recommendations thereon. Through the means of public discussion of such questions in both organs the peoples of the world have been given the means of influencing far more directly than ever before the foreign policies not only of their own governments but of other governments as well.

One of the most important tests of the vitality and worth of any constitution is its flexibility and capacity for growth. It is possible here only to suggest a few of the ways in which the Charter meets this test. The most difficult way to change

the Charter is by formal amendment. Agreement of two-thirds of the member governments, including all five of the Great Powers, is necessary. The application of the rule of unanimity of the Great Powers to the amending process is logical, since the same unanimity was required to bring the Charter into force in the first place and the same Powers that had to agree to the Charter in its present form should also agree to any modification of that form.

There are other less formal methods, however, by which the constitutional system of the Charter can develop and expand and, indeed, has already begun to do so.

One method is by judicial interpretation of the Charter. We already have an example of that in the opinion handed down by the International Court of Justice to the effect that the United Nations is itself a legal personality as an organization and not merely a collection of legal personalities in the persons of the member governments. That is an interpretation promising for the future development of greater authority for the United Nations. Another method is by usage. The most interesting example of this method so far has resulted in a modification in the use of the "veto" power in the Security Council. The custom has grown up under which a permanent member that does not wish to vote for a resolution but, on the other hand, does not wish to exercise its right of veto, simply abstains and the resolution is considered as adopted. Thus, where the Charter says simply that a permanent member *must* abstain if it is a party to a dispute, usage has founded itself on this provision to say that therefore a permanent member *may* abstain in other circumstances if it so desires, rather than cast a veto.

Besides formal amendment, judicial interpretation and accepted usage, there is the most potentially fruitful and

important method of all by which the constitutional system of the United Nations may, step by step, be developed and strengthened. This is the method of supplementary treaties and conventions, which, when ratified, acquire the same force of law as the Charter itself. The Convention on Genocide adopted unanimously last year by the General Assembly and now in the process of ratification is an example. This Convention holds individuals, as well as states, directly responsible under international law for the crime of genocide—the destruction of any national, ethnic, racial or religious group of human beings. A Convention on Human Rights is now being drawn up to reinforce the Universal Declaration of Human Rights already proclaimed by the Assembly. Studies of a code of law on offenses against the peace and security of mankind in line with the principles of the Charter and judgment of the Nuremberg Tribunal are under way, as are studies of the possibility of establishing an international criminal court. If these studies lead to conventions which are adopted and ratified, the system of world law of which the Charter is the heart and center will be greatly expanded.

Several articles in the Charter point in the direction of further treaties or conventions. Article 43 calls upon the member governments to conclude agreements with the Security Council for the provision of the armed forces, assistance and facilities necessary to maintain international peace. Under Article 11 the General Assembly may make recommendations regarding the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments, and under Article 26 the Security Council is held responsible for formulating plans for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments, to be submitted to the member

countries. It is under these articles that the effort to create a system for the control of atomic energy and other weapons of mass destruction, and of conventional armaments, has gone forward over the past three years. A convention for the control of atomic energy, when it is agreed upon, as it must be sooner or later, will clearly result in a considerable development and strengthening of the United Nations system. There are, besides those mentioned above, many other conventions which have already been acted upon or are in process of preparation. Each one of these, when ratified, adds to the scope of world law and to the constitutional system of the United Nations. There is, in fact, no limit to this evolutionary development except the readiness of the member nations to steadily increase the delegations of their national sovereignty to international authority which this process entails and to accept the corresponding responsibilities to the world community.

I may summarize by stating that I believe that the four years since the Charter of the United Nations was agreed upon have shown:

First, that the Charter established the strongest international authority attainable at this stage in world history if all the Great Powers are to be included in it, as indeed they should be. If the attempt to establish a world organization had been postponed until later, the result would have been a weaker Charter, not a stronger one, or else none at all.

Second, that the assumption of the San Francisco Conference that anything less than a truly worldwide organization, even if its powers had to be limited, would be a fatal blunder and would destroy the hope of preventing a third world war, has been proved and proved again to have been sound by subsequent events and by the moderating in-

fluence of the United Nations upon the dangerous Great Power and ideological conflicts of the past four years.

Third, that the United Nations Charter is in fact the supreme law of the world and that its obligations are fully as binding upon the Great Powers who possess the so-called "veto" power in the Security Council as upon the other members.

Fourth, that while the United Nations is an organization of strictly limited powers, experience is demonstrating that there are considerable, and in some cases previously unsuspected, reserve powers of a "compulsive," or at least powerfully persuasive, nature that are operating to give effective force to recommendations that do not have visible force or police power behind them.

Fifth, that the principal function of the Security Council is not to act as a policeman but as a moderator and mediator in political disputes; and that the powers given to the Council for this purpose are being used, on balance, with good effect, especially when backed up by the work of the General Assembly under the broad powers of discussion and recommendation granted to that body by the Charter.

Sixth, that the Charter, despite the difficulty of amending it, provides ample room for the growth and development of the constitutional and legal system of the United Nations and for its evolution in the direction of a world rule of law and of stronger world institutions to carry out the law.

Seventh, that institutions in themselves will not guarantee peace, no matter what their nature. The bloodiest and most costly war in the history of the United States in relation to its population and resources was the Civil War between the states. Federal union did not prevent that war. The U.S.S.R. suffered millions of casualties in the wars of

Trygve Lie

its revolution, although Czarist Russia had a strongly centralized government with immense police powers. The form in any organization of society is important. But more important is the substance that is given to that form in the hearts and minds of men. It is to the substance, far more than to the form, that the attention of all men and women who desire peace and are willing to work for peace should be directed. They will find that the Charter of the United Nations can be and is being made to work, in proportion to the understanding and support they give it, and that as it works, it will grow stronger.



☆ II ☆

Man still doubts his ability to establish peace through reason. He fears his animal fighting spirit and wishes to rule it with law that is backed by machinery for enforcement.

This lack of faith in his own perfectibility finds no support in the record of the United Nations. In the face of ideological disputations not contemplated in the Charter of San Francisco, all serious political conflicts have been checked through friendly persuasion and good offices, conciliation and arbitration, as they were submitted to the United Nations.

Such willingness to find pacific solutions where war was previously inescapable shows that the peoples of the world are truly determined to have peace.

HERBERT V. EVATT

The General Assembly

THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS OPENS WITH THESE words:

"We, the peoples of the United Nations."

It is the peoples of the United Nations who, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, combined through their governments to establish the international organization known as the United Nations.

The Charter itself was drawn up and signed by representatives of governments, but it is the will of the peoples and their instinctive drive towards a better standard of life in larger freedom and in a security based on justice that is the real foundation on which the United Nations ultimately rests.

This drive by the peoples of the world for a secure world and a better world finds its chief expression through the General Assembly. It is the Assembly which is essentially the peoples' organ. It is the most democratic of all the instruments of the United Nations because all member states

are represented and have equal voting rights. It is perhaps because of this that, although other United Nations organs may not always have fulfilled the purpose for which they were designed, the Assembly at least has more than exceeded the expectations of the framers of the Charter.

Powers of Assembly

Largely because of the insistence of the middle and smaller powers at San Francisco, led in this matter, I am proud to say, by Australia, the powers of the Assembly are virtually unlimited. Under Article 10, the Assembly may discuss any question within the scope of the Charter and may make recommendations on such questions to member states or to the Security Council.

The Assembly exercises a general supervision over the other principal organs of the United Nations. It considers reports from each organ and may make recommendations arising out of the reports to the organ concerned. It has the power of the purse in relation to United Nations affairs. It approves the annual budget of the organization.

The Assembly has important powers of initiation. It has brought the other principal organs of the United Nations into existence by holding the necessary elections. It may initiate studies to promote international cooperation in the political, economic, social and educational fields, and to encourage the development of international law.

The Assembly also has the power of decision. It makes the final decision on the admission of new members to the United Nations. It stamps the seal of approval on agreements bringing trust territories under the United Nations. In certain cases it has power to make political decisions with far-reaching consequences. Take, for example, the

question of the former Italian colonies. Under the Peace Treaty with Italy, the allied and associated powers referred the disposition of the colonies to France, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the U.S.S.R. As these powers were unable to reach agreement within a year, they placed the matter before the General Assembly in accordance with the terms of the Peace Treaty, agreeing to accept whatever solution the Assembly might recommend. The recommendation of the Assembly, which is now considering the question, will thus, in effect, constitute the final determination of one of the major political issues of the present time.

Freedom from Fear and Freedom from Want

There is another way of viewing the role of the Assembly. Peace will not be assured as long as people dwell in fear or go hungry. Accordingly, the Assembly pursues the twin objectives of freedom from fear and freedom from want. More positively, it aims to ensure the security of the peoples of the world at the same time as it improves their welfare. These are the short and the long-term approaches to the quest for peace: on the one hand, the immediate preservation of peace; on the other, the strengthening of its permanent foundations.

The General Assembly is to seek the preservation of peace by considering, and making recommendations on, the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments. It may discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought to it by a member state or the Security Council. It may recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situations, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations. It

may call the attention of the Security Council to situations likely to endanger international peace and security. In general, it has parallel jurisdiction with the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security. The only limitations are that it has no enforcement powers and that it cannot make recommendations concerning a dispute or situation which the Security Council is actually handling.

The Assembly is to seek a lasting peace by initiating studies and making recommendations to promote international cooperation in the political field; by encouraging the development of international law. It supervises the work of the Economic and Social Council in promoting higher standards of living, full employment and economic and social progress; in pursuing solutions of international economic, social and health problems; in increasing cooperation in the cultural and educational spheres; in ensuring human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction.

Achievements of the Assembly

The question of what the Assembly may do, however, is not as important as what it has done and is doing.

A glance at the agenda for the Third Session of the General Assembly reveals that there was hardly a major issue of world politics at the time which did not come before the Assembly in some form or other. Approximately eighty items figured on the agenda. They ranged from the Berlin blockade to the disposal of the former Italian colonies; from the work of the Atomic Energy Commission to the question of disarmament; from the disturbed conditions on the northern frontiers of Greece to the problems caused by the division of Korea; from the admission of new members to the question of the veto; from the problem of wasting food in

certain countries to discriminations against trade; from the Declaration on Human Rights to the Convention on Genocide; from assistance to Palestine refugees to the International Children's Emergency Fund; from the reports of the Trusteeship Council on trust territories to the report of the Economic and Social Council.

This gives an idea of the wide range of subjects that the Assembly is now called upon to deal with; of the manifold responsibilities which the world has come to expect it to discharge. A list of its achievements in the bare four years of its existence is an impressive one.

It has made the constitutional framework of the United Nations Charter a living reality. By elections at its First Session it brought into existence the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. In conjunction with the Security Council it held elections to the International Court of Justice and ushered into existence a body which has already given one judgment and several important advisory opinions and promises to carry on the magnificent traditions of the Permanent Court of International Justice. By approving trusteeship agreements submitted by Australia, Belgium, France, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States, and by electing members additional to these administering authorities, it has established the Trusteeship Council. It has subsequently supervised the work of the Council which, by sending missions to, and examining reports on, trust territories, has held administering authorities to a strict accountability to the principles laid down in Article 73 of the Charter. Under this article, administering authorities undertake as a sacred trust to promote the well-being of the inhabitants and accept the principle that the interests of the inhabitants are paramount.

The General Assembly has encouraged the formation of commissions of the Economic and Social Council such as the Economic Commission for Europe and the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East and specialized agencies such as the Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Health Organization, the International Refugee Organization. It has approved agreements bringing these agencies into relationship with the United Nations. These agencies and commissions are building durable safeguards for peace by raising living standards throughout the world, and by removing some of the economic and social frictions which lead to war.

The main work of the General Assembly has been in the political field. It created the Atomic Energy Commission and has exercised continuing vigilance in seeking to overcome stalemates within the Commission. Its goal is to see that atomic energy is never used as an instrument of war but is applied positively to increase man's welfare. It has discussed the question of disarmament at each of its three sessions, and has unceasingly striven for early general regulation and reduction of armaments and armed forces.

Undeterred by the frustrations caused by the exercise of the veto in the Security Council, it has taken over responsibilities from the Council and reached decisions where Council action has been stultified by the opposition of one member. After the Security Council had failed to reach a decision on the Spanish question, the Assembly adopted a resolution recommending to member states the regulation of their relations with Franco Spain. When the report of the first Balkans Commission of Investigation was considered by the Security Council, several resolutions were vetoed and the Council was unable to reach any decision. The matter was transferred

to the Assembly, which established a special commission of conciliation and observation and sent it to Greece. The work of the commission and the discussion of its reports by the Assembly have acted as a marked deterrent against the worsening of the situation on the northern frontiers of Greece and have helped to clarify and reduce the differences between Greece and her northern neighbors. Through another of its field missions the Assembly has also helped to stabilize the situation in Korea.

Palestine

Amongst the heaviest responsibilities the General Assembly has had to discharge was the Palestine question. A problem which had baffled world statesmen for a generation was handed to the Assembly early in 1947, when the United Nations was still in its infancy. To many the problem seemed insoluble. Yet the Assembly did not shirk this tremendous responsibility. The Palestine problem did not break the United Nations. The United Nations broke the Palestine problem.

Let us see how this was done. When the United Kingdom brought the question of the future government of Palestine before the United Nations in April, 1947 a special session of the Assembly was called. It appointed a committee of investigation and sent it to the area to study the problem and report back to the second regular session of the Assembly. At this session a special *ad hoc* committee, over which I had the honor to preside, recommended a four-point solution. The four points were—

- 1) the partition of Palestine;
- 2) close economic integration;

- 3) the creation of an international régime for Jerusalem;
- 4) the ultimate establishment of a new State of Israel.

These four points were accepted by the Assembly and have been the basis of all subsequent United Nations action.

The new State of Israel has come into existence and has been admitted to the United Nations. Hostilities which broke out in 1948 between Israel and the Arab States were stopped. A possible large-scale outbreak of war in this crucial region of the Middle East was averted. Mediators were sent to Palestine, first the late Count Bernadotte and, after his assassination, Dr. Bunche. Largely owing to the untiring efforts of these two devoted servants of the United Nations, cease-fire and later armistice agreements were concluded between Israel and each of her Arab neighbors. The Conciliation Commission appointed at the Third Session of the Assembly is at present helping to work out the basis of a long-term solution in Palestine, and the outlines of a durable settlement are beginning to emerge.

Mediation

In recent months the General Assembly has begun to pioneer new techniques of mediation. Two instructive examples which occurred during its Third Session were the negotiations over the Berlin blockade and the Balkan conciliation talks.

Shortly after the Third Session opened in Paris, the Western Powers placed the Berlin dispute before the Security Council. When action on the Security Council was blocked by the exercise of the veto, international tension, which had been marked at the beginning of the Third Session, increased. The middle and smaller powers in particular were concerned; they felt that further drift without positive action

constituted a real danger to international peace. This concern found expression in a Mexican resolution which, with amendments, was adopted unanimously by the Assembly. The resolution declared that the disagreement between the Great Powers "in a matter of vital importance to all the United Nations is at the present time the cause of deepest anxiety amongst all the peoples of the world" and recommended the powers concerned "to redouble their efforts . . . to achieve in the briefest possible time the final settlement of the war and the conclusion of all the peace treaties."

Acting on this resolution, I, in my capacity as President of the Assembly, together with the Secretary-General, appealed to France, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the U.S.S.R. to continue their efforts to find agreement. We urged these powers to hold immediate conversations and to take all other steps necessary towards the solution of the Berlin question, thus opening the way to a prompt resumption of negotiations for the conclusion of the remaining peace settlements.

The immediate response to this appeal was not encouraging. Yet before the Third Session of the Assembly ended, preliminary conversations were held at the headquarters of the United Nations by representatives of the Great Powers to the United Nations. The Berlin blockade was lifted and talks on Berlin and on the German and Austrian Peace Treaties were resumed. One result of these developments was a marked relaxation of the international tension which had ushered in the deliberations of the Third Assembly.

A further initiative in the mediation field was taken by the General Assembly in authorizing the holding of Balkan conciliation talks at the Third Session. There was widespread concern at the stalemate into which the Greek problem

appeared to have drifted after two years' consideration by the United Nations. A resolution proposed by Australia and supported principally by the middle and smaller powers requested the President of the Assembly, the Chairman and Rapporteur of the Political Committee, and the Secretary-General to convene a meeting of the representatives of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece and Yugoslavia to explore the differences between them. The resolution was adopted unanimously. Talks were held at Paris during the First Part of the Session and were continued when the Session was resumed in New York. A wide area of agreement was reached. A comprehensive four-power draft convention, providing for the resumption of normal diplomatic relations, the renewal or establishment of frontier conventions, the setting up of frontier commissions, and agreements on boundaries, was on the point of signature. The one outstanding issue was the question of the boundary between Greece and Albania. The Conciliation Committee finally devised a formula which was acceptable to Greece and was not rejected by Albania. No reply, however, had been received from Albania when the negotiations lapsed at the end of the session. The talks, nevertheless, were significant in that for the first time since the war representatives of these four Balkan powers had met amicably to discuss their problems. The area of disagreement between them was narrowed and the outstanding issues clarified.

Humanitarian Work of the Assembly

Perhaps the work of the General Assembly which has done most to break down political barriers has been its humanitarian undertakings. Great progress has been made in a world drive, directly and through the specialized agencies,

against disease and ill-health, against low standards of living, against poverty. The General Assembly and its allied agencies have tackled the problem of relief and rehabilitation of millions of people in widely scattered parts of the globe.

Two large-scale relief works now in progress are the Relief to Arab Refugees and the International Children's Emergency Fund.

As the result of developments in Palestine, the Assembly was confronted, at the beginning of its Third Session in September, 1948, with the problem of approximately one million Arab and Jewish refugees who would be compelled to spend the coming winter in makeshift habitations, destitute, and in primitive and unsanitary conditions in which epidemics would flourish. It was feared that cold, hunger, disease, would claim a heavy toll of lives. The Assembly initiated a relief program and appointed a Relief Administrator. Countries were called on to contribute funds and goods as a matter of urgency. There was an immediate worldwide response. Fourteen million dollars were contributed. Assistance was provided by various international welfare organizations. When the winter had passed, the Administrator, Mr. Stanton Griffis, was able to report that he had been able to supply the refugees each with an average food intake of 1800 calories per day, that they had received adequate medical attention, that all epidemics had been avoided, and that throughout the winter the death rate had been kept down to very little above the normal for the area.

An even more remarkable manifestation has been the Children's Fund. Originally launched in December, 1946, the Fund has been providing some four and one-half million children in the neediest areas of Europe with a daily supplement of protective food. This consisted of milk, economical

kinds of meat and fish, fat and vitamin-rich fish oil. As of May, 1949, twenty-nine countries had contributed money, supplies or services. More than one hundred million dollars had been contributed and allocated. The Fund's help is going or soon will be going to children and mothers in twenty-eight countries and six territories, and to children and mothers among Arab and Jewish refugees in the Middle East. In the Far East aid similar to that given to China is about to be supplied to Burma, Indo-China, Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines, United Kingdom territories, and India, Pakistan and Ceylon. Countries of North Africa and the Middle East are also included. Fifty million children in Europe are being tested and, where necessary, are being vaccinated against tuberculosis. Eventually it is hoped well over one hundred million of the world's children will have been tested as a first step in giving them protection against tuberculosis. The Fund is also participating with the World Health Organization and with governments in medical campaigns directed against venereal disease in children and against malaria. There is no political discrimination in connection with the Fund, which represents international co-operation on its most practical side.

Australia has every reason to be proud of the part it has played in the work of the Fund. A total of £2,720,000 has been contributed by the Government over a period of two years, making the Australian contribution second only to that of the United States. This money has been spent on Australian supplies—meat, milk, butter, margarine, cheese and so on—which have been sent to many needy countries in Europe and recently also to India and China. Australians have been active in the service of the Fund, and hold high places in its administration, including the recently filled

position of Deputy Director. Voluntary contributions by individual Australians to the United Nations Appeal for Children raised £600,000 last year and all this was used for the purchase of Australian supplies for the Fund.

Fundamental Rights

In the social and legal field the Assembly's work has been equally impressive. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted at the Third Session, proclaimed a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations. It will take its place in history along with such landmarks in man's progress as the Magna Charta, the French Declaration of Rights, and the American Bill of Rights. By its unanimous approval of the Convention on Genocide, the Assembly has recorded its horror at the destruction by the Nazis of groups of human beings on racial or religious grounds and has taken steps to confirm in international law the verdict of the Nuremberg trials. These instruments will last long after much of the contemporary work of the United Nations is forgotten.

At its Third Session the Assembly also adopted a Convention on the Gathering and International Transmission of News. This enshrined some basic freedoms in the field of information. It was the first international convention on such a subject ever adopted.

The Assembly has also created the International Law Commission, through which it will discharge its mandate to secure the progressive development of international law. The Commission has selected three topics for early codification: the law of treaties, arbitral procedure, and the régime of the high seas. It has already prepared a carefully drafted declaration on the rights and duties of states, which will be con-

sidered at the coming session of the General Assembly. Peace will finally be secured only when relations between states are based not on power or expediency but on widely observed principles of law.

CONCLUSIONS

These are just a few of the accomplishments of the General Assembly. They are none the less sufficient to show that it has come a long way since it met for the first time at Central Hall, Westminster, in January, 1946. They also enable one to draw certain conclusions.

The General Assembly Is Making the Peace

In the first place the Assembly is helping to *make* the peace. This it was never intended to do. The United Nations was to *maintain* peace once the peace treaties had been drawn up. Because of disagreements between major world powers, however, the Assembly has been called on more and more to help frame the peace settlements. At its First Session members were urged to withdraw armed forces stationed in ex-enemy territories and other states. Mention has already been made of the approval at the Third Session of the Mexican resolution, which recited that the United Nations would not fully attain its aims so long as the recent war remained in process of liquidation and so long as all the peace treaties had not been concluded and put into force. The resolution recommended the redoubling of efforts to secure in the briefest possible time the final settlement of the war and the conclusion of all the peace settlements. At present the Assembly is considering a problem residual from the Peace Treaty with Italy—the disposal of the former Italian colonies. In Korea a Commission of the Assembly, in observing

elections and assisting in the development of representative government, is writing part of the peace settlement with Japan. The Conciliation Commission in Palestine is helping to secure a final peace settlement between Israel and her Arab neighbors.

The Assembly Is Keeping the Peace

In the second place, the General Assembly is helping to keep the peace. Through its commissions and representatives in Greece, Korea and Palestine it has prevented potential threats to the peace from becoming actual. There has been no more interesting development in the history of the United Nations than the assumption by the Assembly of increasing responsibility in the field of international peace and security.

The Assembly as Partner of the Security Council

The Assembly has also shown that it can work in effective partnership with the Security Council. It has supplemented the work of the Council by reaching decisions, e.g., in the case of Spain, where the Council, because of its limitations, has failed to act. It has achieved an admirable working partnership with it in situations like that in Palestine and Indonesia, which required both the immediate cessation of hostilities and the working out of a positive settlement through procedures of mediation.

The Assembly as Conciliator

The application of the processes of conciliation and mediation promises to be one of the most constructive functions of the General Assembly. It has already had considerable experience in this work through its field missions in Greece, Korea and particularly Palestine. Reference has been made

to the lifting of the Berlin blockade and the Balkan conciliation talks. The Interim Committee of the General Assembly has been engaged in a long-term study to increase international cooperation in the political field and improve mediation procedures for the settlement of disputes. Some of its recommendations have already been adopted by the Assembly. The Act for the Pacific Settlement of Disputes has been revised, approved by the Assembly, and recommended for signature by all member states. The creation of an International Panel for Inquiry and Conciliation has been approved. This will consist of a panel of distinguished world citizens who will be available, without pressure from governments, to bring their experience and good offices to assist in the adjustment of situations of tension.

World Conscience

The Assembly has frequently been described as the conscience of mankind. Several recent events have re-emphasized the ability of the Assembly to mobilize world opinion, to overcome injustice and to avoid solutions based on expediency. Four examples are instructive.

The discussion of the religious trials at the Third Session showed that the Assembly has come to be a tribunal to which important matters in connection with human rights may be brought when alleged injustice of international significance has occurred in any part of the world.

After hostilities had recurred in Indonesia towards the end of 1948, the Security Council, on January 29, 1949, ordered a cessation of hostilities, the release of prisoners, the return of the Republican Government to Djockjakarta and the resumption of negotiations for a final settlement. As there was little evidence of compliance with this resolution

by the time the Third Session of the Assembly resumed early in April, Australia and India placed the matter on the Assembly's agenda. The knowledge that the world was watching the situation closely and was about to discuss it undoubtedly acted as a spur to the parties to conclude an agreement on May 7 for the return of the Republican Government to Djockjakarta and for the subsequent holding of talks at The Hague. As a result of this agreement, the Assembly was glad to adjourn discussion until its Fourth Session in the hope that the Hague talks would lead to a satisfactory and final settlement.

In the case of the Italian colonies there were moves outside the United Nations to secure a decision influenced by considerations of expediency and of power politics. Protest meetings were held in some of the territories and the wishes of the inhabitants were expressed by their representatives in the halls of Lake Success. There was a strong reaction against the proposed solutions, which were discarded. As a result of this development, I think it is safe to say that the final decisions will place greater emphasis on the interests of the indigenous populations and the general raising of living standards throughout the regions in which the territories are located.

A fourth illustration is given by the veto. A study of the misuse of the veto has been one of the main preoccupations of the Interim Committee established at the Second Session of the Assembly. As a result of its recommendations, the Assembly, at its Third Session, passed resolutions recommending a more restrained use of the veto and suggesting a list of decisions which should be accepted by the Security Council as procedural and hence not subject to the veto. The widespread concern expressed by practically all member

Herbert V. Evatt

states in the Assembly against the abuse of the veto has not been without effect. In the eighteen months prior to the Assembly discussions of this question in Paris at the end of 1948, vetoes had averaged one a month. The nine subsequent months saw but one application.

World Forum

Perhaps the General Assembly has fulfilled its most important function in constituting a forum of the nations where countries try to explain to one another and to understand their differing civilizations, philosophies, ways of thought, policies. The General Assembly is the only organ of the United Nations in which representatives of all member states continue to talk freely, frankly, fully. In the never-ending process of ideological give-and-take, viewpoints are gradually appreciated, issues clarified and compromises made. The following example will show what I mean.

The final unanimous approval of the Convention on Genocide at the Third General Assembly by representatives of so many different civilizations and philosophies was a confirmation that agreements can be reached after basically different approaches have been critically examined, issues made clear and compromises effected.

The Assembly has really become a forum of the nations willing to discuss any issue, great or small, which affects world peace or the welfare of peoples. Nations will not go to war as long as they are willing to meet and to discuss their differences. International cooperation assumes understanding. Understanding requires discussion.

I think that all will agree that the General Assembly has more than justified the expectations even of those middle and smaller powers who at San Francisco so effectively en-

The General Assembly

larged its powers beyond those proposed for it at Dumbarton Oaks and Yalta. The General Assembly is a going concern. It is largely because it is a going concern that one feels confident in saying that the United Nations is the temple of peace and the tribunal of justice.



☆ III ☆

Whatever may be the philosophy adhered to by historians, there appears to be little doubt that economic factors play a decisive role in the course of international relations.

"Lebensraum," "right of access to essential raw materials," "equal rights in the pursuit of international trade," etc. have deeply permeated geopolitical thinking and have been called upon to justify aggressive action undertaken by certain states against others.

The framers of the United Nations Charter fully realized that in a closely knit community of peoples, economic interest must be regulated through international cooperation if some of the most fundamental causes for future conflicts are to be obliterated or at least considerably minimized.

The Economic and Social Council was therefore established to meet the challenge of the Charter in calling for higher standards of living and social progress in greater freedom. Although its work is frequently unknown to the world, it is fostering constructive international cooperation among all countries for the attainment of a happier and more peaceful world.

CHARLES MALIK

*The Economic and
Social Council*

AT THE SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE THE PROPOSAL, HANDED down from Dumbarton Oaks, for the establishment of an "Economic and Social Council" aroused much enthusiasm. At the moment this proposal was finally adopted, Field Marshal Smuts, who was President of a Commission under which a committee debated and elaborated this proposal, comparing the Charter of the United Nations with the Covenant of the League of Nations which he had also helped to write, declared: "The Charter makes three important innovations and introduces three new subjects. One is the matter of economic and social arrangements including provision for the Economic and Social Council. Another is regional arrangements, and the third is the trusteeship arrangements. These three subjects are new, and they are all important, but I think I may say without fear of contradiction that much the most important of these three is . . . the economic and social arrangements and the Economic and Social Council."

Delegate after delegate stressed the double importance of the Economic and Social Council: namely, economic and social justice both as an end in itself and as a necessary prerequisite for enduring peace. Mr. Forde, the Delegate of Australia, gave succinct expression to this point of view. He said, "A permanent system of security can be made effective and acceptable only if it has a foundation in economic and social justice, and real international stability can be achieved only by promoting measures of economic advancement as well as by maintaining security. . . . Apart from the relationship of welfare to security, welfare is an end in itself. Greater welfare, employment for all, and rising standards of living for the masses have been promised in international declarations, such as the Atlantic Charter, and in the national declarations of policies of most of the socially advanced countries of the world. All this has been pledged. It is necessary to redeem the pledge. The pledge should be written into the Charter of the world organization as an objective, but that is not enough. Suitable machinery must be provided for the progressive fulfilment of the pledge."

And in the address with which he closed the Conference, President Truman was able to state: "A just and lasting peace cannot be attained by diplomatic agreement alone, or by military cooperation alone. Experience has shown how deeply the seeds of war are planted by economic rivalry and by social injustice. The Charter recognizes this fact for it has provided for economic and social cooperation as well. It has provided for this cooperation as part of the very heart of the entire compact."

* * * * *

The economic and social work of the United Nations has

not captured the headlines as much as its activity in the purely political and security fields. In a sensational age of a world profoundly at crisis it is the stresses and strains in the structure of peace, and it is threatening clashes and conflicts which for the most part command the interest and attention of anxious men. The result has been that the United Nations has come to be identified in the public eye with the sort of problem and atmosphere prevailing in the Security Council and in the First Committee of the General Assembly.

Doubtless, four reasons have conspired to bring this about. First, the public feeds on the sensational and negative; there is less interest in or patience for the quiet, the unobtrusive, the positive. Being thus intrigued to the utmost by political controversy, rather than by social and economic construction, the open disagreements openly arrived at in the Security Council and the First Committee suit the public's predilection perfectly. Second, the full flowering of the social and economic activity of the United Nations was from the very beginning predicated on the real existence of peace and confidence between the nations. But peace is not yet established, and as a consequence there is a fundamental pervasive political uncertainty. In such a political and psychological climate, how can genuine international cooperation in the economic and social field really occur? Third, it must be conceded that the political issues on which United Nations leadership has fastened are themselves of decisive importance. The veto, war-mongering, Palestine, atomic energy, these and like matters certainly deserve the attention they have aroused. Finally, the member governments appear in many cases still to think in terms of the presuppositions of the League of Nations rather than of the United Nations. They have not yet sufficiently adjusted themselves to the fact that

international economic, social and cultural cooperation is of the very essence of the new world organization. They tend therefore for the most part to send to the United Nations politicians to whom political issues are clear and decisive, rather than economists, sociologists, thinkers, philosophers, poets, men of the spirit, who see everything ultimately as a function of the spirit and mind of man, and of his basic social and material conditions. To be sure, politics in the highest sense, in the sense stressed by Aristotle, embraces all these other activities; but then the "politicians" would have real concern for economic, social, cultural and spiritual matters, and would not only think in terms of position and security and balance of power. Many governments and their representatives still think in these terms only; they still live in the age of the League of Nations. Doubtless, I say, all these factors have contributed to the exaggeration of the political at the expense of the economic and social and spiritual in the responsible deliberations of the United Nations and in the notice the public has taken of these deliberations.

It may be profitable therefore to dwell, if but for a moment, on the difference between the natures of these two basic functions of the United Nations: the political and security function on the one hand, and the economic, social and cultural function on the other.

In the nature of the case the Security Council deals with disputes and threats of the peace; its activities come into play only when there is international disagreement. In the nature of the case the Economic and Social Council and its affiliated agencies come into play all the time, and more particularly when there are no disputes and no threats to the peace.

The Security Council does not concern itself with the

material and human conditions of peace; it tries to maintain peace regardless of these conditions. Its function therefore is purely negative and regulative. The Economic and Social Council, on the other hand, concerns itself exclusively with these basic conditions; it is therefore positive, constructive, constitutive, full of content and structure.

The domain of the one therefore is similar to that of the science of pathology: it deals with states of disease, with the abnormal and critical. The domain of the other is more like that of physiology, dealing with states of health and normal functioning.

It follows that the more the Economic and Social Council succeeds, the less there will be any need for the Security Council. The life of the Economic and Social Council is identically the death and the grave of the Security Council.

* * * * *

The Economic and Social Council is one of the six principal organs of the United Nations. It is listed in Article 7 of the Charter as coming after the General Assembly and the Security Council. Articles 55 to 72 define the broad principles of international economic and social cooperation, and assign to the Council its specific functions and powers. The aim is, in the language of Article 55, "to promote higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development; solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems; international cultural and educational cooperation; and universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all."

Working directly under the Council as its own organs are nine functional Commissions dealing with problems varying

from narcotic drugs to human rights and the status of women, and three regional Economic Commissions; and with it is associated a group of operational projects such as the International Children's Emergency Fund. About ten international conferences on special problems have been called by, and in some cases completely prepared for under the guidance of, the Council. More than a dozen inter-governmental organizations have been brought into relationship with the United Nations as specialized agencies through agreements negotiated by and concluded with the Council. About four-score non-governmental organizations have been brought into consultative status through arrangements worked out by the Council. The branches of the Secretariat dealing with all these activities probably outnumber those concerned with the activities of any other principal organ of the United Nations. A glance at the calendar of meetings of the various organs of the United Nations will reveal that hardly a day passes in which several bodies concerned with economic and social matters are not holding conferences.

The Council, through its Economic and Employment Commission, has produced the first documented picture of war devastation in Europe and has helped to define the specific short-term and long-term problems involved in recovery. The Transport and Communications Commission, the Fiscal Commission, the Statistical Commission and the Population Commission have all made valuable contributions in their respective fields. Through its Social Commission the Council has been particularly effective in strengthening international agreements concerning the suppression of traffic in women and children, as well as in contributing to the training of social welfare workers. The Commission on Narcotic Drugs, having taken over the functions formerly

performed in this field by the League of Nations, has forged ahead with a massive attack upon the whole problem of the production of such drugs for non-medical use. The Commission on the Status of Women has accomplished pioneer work in surveying the actual situation of women all over the world with regard to their political, economic, educational, civil and social rights; and through the session which it held in Beirut in the spring of 1949, it has had an emancipating effect upon the imagination of the Middle East in this realm. The Commission on Human Rights has been responsible for the historic Declaration of Human Rights which, when adopted by the General Assembly last December, was hailed as a milestone in human progress and as the major accomplishment of the Paris session. The appropriate sections of the Secretariat have produced, on the request of the Council, valuable studies on world economic conditions and trends. These documents, together with the records of the debates which they elicited, are indispensable for any student of these subjects. The Council has known very few moments when the debate reached the same high level of quality and penetration which it did when these studies were under discussion. There are also to the credit of the Secretariat valuable compilations in the social field, of which the *Yearbook on Human Rights* deserves special mention.

The four operational projects of the United Nations, bearing directly upon the lives of millions of people all over the world and involving the expenditure of many millions of dollars, have all been in the humanitarian field. The Preparatory Commission of the International Refugee Organization saw to the repatriation or resettlement of hundreds of thousands of refugees and displaced persons, and maintained hundreds of thousands more in refugee camps

throughout Europe. The advisory Social Welfare Services Program made social welfare experts and their training available to countries requiring such aid, and developed a variety of rehabilitation services to special categories of the populations of war-devastated and underdeveloped regions. The United Nations Appeal for Children, through a direct world-wide appeal to the citizens of the world to give "a day's pay" for the relief needs of children of whatever nationality, race or religion, was able to collect many millions of dollars for that purpose. The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund is designed to be the United Nations ongoing instrument for the alleviation of the suffering of children; it has brought milk and supplementary meals to millions of children and nursing and pregnant mothers, and has conducted remarkable campaigns against tuberculosis, venereal disease and malaria.

The World Health Organization, the International Trade Organization and the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization were created by conferences initiated by the Council. Other international or technical conferences, called by the Council, treated the questions of freedom of information, passports and frontier formalities, relief needs after the termination of UNRRA, world statistical collaboration, housing and town and country planning, the restriction of the production of narcotic drugs, road and motor transport, and the conservation and utilization of natural resources.

Articles 63 and 64 of the Charter prescribe certain functions to the Council in regard to specialized agencies. These functions have come to be known by the term "coordination." In its coordinating activity the Council enters into a creative relationship with all of these agencies, pointing out

possibilities of overlapping and duplication and how they may be avoided, suggesting possible lines of cooperation, and in general serving as the common meeting-ground where the problems and activities of the specialized agencies are viewed both in their relationship to one another and to the United Nations as a whole.

In still another relationship the Council has, in accordance with the Charter, opened the way for the United Nations to become something other than exclusively an association of governments: more than seventy qualified non-governmental organizations have been accorded consultative status, through which novel relationship the United Nations has the benefit of consultation and communication with millions of human beings through their own voluntarily constituted non-governmental organizations.

This exceedingly complex diversification of functions may elicit the erroneous impression that the Council is nothing other than the sum total of the activity of the subordinate or related organs. In point of fact, the Council enjoys an altogether independent and separate life of its own. This life is constituted by the two or three intensive sessions which it holds every year, when eighteen nations, elected by the General Assembly, meet together *in council* for the examination of an agenda (lately amounting to more than fifty items) originally drawn up from items proposed by other principal organs of the United Nations, by members of the United Nations or by subordinate or related organs and organizations. In this examination the Council exercises its original reviewing, criticizing, judging, directing, resolving and recommending functions.

* * * * *

The Council is a unique international forum on economic, social and cultural matters; at least it is the only such forum in which the Soviet Union participates and where it plays a most active role. In the debates of the Council, when they reach the high quality of depth and detachment which they sometimes reach and which they should always attain, there occurs a unique confrontation of ultimate position and philosophy with respect to the wide range of questions under its purview. To the student of the concrete ideological situation of the present day in its infinite ramifications, nothing is more repaying than to follow closely the debates of the Economic and Social Council.

In the debates of the Council, it is true that what are called by some "propaganda speeches" have often been made. Such speeches are potent weapons in the war of ideas, and representatives have not been loath to wield this weapon with effectiveness. It is an illusion to suppose that in a council of sovereign nations such speeches can ever be suppressed. They can only be overcome by lifting the quality of debate to a higher plane. If ideological themes of a profound character are introduced, then all attempts at propaganda will appear silly and crude. Ideological superficiality can only be exposed and overcome by ideological depth, and nothing can cause propaganda more quickly and blushing to take to its heels than a reasoned profound articulation of one's deepest convictions. If there is propaganda, it is only because there is on the other hand ideological impotence. The tragedy of the world today is that the traditions which embody the deepest truth are not bothering clearly, sufficiently, responsibly, honestly to articulate themselves.

The Council has to its credit a series of important recommendations in the fields of economic and social cooperation

and of human rights. These recommendations have not all been implemented. The difficulty therefore is not with the Council, which has shown real sensitivity to many a delicate situation and made constructive recommendations thereon, but with the sovereign governments which failed to implement social and economic recommendations made by the Council or by the Assembly. The criticism here cannot be of the Council alone, but of the United Nations as a whole: there does not seem to be the requisite unity, *esprit de corps* and moral authority which will make the recommendations of the Assembly or of the Council sufficiently compelling.

* * * * *

There are three regional economic commissions working under the Council: the Economic Commission for Europe, the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East and the Economic Commission for Latin America. It is impossible to exaggerate the potential importance of these subsidiary bodies. The Economic Commission for Europe has already attained a high stature among the organs of the United Nations. In a score of practical ways it is helping in the economic recovery of Europe and in facilitating economic exchange and cooperation between the eastern and western parts of the continent. It has produced documents of outstanding quality on various phases of the economic life of Europe. The other two younger regional Commissions have made good starts. They are both concentrating on problems of development and have already worked out impressive plans for that end. A proposal for the creation of a fourth regional Economic Commission dealing with the Middle East has been under consideration for some time; it has been deferred several times from one session of the Council to

another, owing mainly to the unsettled situation in that region.

Economic and social advancement is of the very essence of the Charter. In the words of President Truman, it is "part of the very heart of the entire compact." Thus there should be original United Nations responsibility for the welfare of its less developed members. Association with the United Nations must mean something positive, and not only in the field of security. In economic and social matters this association should not be only an honorary title. The Economic and Social Council has great opportunities of becoming an original, creative, planning and effective agency, launching forth bold and responsible schemes of development. It seems that right here the regional Commissions are pregnant with possibilities. Concentrating on a specific region, fixing their aims on two or three fundamental problems, drawing their zest from the community of interest and culture permeating their area, and bringing to bear upon their task the collective wisdom of the world organization, these regional bodies seem to be the natural collective instruments whereby the United Nations can effectively discharge its obligations under Article 55 of the Charter. It is through them that the unity of the United Nations, insofar as that unity obtains, can practically make itself felt by bringing about a wholesome, creative, unbiased development to vast regions of the globe which would otherwise remain a pitiable prey to their own impotence and backwardness, or to the unchecked bias of some mighty power.

The Economic and Social Council is not sufficiently entrusted with bold, positive, creative projects. It was very well to set up United Nations machinery for international economic and social collaboration, but the presumption was that

this machinery was to be trusted and used. In this connection, nothing was more heartening to the Council than the proposal by the United States at the Council's Eighth Session, consequent upon President Truman's "Bold New Program," that the Council elaborate responsible schemes of development for the underdeveloped areas of the world. The representatives of the less developed areas have always clamored for United Nations' original responsibility with regard to problems of development. They had hoped, perhaps naïvely, that the Economic and Social Council would play an autonomous, positive, directive and constitutive role in their own development. In its desire to implement President Truman's "Point Four," the United States Delegation has shown in the Eighth and Ninth Sessions of the Council a genuine willingness to place at the disposal of the Economic and Social Council considerable funds to be used in connection with development. This whole matter is still in its very earliest stages, but certainly it has immense possibilities. The Council seems to be on the threshold of a new phase in its development. The immediate problems seem to be to determine the right balance between how much is to be utilized through international agencies and how much is to be administered directly by the United States and other developed nations through bilateral agreements. And even for the international agencies themselves, the question arises as to how much the effort of development should be centralized in the United Nations through the Economic and Social Council, and how much is to be entrusted to the separate specialized agencies.

The positive utilization of the Council is obviously a function of the world political situation and of the Charter itself. There is no sufficient international trust and therefore there

is no firm peace. Thus the economic and social must ultimately wait upon the political. But even if the political situation improves and international harmony sets in, the Council will still be limited by the Charter. The Council's basic statute enables it only to study, discuss, report and recommend. It does not give it effective or directive powers. There is a hint at the possibility of some directive responsibility in Article 66; but from the point of view of the underdeveloped areas and of the possibility of their development by the United Nations itself, the Council should be invested with much bolder powers. It should be in a position to provoke and challenge and guide, and to assume responsibility for vast schemes of development. It must never be forgotten that there is no world government: there is only a council of sovereign nations. But until the Charter is revised with a view of granting the Council real effective power and the necessary authority and funds required by such power, international economic and social cooperation under the United Nations will remain essentially limited. Thus, with respect both to the world political situation and to the Charter we are here at the end of our possibility.

Charles Malik

☆ IV ☆

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is the crowning achievement of man in his endeavor to create ethical and juridical standards for human relationships. The levelling-up process goes on in the social as well as in the economic sphere.

Women constitute over half of humanity and have fully shared the burdens of men in war and peace. Yet they were generally condemned to an unequal political status. Before World War I only three countries had recognized women's equal right with men to vote and to hold public office.

The Charter of the United Nations was signed in San Francisco on July 26, 1945. It proclaimed non-discrimination on account of sex. When the Economic and Social Council was established, one of its first resolutions created a Sub-Commission on the Status of Women, shortly afterwards raised to a full Commission.

At the present time fifty countries have recognized full political equality for women; five do so with special qualifications; three restrict the right to local elections; thirteen withhold it entirely. It appears likely that five more countries will enfranchise women in the near future, under the potent influence of the provision in the San Francisco Charter.

A similar course towards the practical implementation of the non-discriminatory provisions of the Charter with regard to race or religion is evident in several countries.

The Convention on Genocide translates into law the principle of non-discrimination and furnishes protection to minorities against the destructive brutality of mass hatreds.

"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."

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

Human Rights

IN WRITING THE CHARTER, THE MEN WHO WERE WORKING ON it quite evidently felt that in order to insure peace in the future, there must be a recognition of the value of the individual and a gradual acceptance among all of the nations of mutual standards where human rights and liberties were concerned.

Very soon after the first steps of organization in the establishment of the United Nations were completed, the Economic and Social Council set up the Human Rights Commission, and in the first Nuclear Commission meeting it was decided that this Commission, in its permanent organization, should have eighteen members, and that its initial work should be the drawing up of a Charter of Human Rights.

Later it was decided that this Charter should be in two parts, first the Declaration and then the Covenant. The Declaration would set standards and voice aspirations, but would not be legally binding on the nations whose representatives had accepted it in the General Assembly. The Covenant, however, would be drawn in the form of a treaty

and would therefore have to be ratified by each nation accepting it in whatever way they ratified treaties and it would then be legally binding. Being a treaty, it would require all nations ratifying it to change their laws to comply with the undertakings which existing laws did not adequately cover.

Many people felt that the first Universal Declaration of Human Rights should contain as many obligations and responsibilities as there are rights, but it was finally decided to stress primarily rights and freedoms. One Article recognizes the fact that all individuals have obligations as well as rights, and that all freedom is limited by consideration for the freedom of others. The delegates in the Commission on Human Rights recognized that there are few rights and freedoms that do not carry with them obligations and responsibilities, but it seemed more important as a first step to put on paper the things which must be studied and accepted by the different nations before they could become a part of the consciousness of the people of the world.

It was easier to write the Declaration because it did not have to become legally binding on the nations. Therefore the Universal Declaration was finished first and presented to the General Assembly in Paris in the autumn of 1948. Forty-eight nations accepted it after a very long debate in Committee #3, which lasted for two months. Two nations, Yemen and El Salvador, were absent when the vote was taken, and eight nations abstained from voting. They were the U.S.S.R., Poland, Czechoslovakia, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Yugoslavia, Saudi Arabia and South Africa. Saudi Arabia abstained because in Article 18, the article on Freedom of Conscience and Religion, there is a clause stating that one has a right to change one's religion or belief, and the

delegate from Saudi Arabia felt this would not be acceptable to the King whom he represented. The Koran might apparently be interpreted very strictly and mean that no one has a right to change his religion or belief. Pakistan, which is a Muslim country, through its foreign minister, decided to accept the Declaration and interpreted the Koran as permitting one to change one's belief.

The U.S.S.R. and the other Communist dominated nations felt that the Declaration was still an Eighteenth Century document, and that it did not lay enough stress on the new economic and social rights and put too much stress on political and civil rights. Therefore their representatives said they could not accept what they looked upon as a very unprogressive document.

South Africa, on the other hand, said they hoped to grant their people all the fundamental rights and freedoms, but they felt this was much too progressive a document and went much too far.

It is difficult to find a document which meets everyone's needs and ideas, but to have forty-eight nations ratify the Declaration and only eight abstain seemed to bring the weight of the great majority of world opinion back of the Universal Declaration.

There was one significant change made after very long debate, and that was the decision to change Article 1, which had come from the Human Rights Commission in much the same language as a similar clause in the United States Declaration of Independence. The original words read: "All men are created equal." As it was finally worded it reads: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights." This is largely because on Committee #3 there are a number of women who have risen to posi-

tions of importance in their own countries but who realize that the majority of women may not everywhere be on a basis of equality, and they wanted to achieve equality for their sisters. They felt that if the Declaration said "All men" or "a man" that it might easily be said that this Declaration did not apply to women, and they wanted to make quite clear that this was a Universal Declaration.

In using the words "are born free and equal in dignity and rights" instead of "created equal," the effort was made to get a wording to meet the different points of view of those who believe that all beings are created by a Divine Creator and therefore have a divine spark, and of those who do not believe in a Divine Creator or who believe in wording this thought somewhat differently. The effort here was to find words which would express the idea of equality and freedom without making it impossible for anyone to accept the Article as a whole, and this was achieved.

I think there was a feeling that in spite of the compromises, something worth while had been accomplished.

In the Universal Declaration there are a certain number of articles that deal with social and economic rights, and it has not yet been decided whether these rights shall be included in the Covenant or not, or whether it shall be simply indicated that such rights must be recognized and then have them placed in a protocol which nations may ratify as they become prepared to do so, one by one. Some think a separate Covenant should be prepared containing only the social and economic rights. To include them all in the first Covenant, which, as tentatively drawn, includes only civil and political rights and the legal guarantees which are already included in the national bills of rights, passed by a number of countries, would be somewhat unrealistic

today, since it has come to be fairly well accepted that these rights, civil and political, alone will not guarantee a man real freedom. If he cannot work to support himself and his family, the other rights become somewhat empty, so it would seem essential in some way to recognize this fact.

The article on Freedom of Conscience and Religion is acceptable to the Christian and Jewish groups. There were long discussions on whether an article such as the one on education, which might very well not be included in the Covenant if all economic and social rights were left out, should be included and in what form.

It is difficult to write any international document, since it must mean the same in five different languages—French, English, Spanish, Russian and Chinese. It must take into account the different legal systems under which nations are governed, the different religions, and perhaps most important of all, there must be a recognition that in some countries the habits and customs are centuries old and it is difficult to change them overnight. For instance, a woman delegate from Pakistan, in the meeting in Paris, handed me two articles she had written, one explaining purdah, and one explaining the philosophy of multiple marriage. She told me that if we in the West understood these things we would see that this was simply a better way of meeting situations that arose among human beings everywhere.

In accepting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the General Assembly of the United Nations passed a resolution asking every country to acquaint its people with the contents of the Declaration, and to try as far as possible to see that these ideals of human freedom and the enhancement of the dignity of the individual human being were really carried out within the nation.

Eleanor Roosevelt

I realize only too well how difficult it is for many countries to actually do an educational job of any kind, but I think all of them have attempted to do what they felt was possible.

I am naturally anxious if the Covenant is passed in the next General Assembly that it be ratified as soon as possible by the number of nations necessary to have it become operative. A treaty which is not ratified is of little value to anyone; therefore it seems to me that the work of the Commission must be considered carefully from the point of view of getting as many nations to ratify as possible.

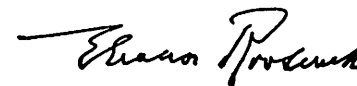
Also, one must not forget the importance of having a Bill which does not ignore the strides that have been made since the Eighteenth Century and that we expect to find people willing to accept the theory of human dignity and liberty with greater ease in 1949 than would have been possible at the turn of the century.

I am hopeful that the document to be presented to the General Assembly a year from this autumn will be a well thought out and carefully worded document and that it will have the support of the members of the Human Rights Commission. I am even more hopeful that if we begin to try to live up to the Declaration and then proceed to insist that we live up to the Covenant, we will remove one of the great causes of war. A repetition of what Hitler did to the Jews in Germany must never again occur in the world, because that was one of the sources of the beginning of World War II.

With this in mind, and a determination that the peoples of every country shall be kept informed of the reasons for drafting a Universal Bill of Rights, and for trying to get the Covenant legally accepted, we may awaken in the people

Human Rights

of every nation a more vivid realization of the importance of the individual and of the need for recognizing his rights and freedoms, and in so doing we may build a bulwark against the greatest menace to these rights and freedoms, namely, war among any nations.





Civilizations and their material achievements have many times been shattered by destructive wars. The spiritual values have survived all man-made catastrophes and have become a part of the greatest of all human heritages: the cultural fund of mankind.

Man's intellect has penetrated into the great unexplored spheres of the universe and brought forth philosophical and aesthetic conceptions which have made life more worthwhile and more purposeful. But together with the achievements which ennoble our lives, it has also unleashed forces of nature capable of shattering the species and the very planet.

The mind of man must be put to work for understanding, love, brotherhood and peace, through cooperation for the general good. The task is gigantic and essential to the achievement of the goals set forth in the Charter of the United Nations. When ignorance no longer blinds man's intelligence, he will rise to his lofty destiny as a creator of a new and better world, in peace and larger freedom.

JAIME TORRES BODET

UNESCO

THE SECOND WORLD WAR HAD JUST DRAWN TO A CLOSE, leaving humanity dazed among the ruins. For ten years on end men had endured that most appalling of afflictions, the overthrow of all the values which give meaning to life. They had never dreamt that such a terrible sickness—of mind and tongue—could thus have tormented them. Suddenly, the plainest words seemed empty of meaning. Might had taken the place of right, cruelty the place of courage. Servility was confounded with discipline, anarchy with liberty. The scientist was rewarded not for the lives his discoveries saved but for the cities his inventions could destroy. Statesmen won honor not for the obligations they respected but for the treaties they tore up. And the man of letters was admired not for the virtues he inspired but for the questionings he could lull to sleep.

The peoples, all peoples, had been bidden to fight for civilization. This they had done; and now, after the armistices, civilization—no doubt—was saved. Yet no one recognized its face nor called it by the same name. To tell the truth, despite all the ceremonies, the parades, the flourish

of trumpets, there were many in whose mouths the word "civilization" sounded uneasily. Everything seemed so precarious. The individual realized his own weakness. All that was left was a dream, perhaps a purpose also: to unite for the building of peace.

In 1945 a few men met together in a London whose scars were still fresh. Though they represented the Allied Governments, they were not statesmen or soldiers. They were professors, writers and philosophers whose resolve it was to unite the peoples in the cause of peace.

The United Nations were trying to achieve organization, and by their side the men in London set themselves to work for peace. But they did not seek, as in past centuries, to build peace on a foundation of hate, on *diktats*, on reprisals and on the whole legalistic apparatus of force, oppression and injustice. They sought to build on faith.

But what was the common faith between men of nations, religions and philosophies so widely different? It was a simple faith but a deep one: the same which, all unknown to themselves, the man in the street and the man of the fields possess, and which they try to express, however clumsily, in every tongue: faith in the unity of the human species, in the will to peace of all mankind and in the primacy of the values of the spirit. It was to the building of peace in men's minds that the delegates' thoughts were turned. The peoples of the world fail to understand each other because they do not know each other; their prejudices and suspicions grow into senseless hatred. The late disaster could never have come to pass save through the exploitation of ignorance. "A peace," said the London Conference, "based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and

sincere support of the peoples of the world and . . . the peace must therefore be founded . . . upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind." The task, then, was to create an international union of professors, writers, artists, journalists, scientists and schoolmasters—to serve the cause of peace.

That international union was duly founded—Unesco (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization). Forty-five states subscribed to its Constitution, under which the organization proclaims as its purpose: "to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex . . . or religion . . ."

For the first time in history, an international organization was to dedicate itself to three great tasks:

Encouraging mutual knowledge and understanding between the nations by lending its aid to the press, the radio and the cinema;

Promoting popular education and the widest dissemination of culture;

Assisting the maintenance and advance of learning.

* * * * *

One can hardly write the history of so young an organization. Unesco's first task was to build up its methods, forge its tools and to survey its field; this, under the stimulus of my distinguished predecessor, Dr. Julian Huxley, it did rapidly. But everybody naturally wants to know how Unesco has acquitted itself of its tasks in the last four years, and will go at once to the root of the matter with the question: "What

do you do?" I shall try to answer them as briefly as possible.

First, then, there are the thousands of schools and museums, universities and libraries which the war destroyed. They have to be rebuilt. The task is immense, affecting millions of children, extending over three continents. Unesco has organized a world campaign, carried out thorough investigations, and drawn up a balance sheet of resources and needs. To those of its member states which were most sorely tried, it supplies educational, scientific and cultural equipment; it makes grants-in-aid for study, and annually distributes thousands of books and periodicals.

Probably everyone realizes that Unesco only receives each year as income an amount of money which the armies of the late war often spent in five minutes. However, it is not working single-handed. It achieves what it does through sustained cooperation with the United Nations primarily, with its member states, and also with a number of international non-government organizations such as the Temporary International Council for Educational Reconstruction, the International Voluntary Work Camps and the Children's Communities. And already one lesson is clear; we know that success will depend on the friendly cooperation of a multitude of institutions and that there are no monopolies in the field in which Unesco works. Our duty does not lie in a lordly dispensing of alms, but in organizing *mutual* help.

* * * * *

If we turn to education, the same spirit underlies Unesco's work. It is not for Unesco to teach; it is not a school or university. Its task is to assist the international exchange of ideals and methods. If we consider the enormous differences which sometimes exist in education, not only between coun-

try and country, but even between different parts of the same educational system, it becomes clear that all nations can bring something to the solution of these problems, while at the same time every one of them needs help. Unesco is concerned, therefore, with education at all levels.

Fundamental education alone offers a boundless field: when ignorance has reduced communities to destitution, merely teaching them to read is not enough to save them. Doctors, anthropologists, agricultural experts and ethnologists are as much needed as teachers, and bearing that in mind Unesco is conducting those intensive educational campaigns in limited areas—the Pilot Projects—in China, South America and Haiti. In Haiti, the endeavors put forth during the past year on behalf of the peasants of the Marbial Valley have succeeded beyond all hopes: a land with the mark of death upon it is coming back to life, and the credit goes to the peasants themselves and to their belief in Unesco.

Elsewhere support and advice are needed for campaigns against illiteracy; adult education must be organized or a school system devised or reformed. These needs are met by numerous Seminars, meetings of specialists, or missions sent by Unesco to countries asking for them. In 1949 experts were thus made available to the Philippines, Thailand and Afghanistan.

Then again, in conjunction with the universities of the whole world, Unesco is striving for the improvement of school textbooks and teaching equipment. Here there is one question it puts before all others: education for international understanding. It is of vital importance that schools should help their pupils towards awareness of the interdependence of the peoples and train them to accept the obligations which that implies. Unesco therefore does its utmost to encourage

teaching about the United Nations—the greatest attempt ever made, at the international and governmental level, to achieve a world society.

That, then, is how Unesco, without being in any sense a school, works for education. So, too, the organization has offered its services to scientists, without setting itself up in the least as an academy or university. In our view science is no more than humanity's attempt to understand the world and to use the knowledge gained for the progress of mankind. And thus Unesco has contrived to make itself a true world center of scientific liaison. Scientists are traditionally a worldwide brotherhood. Our task is to aid their researches for the common good, to bridge the gap which sometimes divides the pure from the applied sciences, such as agriculture, engineering or medicine, and to open the doors of science to all men without distinction of class.

For all these reasons Unesco cannot content itself with merely putting out scientific bulletins and publications, however valuable these may be. Cooperation offices have been set up in the Middle and the Far East, in Latin America and in Central Asia with the task of bringing within the reach of local students or specialists the latest advances of research and securing a constant exchange of scientific information between those countries and the rest of the world. In addition, the organization is taking an active interest in certain special projects, such as the International Institute of the Hylean Amazon, and has cooperated in various undertakings of the Food and Agriculture Organization.

* * * * *

The Social Sciences need fuller treatment. Obviously, they occupy a leading place in the mind of an organization the

purpose of which is "advancing, through the educational, scientific and cultural relations of the peoples of the world, the objectives of international peace and of the common welfare of mankind for which the United Nations Organization was established. . . ." They are territory still largely unexplored. Unesco is directing its energies to problems directly affecting the maintenance of peace and the evolution of international cooperation. Year by year the outlines of its program grow firmer and more exact: new methods and new techniques are being evolved and, with the help of universities and research institutes, we shall be able in the near future to bring to a successful issue projects as complex as the studies of tensions and of international understanding. Research of this kind entails a multitude of inquiries into the cultures and legal systems of the different countries, into the causes of aggressive nationalism, and into the problems of demography or of modern technology: the range is immense and the subject fascinating.

Nevertheless, research is not an end in itself. In the final analysis our task is to determine the measures to be taken to combat the causes of misunderstanding, to uproot prejudices, hunt down injustice; here again research is meaningless unless its final end is action. The same concern for effectiveness and for making the world its parish can be seen also in Unesco's attitude towards what we call culture. Unesco has founded an International Theatre Institute and an International Musical Organization. It encourages, finances and distributes reproductions of works of art. It acts as an international center for literary exchanges; publishes learned reviews, bulletins for libraries and journals for museums. It is investigating the history of the scientific and cultural evolution of humanity, analyzing the philosophic

bases of human rights, carrying out comparative studies of civilizations, and translating into many languages the classics of all nations. In a word, its province here extends to artistic and literary creation in the present, to the history of such creation in the past, to the institutions to which the care of those creations is committed, and to the legal problems arising in connection with the dissemination of works of the mind.

And what is the object of it all? Unesco, let it be said clearly, is in no way running the risk of becoming an enormous publishing establishment or a crazy Utopia for intellectuals. What it is seeking to do is to develop cultural exchanges between member states, particularly those in the most distant or least privileged quarters of the world; secondly, to give the general public the fullest possible access to works of art, to the conquests of learning and to the work of thinkers and humanists; lastly, to bring to the men of every country clearer awareness of a unity of civilization side by side with the diversity of national or regional cultures.

Such a goal could not be attained on a world scale unless recourse were also had to the great modern media of information. From the first Unesco has been in contact with the press, radio and cinema in all countries, first to help them, but principally to secure the professional help of their representatives. Newspapers, films and the radio have become great teachers in the modern world, the most powerful vehicles alike of science and of superstition, of understanding and of hatred, and—according to who controls them—irresistible weapons for war or peace. For the past two years Unesco has been conducting inquiries on a large scale into the technical needs of information in war-devastated or backward coun-

tries, working to reduce the economic or political obstacles to the free circulation of news, and striving to increase the number of publications, films and broadcasts designed to aid peace and the well-being of mankind. Peace—we are convinced—can find no buttress stronger than information services working in freedom and imbued with the sense of their responsibilities.

* * * * *

It is time to finish this brief account of a program which cannot in any case be compressed into a few pages. I have not even mentioned exchanges of persons nor our fellowship system . . . I have, however, I think, answered the question: "What do you do?"

These, then, are Unesco's activities. Their complexity is great and their scope immense. Sometimes we have been led to wish that they were less so, that a smaller territory had been allotted us, which we could work at leisure, tasks on a smaller scale which we could handle one after another. At the same time, however, we want our sphere to be co-extensive with the world itself. Like all who work for peace and justice we are sadly conscious that time is short. In one way we feel we should not give too much attention to points of detail, and yet we do so with determination because there is no other method—but we are well aware that what is needed is to do everything and cover everything. Like every agency of the United Nations, Unesco is made up of optimists: they believe in the perfectibility of society, that education which trains men for freedom will resolve the hardest questions. And yet through all Unesco's work, there runs a note of anxiety because of its powerlessness in the face of sc

much suffering and its smallness before so much virgin territory.

Now let us cast a general glance around us. Where do we stand?

We are approaching 1950, and the first part of the Twentieth Century is drawing to a close. Others can undertake the task of preparing the balance sheet for these fifty years. It would be purposeless to attempt a judgment on them now, and in any case we are not judges. By chance I recently reread the speech in which Emile Loubet, President of the French Republic, greeted the World Exhibition of 1900. "I am convinced," he said, "that through the persistent repetition of certain noble thoughts which rang through the century now ending, the Twentieth Century will see a little more neighborliness along with less suffering of every kind, and that soon we may have reached a milestone in the slow evolution of work towards happiness and of man towards the humane. . . ."

When we read such words we must avoid both cynicism and self-deception. It is true that men are not much happier than fifty years ago. Their solidarity is still a precarious thing; poverty is still rampant in whole classes, countries and continents. We have had two terrible wars—or one war thirty years long—for which we cannot well disclaim responsibility. All that is true. We have disappointed our fathers' hopes, and the triumphs of science and technology may not be enough to restore much of our self-esteem.

But none of these obstacles shall abate our courage. Far otherwise—clear vision should make us stronger and more resolute. We know now the risks run by the human community whenever it yields to cowardice; we know the price of injustice and ignorance. Probably no more than our fathers; are we the heirs of happiness, but for the first time the prob-

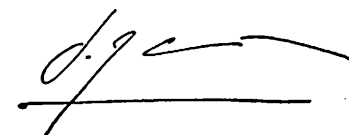
lem which faces us is one of sheer survival. If we do not succeed in cementing human solidarity, we shall not avoid disaster; we shall have deserved—we shall have contrived it.

That argument is ineluctable, and it shows clearly what Unesco must and will be. Unless it is founded on justice, the brotherhood of the peoples is an illusion. Unesco must be a crusade for human rights.

For a year past the Secretariat has been concentrating on the widest distribution of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted on December 10, 1948, by the United Nations. It is our wish that that text, the charter of human liberties, be everywhere known, taught and pondered. Above all, we desire that the rights which it proclaims be everywhere demanded and respected: there is no other path to peace.

But should so enormous a task be committed to Unesco's officials alone? Are they more than human?

Daily and in every country Unesco National Commissions are being set up and are taking shape. When there are enough of them, when they are sufficiently active, when their numbers include not philosophers only but workmen, journalists, merchants and schoolboys, they will become Unesco itself—not a town, a building, an office, but a faith in the hearts of men.



☆ VI ☆

The "Jus Gentium" of the Romans gradually gave way, with the development of the state from an agency of the people into a political entity, to the conception of "International Law." The people who were the original subject were gradually dispossessed by political rulers in many countries of their rights as individual members of the world community.

*The Charter of San Francisco marks a gradual reappearance of man as the subject of international rights and the principal object of international cooperation. The humanism of Erasmus of Rotterdam is rekindled in its universalist meaning. "The whole world is everybody's fatherland," he said in his *Querela Pacis* in 1517.*

Nowhere does such concern for humanity acquire greater practical meaning than in the field of health. Because of the United Nations, today the medical sciences are making phenomenal strides towards freedom from illness, both physical and spiritual, for mankind.

BROCK CHISHOLM

World Health

THE SUPREME CHALLENGE WHICH MAN FACES TODAY IS man himself.

Ironically, the genius that man has been displaying for centuries and through which he has very nearly succeeded in mastering the forces of nature is now turning against him, threatening to destroy his very existence. Marvellous and terrible tools invented by the human brain are suspended like a sword of Damocles over the little world in which we are all cooped up together.

Reduced to its essential elements, the crisis which has been developing in the last few decades and which reached its peak at the end of the Second World War is a crisis in human relationships. The nature of this crisis can be formulated simply in the following terms: whether we shall survive or not depends to a large extent on whether we are willing to re-examine our present concepts and behavior pattern, our ultimate purpose being to readjust our whole system of human relations.

The wars we have been fighting every fifteen to twenty years, and in particular the latest two in the series, leave no

doubt that the mechanism of competitive survival, the only method of survival in common use up to now, is utterly out-of-date. Students of history will agree that this method has never been really satisfactory. They will also agree that, measured in national terms, progress in community life has been made only when the mechanism of competition has given way to more civilized, more mature forms of survival based on a degree of tolerance about divergent attitudes and proceeding by discussion, mutual understanding, compromise and agreement.

We have now reached a point in history where the human race as a whole must learn to behave in this adult way if it wishes to avoid a catastrophe which may well lead to the complete extinction of our species. In the past the incessant conflicts between various human groups, disastrous as they were in terms of loss of lives and of material damage, still did not make it impossible for mankind to continue its existence. But with the advent of powerful new weapons such as the atomic bomb and the even more destructive tools of biological warfare, the situation we face today is radically different. We have to realize—and to do so before it is too late—that *competition by means of warfare has become synonymous with suicide*. Our only hope for the future lies in the recognition of the fact that we have no alternative to collective and total suicide but getting along with each other. If we are to live at all, we must live with all the people in the world. That kind of *competition* in human relationships must be replaced by *cooperation* if we, the human race, are to escape the fate which overtook the dinosaur and which has overtaken many other species unable to make necessary adjustments to new circumstances.

Viewed against this background, the creation of the United

Nations in 1945 can be considered a reaction of self-defense by the nations of the world in a situation where a choice had to be made between working together and annihilation. The Charter drawn up at San Francisco as the fundamental basis of the United Nations expresses the idea of cooperation in strong and unmistakable terms when it proclaims the determination of the signatories "to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another" in order "to maintain international peace and security," to achieve cooperation "in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character," and to be "a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends."

While the various organs of the United Nations proper are designed to serve as *general* machinery for the purpose of joint international action, the specialized agencies provide a framework within which, in *specific* fields of human endeavor, the old pattern of competition can be replaced by cooperation. Thus, for example, the International Labor Organization seeks to improve working and living conditions for labor throughout the world in the conviction that social justice is a *sine qua non* for lasting peace. Thus, too, recognizing the close relationship between prosperity and peace, the Food and Agriculture Organization promotes peace by encouraging concerted action to develop the agricultural resources of the world and to ensure more adequate distribution of food production. Proclaiming that war begins in the minds of men, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization contributes to the cause of peace by fostering collaboration among the nations of the world in education, science and culture. The World Health Organization, the youngest of the specialized agencies in the United

Nations family, aims at helping every human being to reach the highest attainable standard of health because, as its Constitution states, "the health of all people is fundamental to the attainment of peace and security." There are many ways in which WHO, together with its sister agencies, can serve the cause of mankind in replacing competition and isolation by cooperation and solidarity as rules of international life.

History is pictured by most of us as an endless series of wars resulting in victories for some nations and corresponding defeats for others. Thinking of these wars, we are appalled at the havoc they wrought both on the victors and on the defeated in terms of loss of human life and material destruction. Yet few of us stop to think that since its origin mankind has also been waging a gigantic struggle against disease, an enemy which is even more destructive than any human being or group of human beings has been up to now, and which spares no one, regardless of race, color or nationality.

Statistics being a relatively recent science, no figures are available on the total casualties of this age-old fight between man and all the various forms of physical and mental illness. However, to confine ourselves only to the so-called communicable diseases, it has been estimated that in Europe during the five-year period between 1346 and 1351 twenty-five million persons died from plague alone. In London, during the epidemic of 1664, seventy thousand persons died out of only about five hundred thousand inhabitants. Two and a half centuries later, millions throughout the world fell victim to the influenza epidemic which broke out at the end of the war of 1914-18.

Today, thanks to progress in medicine and in public health, certain parts of the globe can be considered safe from

many of the scourges of the past such as plague, typhus, leprosy, and cholera. In other regions, however, these diseases continue to be a very real threat; and in most countries enemies such as tuberculosis, malaria, and venereal infections can by no means be regarded as defeated. Let me cite a few figures to make this clear:

- ... between 3 and 5 million people die each year from tuberculosis throughout the world;
- ... in India alone, in 1944, nearly 2 million deaths were caused by malaria;
- ... syphilis estimates today range from a minimum of 20 million upward to 100 million cases, while the figures for gonorrhea are two or three times higher;
- ... in Asia approximately 157 million people were attacked in 1947 by filariasis, a highly debilitating disease, certain forms of which result in elephantiasis;
- ... over 100 million people are today victims of schistosomiasis, a disease which undermines the health of agricultural workers over wide areas of the African, Asiatic and American continents;
- ... more than half of Egypt's 20 million people are affected by trachoma, a chronic eye disease which often leads to complete blindness.

The tragic fact about this list, although it is anything but exhaustive, is that most of the diseases which it covers are entirely avoidable. Yesterday we might have had some excuse for passivity in the face of ills which were killing or incapacitating hundreds of millions of human beings. Today, with the discoveries of modern science and medicine at our disposal, such a neutral or even defensive attitude is criminal. There should be no shortage of penicillin in any country for the fight against venereal diseases. No lack of BCG vac-

cine or of streptomycin should prevent any nation from combating tuberculosis. No region in the world infested by malaria should lack the new and powerful insecticides such as DDT.

The great progress that medical science and public health techniques have made must be put to use for those three-quarters of the world population still afflicted by diseases resulting from poor excreta disposal, unsafe water supplies, uncontrolled insects and inadequate protection of milk and food. Present day knowledge must be made available to all countries in order to enable them to assure adequate care for mothers, the best possible chance of survival for infants, and for all children normal physical growth and development as well as mental and emotional health.

This is a big program. In order to carry it out, one essential condition must be fulfilled: all nations of the world, regardless of the political, economic or social systems to which they belong, must play their part in building a healthier human society. In our shrunken world isolationism in the field of health is unthinkable. Disease and misery in any corner of the world are a potential threat to the rest of its population. As far as health is concerned, it is obviously and immediately clear that the world will be one or none.

The very existence of the World Health Organization is a promise that the choice will be made for the good of mankind. The 64 nations which belong to WHO have pledged themselves to the fullest possible cooperation in order to ensure to all people "the highest possible level of health." They have specifically accepted the responsibility of assisting each other in the various branches of public health by agreeing in the WHO Constitution that "unequal development in different countries in the promotion of health and control

of disease, especially communicable diseases, is a common danger." Furthermore, in subscribing to these obligations they also agreed to a precise definition of health as "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity."

This definition of health is a truly revolutionary concept. With it the frontiers of health have been pushed a long way forward and the close relationship between international health problems and economic and social conditions is fully recognized. Those who are working together in WHO know that physical and biological factors are far from being the only causes of disease and that therefore the question of health must be tackled from a sociological, not merely from a medical point of view. This explains the great interest which WHO has in problems such as improvement of nutrition, housing, recreation, economic and working conditions, and other aspects of environmental hygiene.

WHO's definition of health and the extremely wide scope of the activities resulting from it also explain the urgent necessity for close working relationships between the World Health Organization and the United Nations, together with the other specialized agencies. As an example, one of the greatest problems of our time is how to increase food production for a rapidly increasing world population. One of the ways to raise agricultural productivity is to ensure maximum working capacity to the people engaged in tilling the soil. This is not possible unless diseases such as malaria, which at present undermine the health of millions of agricultural workers, are eliminated or at least substantially reduced. Conversely, adequate food is an essential condition for raising levels of health. Any failure in improving nutrition is at the same time a failure in promoting health. The present

joint projects of the World Health Organization and the Food and Agriculture Organization for increasing productivity in hitherto insufficiently developed areas through the combined application of modern agricultural methods and modern public health techniques are in the vanguard of the efforts so sorely needed today to build well-fed and healthy people capable of forming a happy and peaceful world community.

In the final analysis the United Nations and its specialized agencies do, indeed, point the road which we must follow if mankind is to avoid the follies and miseries of the past. They—the United Nations and its various agencies—are different aspects of the only positive answer to the question whether we shall be able in the years to come to establish peace on earth.

Whether we shall succeed in using these agencies for the establishment of peace depends ultimately on the kind of people who serve them and who are behind them—which brings us back to the beginning of this chapter. The new kind of human society in which survival will be based on co-operation instead of competition calls for people with real maturity. Two basic qualities of a mature person are adaptability and compromise, and both of these qualities are required of those engaged in the building of peace. They must know how to adapt themselves to a world in which geographical and political barriers have become obsolete and dangerous fictions. They must also learn to understand the points of view of their neighbors and to be able to sacrifice part of their individual and national ambitions in the interest of the world as a whole.

The champions of peace, in other words, must have a real sense of world citizenship. Until quite recently national citi-

zenship was enough to ensure a relatively harmonious development in human relationships. Today this is no longer sufficient. There is an absolute necessity for people willing to assume responsibility for the welfare of their fellow men everywhere, not just locally, not just nationally, but for the whole human race. World citizenship requires an equal degree of loyalty to all the members of the world community, irrespective of race, religion, color, or any other group characteristics.

This does not mean that we must give up our own national loyalties. We are not required to change the political, economic, social or religious systems which we consider as best for our own purpose. Neither are we required to sacrifice our spiritual or cultural traditions. What we must do is to acquire a mature view of the differences between the nations of the world and to consider the systems under which they have chosen to live as various types of experiments, all at different levels of development along their own lines, neither superior nor inferior to each other, and all thoroughly justified by the conditions which created them. If we can do this, the neurotic symptoms which until now have characterized our conduct of international affairs will disappear. We shall be able to do away with the main reasons for the endless wars we have been fighting in the past: prejudice, isolationism, the ability emotionally and uncritically to believe unreasonable things, excessive desire for material or political power, excessive fear of others, ability to avoid facing unpleasant facts and to evade taking appropriate action.

The building of peace on earth will be the task of the next generation. The world will be what the children of the next generation make it, but the bringing up of that generation is our own responsibility. If we have the courage, the deter-

mination, and the imagination to free our children from many of our taboos, many of our anxieties, and many of our unfounded fears—if, in other words, we succeed in giving them true maturity and a strong feeling of world citizenship—we can be sure that they will grow into a happy and peaceful world.

This is the most important problem facing us. The responsibility lies with each and every one of us. I can think of no greater field for earnest, determined work. Whatever helps our children to grow up to be mature, compassionate, tolerant and worthy of being citizens of the world must be of interest to each of us. We have our chance now. It is the last time we may have it. If we now revert to our little private concerns, if we tell ourselves that "it is someone else's responsibility," there will one day be none of us left—not even any to bury the dead.

To repeat: the supreme challenge facing man today is man himself. Whether we shall have peace on earth will depend on the courage and faith with which man is prepared to meet that challenge.

Brock Chisholm

☆ VII ☆

Three-fourths of mankind have never been fed the minimum required for normal health, and yet enormous amounts of foodstuffs go to waste or are destroyed through the carelessness of men. Furthermore, with the productive potential of the soil and the sea far from being tapped, starvation is a tragic consequence in many lands.

World cooperation has been called upon to ensure that human beings everywhere get an adequate supply of food and science must play a decisive part in bringing about such a vital purpose.

Hunger is a powerful obstacle to peace.

I am not the one who used ballpoint pen on this page, nor page 105.

1. gallium has a low melting point and is liquid at room temperature.

JOHN BOYD-ORR

Freedom from Want

THE ORIGIN OF THE FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION may be traced to the Atlantic Charter with its promise of "freedom from want and fear" for "all men in all lands." The first want of mankind is food. So in 1943 President Roosevelt called the Hot Springs Conference of nations to consider how they could cooperate to solve the age-long food problem. This was followed by a conference at Quebec in October, 1945, where 42 governments joined FAO, the first international organization of the United Nations.

The objectives of the organization may be stated briefly as follows: to provide the machinery for the nations to cooperate in putting an end to hunger and malnutrition in the world, to raise the standard of living of rural workers, and to develop the resources of farms, forests, and seas—to enrich the world with their products.

The historian of the future will regard the Quebec Conference as one of the great landmarks in the evolution of human society. It is no new thing for two or more nations to join forces in war. But never before had so many nations

pledged themselves to cooperate in a worldwide plan for the promotion of the welfare of all mankind.

That, indeed, is the common objective of all the U.N. specialized agencies, each with its own sphere of work. The future of our civilization depends on these agencies. If they succeed, as they must, the great powers of modern science will be applied to developing the vast latent wealth of the earth, to putting an end to the poverty which affects more than half of the population of the world, and to bringing prosperity to agriculture, industry, and trade in an expanding world economy. This is the only alternative to the application of science to the production of monstrous instruments of death and destruction in another world war. The work of these United Nations agencies is so vitally important for all people that in a saner world, their day-to-day achievements or failures would form the main news in the daily press.

Every specialized agency has a tremendous and difficult task but none more so than FAO. Before the war it was estimated that two-thirds of the population of the world were ill nourished and the number of mouths to be filled was increasing at the rate of twenty millions per annum. Production would need to be doubled in the next twenty-five or thirty years to provide food on a health standard for the people of all countries. In the Nineteenth Century the virgin fertile lands of America and Australasia provided the additional food needed for the rapidly increasing population of Europe. Today there are no more unoccupied fertile lands. On the contrary, the land at present under cultivation is diminishing by soil erosion.

Some think that FAO has been given an impossible task, because the earth will never be able to produce sufficient for its growing population. The fact of the matter is that with

modern agricultural and engineering science the present supply can be doubled and redoubled. The food supply has been limited not by the amount that can be produced but by the amount that can be sold at a profit. There is no physical difficulty about production—science knows the answer. The question is: are the nations prepared to cooperate in the vast expenditure of capital and labor needed to produce sufficient to feed the world?

The other main objective of FAO—raising the standard of living of rural workers—presents equally great difficulties. The only way to do this is to have a guaranteed market for agricultural products at a remunerative price. Some countries have guaranteed a market for their farmers, but it is the price in the world market which ultimately determines the price in the home markets. In the ten years before the last war the world price of wheat fluctuated by as much as 70 per cent. A bumper harvest meant a fall in prices, which reduced the income of the farmer, who then reduced his purchase of industrial products, resulting in unemployment and a reduction in the consumption of the more expensive food by the workers and so on down the vicious spiral. A bumper harvest which should have been a blessing to a hungry world was apt to be a curse except to countries like the United Kingdom, which got the temporary advantage of cheap food but the compensating disadvantages of reduced purchasing power of its foreign customers. This raises the economic and financial problem of how to get a guaranteed market at a price which will call forth the food the world needs, and at the same time insure that the food produced will be bought and consumed.

This involves a new principle in economics—the adjustment of supply to human need instead of to economic demand. The application of this new principle to food will

bring about a doubling of the world trade, to the great prosperity and increased stability of agriculture and industry. It cannot be applied, however, on a world scale unless governments cooperate fully through FAO.

The difficulty of getting governments to realize the magnitude and importance of the world food problem and of getting their cooperation in an action program appeared to the first Director General to be so great that he said it would be a miracle if it succeeded in accomplishing its objective in the near future, but as we live in an age of miracles, the attempt should be made. The success which has already attended its efforts in the short time since it was established—a time of economic and political confusion which greatly increased the difficulty of constructive work—warrants the hope that it will ultimately succeed in completing the work it was created to do.

The first job it set itself was to bring together all the available information on the pre-war food position, and then to ascertain the extent to which the pre-war position had been distorted by the war. The result showed that the talk of the post-war food shortage ending with the 1946 harvest was nonsense. The shortage was much more acute and likely to last much longer than governments thought. The Director General sent a report on the food position to governments and invited countries which could make a major contribution to averting the threatened crisis to send representatives to FAO Headquarters to consider what joint action should be taken to avoid widespread famine in certain areas and to prevent a rocketing of food prices in the world market due to the scarcity.

The representatives of 22 nations, including all which had been invited, met at a Washington Conference in May, 1946.

They agreed unanimously to the recommendation for using the available food to the best advantage and the measures for an all-out effort for the 1947 harvest. They agreed also that exporting countries should adjust their agriculture program to put the maximum amount on the world market, and that this should be allocated to countries according to their need and not to their purchasing power. As the constitution of FAO did not permit it to take this action, a special committee of representatives of 35 governments, the International Emergency Food Council (IEFC) was set up at FAO Headquarters and served by FAO officials.

The IEFC handled the post-war food crisis with conspicuous ability and success. ~~Although it had no power to enforce its decisions, in 1948, 46 out of 47 allocations were carried out by the nations concerned, and this in spite of the fact that some nations had difficulty in taking up their allocations owing to lack of purchasing power. This council is still functioning for foods in short supply. At the time of writing it has just issued its allocation of rice.~~

This joint action by governments in handling the post-war food crisis is an example of the many successes of the various United Nations specialized agencies. It is unfortunate that the press devotes its headlines to the squabbles and failures of the United Nations Assembly and gives so little space to the solid work done by the United Nations in bringing about the cooperation of nations in concrete measures for their mutual benefit.

The Washington Conference, encouraged by its success in setting up machinery to deal with the post-war food crisis, asked the Director General to consider measures needed to deal with the long-term problems of food and agriculture. He submitted "Proposals for a World Food Board" which

would enable governments to cooperate through FAO, the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to: (1) on request, assist countries, especially the overcrowded undeveloped countries, to develop agriculture, and the essential secondary industries to bring the world food supply up to the level needed to provide sufficient for all mankind; (2) build up a world reserve of certain foods to act as a reservoir in equalizing good and bad harvests; and (3) by this and other measures suggested, to stabilize prices in the international market at levels fair to producers and consumers.

The carrying out of this plan involves the creation of vast credits, most of which would need to come from the United States. But the credits would not, as in the case of war, involve inflation because the creation of new real wealth would balance the credits and enable the borrowing countries to repay.

It was pointed out in the Proposals that the development of world agricultural resources with a guaranteed world market would bring prosperity and stability to a rapidly expanding agriculture. The enormous quantity of industrial products needed for flood control and irrigation schemes, for agricultural equipment and fertilizers and for consumer goods to meet the demand of the increased purchasing power of food producers, who outnumber those engaged in all other industries, would provide a world market for all the highly industrialized countries could produce for many years ahead and so remove the fear of a "recession" developing into another world economic crisis such as occurred in 1929. The hope of the abolition of hunger and poverty would go far to allay social unrest and revolution in poverty stricken

countries. The cooperation of governments in a worldwide constructive plan to develop the resources of the earth for the mutual benefit of the people of all countries might have diverted the minds of governments from the battle of conflicting ideologies and been an important step to further co-operation leading to world unity and peace.

The Proposals were considered at the first annual conference of FAO at Copenhagen in the autumn of 1946, and the conference was asked, if the proposals submitted in broad outline were approved, to set up a Commission of government representatives to work out the plan in greater detail and get the Board set up. The leader of the United States delegation said his government approved and made the motion for the setting up of the Commission, which was carried with enthusiasm.

But when the Commission met two months later, the U.S.S.R., which had been given a seat on the Commission of 18 members, refused to act and another important country had no enthusiasm for the plan. In these circumstances the best the Commission could do was to recommend the setting up of a Council which could make recommendations, but which had neither funds nor authority to get action taken to stabilize prices in the world market or to assist countries to develop their resources. When the report of the Commission was submitted to the next annual conference, the leader of the French delegation said his government regretted the watering down of the suggested Board with power to a Council which could only make recommendations. The retiring Director General in his last speech to the Conference said the majority of governments were in agreement with France and expressed the hope that within a few years the World Food Council would develop into a Board with

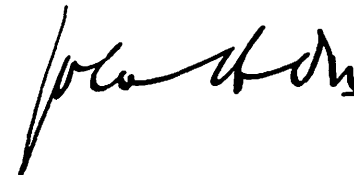
powers to stimulate increased food production and stabilize prices in the world market, and so avert the danger of the spread of the revolt against poverty among the bigger half of the world's population and the economic repercussions of a slump in world prices of cereals, which he predicted might come in 1948 or 1949.

The organization of FAO consists now of the Annual Conference of 60 nations, the council of 18 nations elected at the Conference to facilitate the carrying out of the resolutions of the Conference, and Regional Offices to facilitate cooperation of countries with special common problems. These are served by six technical divisions which keep governments informed on the production, consumption and trade in agriculture, fishery and forest products, and on economic trade and financial conditions affecting them, and also on request give technical assistance to help countries to carry out the recommendations of the council.

There is not space here to tell of the many valuable services rendered by FAO in materially increasing the world supply of food and making its distribution more in accordance with need, nor of the all important closer integration of the work of FAO, the Economic Council of the United Nations and the World Bank.

The success of FAO and the other specialized agencies of the United Nations warrants the hope of the writer that they will evolve into International Ministries of Food and Agriculture, Finance, Trade, Health and so on of a United Nations structure which has developed into a World Government able to maintain world peace, free mankind from the fear of war and the crushing burden of armaments, and bring it about that modern sciences are applied to developing the enormous potential wealth of the earth for the good of all.

Governments cannot move faster than the peoples are prepared to go. That is why the work of the United Nations associations in creating a well informed world public opinion in favor of increasing the power and prestige of the United Nations and its agencies is so vitally important.



☆ VIII ☆

The peoples of non-self-governing areas and of trustee territories are also being given an opportunity for advancement toward autonomy and independence, at the very time when they are approaching the standards of political, economic and social development which are basic to further exercise of responsible government.

RALPH BUNCHE

*The International
Trusteeship System*

Background

THE ARCHITECTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS MEETING AT SAN Francisco realized clearly that in order to lay the foundations of an enduring peace it would be necessary to underwrite the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the colonial peoples.

At the present time one-tenth of the world's peoples live in non-self-governing territories. The resources of these territories, their potentiality as markets, their manpower, their strategic location, and their military weakness have in the past invited rivalries among nations which desired to extend control over them. International friction arising from this situation has contributed substantially to the fomenting of wars.

The two hundred million people of these dependent territories are becoming increasingly aware of their strategic and commercial importance to the world. They chafe under

political, economic and social disabilities. Their demands are for greater participation in the management of their own governmental affairs, for freedom from disease, hunger and malnutrition, and for opportunity to participate fully in the economic development of their countries. Many are becoming restless under foreign control. Organized nationalist forces in many of the dependent territories are today insistently demanding a greater or an independent voice in the management of their own affairs.

The colonial powers have not been insensitive to the needs and demands of these peoples in the modern world. Empires are consequently in the process of reorganization; new states are emerging; liberal constitutional changes have been effected; educational, health and social welfare measures are increasing; new economic and development plans are being introduced.

At San Francisco it was recognized, however, that the well-being of colonial peoples was a matter of vital international concern. No longer could the world rely upon a traditional humanitarian and exclusively national approach to the problem of colonies. National and international self-interest, as well as the moral pressure of humanitarianism, motivated the Charter provisions on Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories.

It was in the broad interest of world peace, therefore, as well as with concern for the well-being of the dependent peoples, that three of the nineteen chapters of the United Nations Charter are devoted to the non-self-governing peoples. Two of these three chapters—XII and XIII—are devoted to the Trusteeship System, which has taken the place of the Mandates System of the League of Nations. Chapter XI is

a Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories which goes far beyond any previous international instrument in the responsibilities undertaken on behalf of colonial peoples.

The Mandates System of the League of Nations, affecting fifteen territories, was a great step forward in increasing international responsibility for the peoples of dependent territories. It introduced a new element of formal and direct responsibility to the international community through the media of annual reports submitted by the administering powers to the Mandates Commission and the petitions considered by the Commission. The operation of the Mandates System was suspended, for all practical purposes, during the war. The need clearly existed for a system of international supervision and administration of non-self-governing territories which had a wider scope, broader functions and powers, and greater potentialities than that of the Mandates System.

International Trusteeship System

The Trusteeship System of the United Nations is a new system of international responsibility for the territories placed under it—not merely a prolongation of the Mandates System. The system is predicated on the principle that the administration of such territories is the responsibility of the international community and not a matter of exclusive concern to the administering authorities.

The Trusteeship Council, acting under the authority of the General Assembly and composed of representatives of states administering Trust Territories and states having no such responsibilities—in equal number—is the directly respon-

sible organ of the United Nations in the functioning of the Trusteeship System. The Trusteeship System envisages that the advancement of the peoples of Trust Territories will be effected through the cooperation of the Administering Authorities with the Trusteeship Council. The Administering Authorities are responsible for the administration of Trust Territories and, to this end, they possess full powers of administration, legislation and jurisdiction over the territories for which they have assumed obligations. The Trusteeship Council has the responsibility and general power of supervising the administration of the Trust Territories to achieve the objectives laid down in the Charter and in accordance with its functions and powers.

The Trusteeship System is still very young. The Trusteeship Council met for the first time in March, 1947. In July, 1949, it completed its fifth session. During its two years of life the Council has set up its machinery and has already shown encouraging indications of successful operation. There are heartening signs as well of its impact upon the peoples of the Trust Territories.

The basic objectives of the Trusteeship System are:

- 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, in accordance with the circumstances of each territory and the freely expressed wishes of its peoples;
- 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 other objectives of the Trusteeship System.

The Trusteeship System applies only to those territories which are placed under it by individual trusteeship agreements. These territories, known as "trust territories," fall into three categories: (a) territories held under League of Nations Mandates; (b) territories detached from enemy states as a result of the Second World War; and (c) other territories voluntarily placed under the system by the states responsible for their administration. All ten territories thus far placed under the Trusteeship System were formerly administered under mandate of the League of Nations. It cannot be said that thus far, at any rate, any of the metropolitan states have shown any eagerness to place any of their dependencies under trusteeship.

The Trusteeship System, unlike the Mandates System, makes realistic allowances for security needs in the provision for the designation of strategic areas and in the discretion which the Administering Authority may exercise with respect to the defense needs of the territory. All functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas are exercised by the Security Council. One strategic area, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands administered by the United States of America, has been placed under the Trusteeship System. The objectives of the Trusteeship System apply equally to the peoples of strategic areas.

The following ten territories have been placed under the Trusteeship System:

Ralph Bunche

Trust Territory	Administering Authority	Population	Area
New Guinea	Australia	1,006,200	93,000 sq. mi.
Ruanda Urundi	Belgium	3,718,646	20,916 " "
Cameroons	France	2,702,500	166,797 " "
Togoland	France	944,446	21,236 " "
Western Samoa	New Zealand	72,936	1,133 " "
Tanganyika	United Kingdom	7,079,557	362,688 " "
Cameroons	United Kingdom	991,000	34,081 " "
Togoland	United Kingdom	382,200	13,040 " "
Nauru	Australia, New Zealand, United Kingdom (Ad- ministered by Australia)	3,162	82 " "
Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands	United States of America	60,000	687 " "

The international authority exercised by the Trusteeship Council is substantial. Its supervision of the Trust Territories is carried out primarily by means of three basic functions.

In the first place, each Administering Authority is obligated to submit, for consideration by the Trusteeship Council, annual reports on conditions in the Trust Territories. These reports are based on a detailed questionnaire formulated by the Council. Special representatives designated by the Administering Authorities appear before the Council to clarify any aspect of administration and to reply to questions which may be raised concerning conditions in each territory. By the end of its fifth session in July, 1949, the Council had considered at least one annual report on each of the ten Trust Territories.

Following a general debate on each annual report, the Council formulates its views, conclusions and recommendations on the administration of each territory. The Council has approved a number of recommendations to the Administering Authorities aimed at promoting further the welfare of the peoples of the individual territories. In general, these recommendations have urged that the indigenous inhabitants

The International Trusteeship System

should be progressively given an increasing voice in the executive, legislative and judicial organs of government and also in the economic life of the territory; that their wages be increased and their living standards raised; that more hospital and health services be established; that more schools be set up; and that the development of native culture and art should be encouraged.

Secondly, in carrying out its supervision, the Council examines petitions, either written or oral, concerning any Trust Territory or some aspect of the Trusteeship System itself. Such petitions may come directly from the inhabitants or Trust Territories, through the Administering Authority or indeed from any other source. In all cases the Administering Authority concerned is invited to present its comments on the petitions and the Council takes decisions which are communicated to the petitioners. More than 120 petitions have been considered by the Council during its two years of existence. Some of these petitions contain individual complaints or personal requests. Others concern general conditions in specific Trust Territories or questions of administrative policy. They refer to such problems as lack of educational and health facilities, land tenure, political advancement, racial discrimination, economic disabilities, child marriage, and a wide range of other subjects.

Two petitions considered by the Trusteeship Council may be described in some detail. The Ewe people of West Africa petitioned the Council for their unification under a single administration. At present they are divided between Togoland under French administration, Togoland under British administration and the Gold Coast Colony. Recognizing the difficulties imposed by frontiers drawn across an area inhabited by peoples of common origin, France and the United

Kingdom proposed a series of measures including the establishment of a joint Commission for Togoland Affairs designed to meet the grievances of the Ewe people. The representative of the Ewe people, who made an oral statement before the Council on behalf of the petitioners, declared the proposed measures to be inadequate as they did not provide for a sufficient unification of the Ewe people. At its second session, the Trusteeship Council adopted a resolution which stated that the Council realized that the existing frontiers dividing the Ewe people had been a cause of real difficulty to them. The Council therefore welcomed the measures jointly proposed by France and the United Kingdom as an earnest and constructive initial effort to meet the immediate needs of the problem. It recommended that the Ewe people should be assisted and encouraged to develop their capacity for self-government and that France and the United Kingdom should report to the Trusteeship Council on the measures adopted toward fulfilling the wishes of the Ewe people. The Council further decided that the first visiting mission to these Trust Territories—scheduled for the latter months of 1949—should devote special attention to the Ewe problem, and agreed to re-examine the whole question after receiving the visiting mission's report.

At its first session, the Trusteeship Council received a petition from leaders in Western Samoa asking that Samoa be granted self-government and that New Zealand thereafter act as protector of and adviser to Samoa. At the invitation of New Zealand, the Council sent a mission to Western Samoa to inquire into the matter on the spot. In its unanimous report, the mission recommended a considerably larger measure of self-government than existed for the 71,460 inhabitants of Western Samoa. The New Zealand Government

informed the Council of legislation introduced in Parliament for the reorganization of the government of Western Samoa. The mission agreed that the proposed measures were closely in line with the recommendations contained in its report. The Council noted with satisfaction the declared policy of the New Zealand Government and resolved that the people of Western Samoa should be accorded immediately such measures of self-government as were indicated in the mission's report. It resolved also that the people of Western Samoa should be encouraged and assisted to assume increasing responsibilities in self-government and ultimately be accorded full self-government as soon as they were capable of assuming the responsibilities involved.

The third—and entirely new—means of conducting international supervision is through periodic visits to Trust Territories. The Council has decided to send out one visiting mission each year. This means that, under present arrangements, each territory will be visited every three years.

The first of these regular visiting missions went in 1948 to the Trust Territories of Ruanda Urundi and Tanganyika in East Africa. Perhaps in no other respect has the potential effectiveness of the Trusteeship System been more strikingly shown than in the activities of Visiting Missions of the Trusteeship Council. The right to send an independent body responsible not to governments but to the Council to make investigations on the spot is perhaps the most noteworthy advance of the Trusteeship System over the Mandates System. Reference has been made to the important constitutional reforms which accompanied the visit of the special mission to Western Samoa. The Visiting Mission to East Africa has submitted to the Trusteeship Council a report of exceptional interest, containing a valuable and illuminating survey of

conditions in Tanganyika and Ruanda Urundi. As the Council has noted, the observations and recommendations of these missions will make available a body of fresh, first-hand data which will aid the Council in its task of promoting the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the peoples of Trust Territories. Moreover, the peoples of the Trust Territories recognize in the Visiting Missions a tangible proof that the Trusteeship Council is not an impersonal machine working afar off, but that it consists of earnest men who are aware of and deeply concerned with the present and future conditions of the peoples and territories for which the United Nations has undertaken solemn obligations and responsibilities.

In addition to these three basic means of supervising Trust Territories, the Trusteeship Council in carrying out its functions is empowered to take other actions in conformity with the terms of the trusteeship agreements.

Recently the Council has undertaken, under the direction of the General Assembly, two studies of a basic and continuing importance. The first study was concerned with the effects of administrative unions and other arrangements between Trust Territories and adjacent colonies. Fears had been expressed in the Council and in the General Assembly that certain of these forms of association might impair the special status of the Trust Territories concerned, and hinder their progressive development toward the objectives set forth in the Charter.

The second study stemmed from the constantly recurring concern of the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly with the need for an expansion of educational facilities for the Trust Territories. On more than one occasion the Council has stated that the progress of the inhabitants in all

other fields is essentially linked with the development of education. The General Assembly shared this view and recommended to the Administering Authorities that they intensify their efforts to increase educational facilities, and that primary education should be free and access to higher education not dependent on means. In the same resolution the Trusteeship Council was requested to study the financial and technical implications of a further expansion of higher education facilities, including the possibility of establishing in 1952 and maintaining a university in Africa to meet the needs of the inhabitants of African Trust Territories. This study has been recently completed. Several recommendations of a specific nature to expand facilities for higher education in the African Trust Territories based upon this study were adopted by the Trusteeship Council without a dissenting vote.

Non-Self-Governing Territories

It was recognized at San Francisco that in practice the Trusteeship System would not be likely to apply to very many of the great colonial territories which are administered by individual states. Yet there was a widespread feeling that in the interest of the peace and well-being of the world at large there should be at least a limited accountability to the international community for all Non-Self-Governing Territories. As a result, Chapter XI of the Charter—the Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories—was conceived.

This chapter of the Charter is unique in that it applies to all Non-Self-Governing Territories—all colonies, territories, and possessions—and incorporates a formal commitment on the part of administering states to transmit regularly

to the United Nations information on the economic, social, and educational conditions in the territories under their control. In 1948, eight members of the United Nations transmitted such information with respect to 61 Non-Self-Governing Territories under their control. The Secretary-General summarizes and analyzes this information and transmits it to a Special Committee—consisting of the eight administering powers and eight non-administering powers—which is empowered to make recommendations to the General Assembly.

Conclusion

The application of the principles set forth in Chapter XI and the operation of the International Trusteeship System are designed to ensure a peaceful and certain development of dependent peoples from subject status to self-governing or independence.

Miraculous results cannot be expected. These principles and mechanisms represent important advances—perhaps the most important advances—yet achieved in the history of colonialism. But this machinery is not self-propelling. It must depend for its success upon good faith and constructive action as expressed through the national policies of responsible governments. The pressure of international public opinion can inspire and strengthen such action. Dependent peoples, given sufficient opportunities under progressive administration, will be enabled to help themselves, to realize their aspirations and to have a clear voice in their own future.

Little more than two years have elapsed since the United Nations established mechanisms to aid in the advancement of dependent peoples. By July, 1949, however, all the important functions and procedures by which the United Nations is

enabled to supervise the administration of Trust Territories were fully in operation. During the same period the General Assembly had been slowly devising means of giving fuller effect to the objectives proclaimed in the Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories.

Within even this very short time certain healthy and heartening indications of future effectiveness may be seen. Lively interest in the Trusteeship System and the principles of Chapter XI continues to mount not only in the world at large but, most significantly, among the inhabitants of the trust and other dependent territories.

There can be little doubt that a world in which there would be no subject peoples would be a much better world. The United Nations, in the interest of peace and security and supported by the sincere efforts of member states, administering and non-administering alike, to give full effect to the principles and objectives of Chapters XI, XII and XIII, is underwriting a new basis of hope in the future for the dependent peoples of the world. The opportunity for these peoples to live up to their potentialities, to live with dignity, to enjoy political freedom, security and respectable standards of living, is basic to a world that wishes to live in freedom and in peace.

Ralph J. Bunche

☆ IX ☆

The full record of achievement is open to the world and available to the peoples. The hopes expressed in the San Francisco Charter are consistently being translated into action by the governments through the devotion of international civil servants gathered in the constellation of inter-governmental bodies which are the operating agencies of the United Nations.

The steady course of man towards a better life in larger freedom within a community of nations ruled by law and in which problems are solved through cooperation for the common good is powerfully furthered by the expression of the will of the peoples everywhere.

BENJAMIN COHEN

*Of the People, By the People,
For the People*

THE PROGRESS OF DEMOCRATIC PRACTICES HAS REACHED beyond the purely national sphere and become a reality also in the field of international affairs. The people themselves are taking a direct part in the development of national foreign policies and in the settlement of international problems.

Such a departure from previous patterns is a logical consequence of the changes which have occurred in the relationship among states. No longer can one nation remain isolated from the others: fast means of transportation girdle the whole globe in hours and produce a constant interchange of persons, products, implements for peaceful development, and arms and elements of destruction. Telecommunications make simultaneously available to all the peoples ideas, information and entertainment.

War is no longer the concern solely of those human groups who directly engage in an armed struggle; it has become global. Not only does it affect every person within the na-

tions at swords' points, but it encroaches upon the peace of all other states.

The world has indeed become a single closely knit community of peoples, no matter what the form of their government, the philosophy they subscribe to, the religion they practice, or the social, economic or political status they possess.

People have become aware of this unity of fundamental interests and basic aspirations; they feel themselves part of an all-embracing humanity. Such a feeling reached its highest point among the peoples of the United Nations when the last war, with its tremendous personal sacrifices, was drawing to a successful end in victory against the Nazi-fascist axis. It was therefore only logical that when the Conference of San Francisco was convened, the peoples began to influence the thinking of their governments and to play a part in the selection of representatives to attend the meetings and assist delegations in their work.

Their presence and activities were felt at all stages of the proceedings, and it can be said that they were directly responsible for the writing into the Charter of many far-reaching provisions of social, economic, cultural and humanitarian character.

Nobody was surprised, therefore, when it was decided to open the Charter with the meaningful words "We, the Peoples" in recognition of the all important role played by such unofficial spokesmen.

Such verbal recognition, however, was not considered enough, and further provisions of the Charter laid the foundation of the consultative status for Non-Governmental Organizations in connection with the Economic and Social

Council, and of the right of petition within the trusteeship system.

The direct participation of people's institutions in the work of the United Nations has profoundly changed the attitude of millions of individuals throughout the world towards international affairs. They have acquired a sense of personal responsibility for international activities with regard to their respective spheres of organizational interest. As their participation has increased, they have come to appreciate the close connection existing between such limited fields and the whole gamut and scope of world affairs.

They have used their newly acquired "international personality" to perform a dual role of tremendous importance: first, to make the opinion of their organizations known, at the world level, to the representatives of governments engaged in the study of certain problems; and second, to inform their fellow members not only about those proceedings in which they participate, but also about all other activities performed by the United Nations in the creation of adequate conditions for the furtherance of a stable peace, without which all efforts to promote limited aims would come to naught.

Besides those Non-Governmental Organizations which enjoy consultative status, thousands of others have awakened to the need for action in the international field. They have asked to know what is being done to ensure the maintenance of peace and security; they have made up their minds to play a role in the growth of a better world for the generations to come; they wish to be counted among those who, through active participation, are carrying their share of the common burden of translating the physical oneness of the world into a spiritual unity of mankind: the necessary prerequisite for a stable and peaceful international community.

Such direct interest is not only displayed by members of Non-Governmental Organizations. Educators, students, millions of individuals, have also become aware of world events and their influence upon their lives. They also wish to know about the organization to which they have entrusted the study and solution of their vital problems, in all fields of human endeavor.

The United Nations has fully recognized the right of all the peoples—whether organized or not—to know, and the duty of the organization to inform them.

At the First Session of the General Assembly, held in London, in 1946, that duty was defined through the adoption of the recommendations of a Technical Advisory Committee, whose preamble stated:

“The United Nations cannot achieve its purposes unless the peoples of the world are fully informed of its aims and activities.”

Under the guidance of this general statement and of the recommendations made by the Technical Advisory Committee, the Department of Public Information has developed its work. It has never been able fully to meet the ever-growing demand from all quarters of the globe for comprehensive, timely and objective information about the aims and activities of the organization. Carefully refraining from so-called “propaganda,” it has, within its limited financial means, gradually developed its action in three parallel fields: factual information on the United Nations activities, surveying of public opinion, and education.

Factual information is disseminated through all existing channels of written, spoken and graphic journalism, as events take place. The large body of press, radio and graphic correspondents accredited at Headquarters and at Information

Centers—particularly Geneva, Switzerland, seat of the European Office and second only to Lake Success in scope and intensity of international activity, makes such news available to the world. The unfortunate shortage of hard currencies besetting most countries of the world has created the urgent need for supplementary direct dissemination of information, on a basis of non-competition with commercial agencies, to the press, radio and newsreels of many areas which would otherwise be deprived of such important news. This supplementary service is distributed through Information Centers located in strategic communication points and over the broadcasting facilities made available by private and official radio networks throughout the world. Thus, in accordance with a recommendation of the General Assembly, the voice of the United Nations is heard everywhere with most encouraging response, although the organization does not yet have its own transmitters over which to use the frequencies already allocated for the purpose and secured pursuant to a resolution of the General Assembly.

The impact of information about the United Nations is determined by the volume of news published everywhere, its quality, and the consequent editorial comment, plus individual or corporate written reactions sent to Lake Success. On the basis of all the above material, the Department of Public Information surveys public opinion regularly and is in a position to inform policy makers on the thoughts and aspirations of the peoples everywhere. Never before was such an effort made to evaluate public opinion, and never before did it appear to take such a direct interest in the course of international affairs. Such a survey, undertaken at first only for the guidance of the organs of the United Nations and of the Secretariat, is now widely used by delegations and repre-

representatives of information media who wish to ascertain reactions to the proceedings of the organization.

We believe that well-informed individuals will be able to pass intelligent judgment on matters of public concern; we believe also—and the General Assembly has endorsed such a view—that enlightened peoples will understand fully their responsibility in the shaping and conduct of international affairs.

To assist in the development of an enlightened public opinion the Department of Public Information has had to undertake an educational process which lays the foundations for a better understanding of the aims and activities of the United Nations.

Teaching about the United Nations, recommended to governments by the General Assembly, has developed into a major activity for the Department of Public Information. It is done through the distribution of sample materials and publications; the furnishing of speakers to institutions; forums and debates of all kinds; the production and circulation of documentary motion pictures and film strips; the establishment of reference collections and centers in practically all countries which are members of the United Nations, in some non-member states, in trustee and non-self-governing territories. Thousands of voluntary workers, in almost every land, have been mobilized in this campaign to develop an intelligent participation of peoples in the activities of the United Nations.

In the chapter on "The Charter," Secretary General Trygve Lie has spoken of the growth, as a part of the process of the United Nations, of the "compulsive power of public opinion." No single event connected with the organization is so pregnant with far-reaching consequences as the appearance

of this new "moral force" in the pursuit of a better world.

It would be strange, to say the least, if the unanimous urge of peoples everywhere for peace were not translated into a determination to see that such peace be secured. Amidst the clatter of controversy and of ideological disputation, nations sometimes seem to lose sight of the fundamental subject of their endeavors: man himself. Yet all philosophical conceptions, all schools of economic thinking, all political institutions, all social systems claim it as their right and duty to serve man, to raise man from his present precarious status to a higher and fuller enjoyment of all that human intelligence has conquered in its age-long struggle against nature.

A student of history cannot accept the pessimistic appraisal that man has not advanced in his search for loftier achievements. As a perfectible being, man has consistently proceeded from the state of nature towards intellectual freedom and spiritual integration. His original limited activity of wresting his daily livelihood first from nature, and then from the other humans inhabiting his very restricted physical world, has progressed through the conquest of nature's hidden forces and the growth of his spiritual awareness of the universe, into the realization that man has not yet fully explored the potentialities of his own intellect in order to further develop untouched realms which may hold the answer to his unsatisfied needs.

Man has also learned, in his slow and painful ascent to higher status, that agreement and cooperation hold more constructive prospects of meeting his requirements than controversy and war. He knows that assent is more lasting than submission, and therefore is willing to try the methods of pacific understanding and settlement rather than the brutal imposition of unilateral solution.

We have seen how this belief has influenced the United Nations in its brief four years of existence: when the means to enforce compliance with Security Council decisions were not established, it resorted to persuasion, mediation, conciliation and compromise. These peaceful procedures have proved successful in the face of the most pessimistic forebodings, because they had the most effective moral support, that which is spiritually above all other forces and influences: the power of aroused public opinion.

Thus enlightened, man refuses any longer to believe that only war can settle vital conflicts of national interest; he knows that pacific settlement, when sincerely endorsed by the parties and actively encouraged by all states not involved in the dispute, can and must produce an adequate compromise.

Not even vital ideological controversies need be resolved by the forced imposition of one conception upon the other. Between the most extremely divergent views there is always a wide variety of compromise opinions, where an adequate answer can be found. The search for the "areas of coincidence" is one of the basic tasks of the United Nations. No surrender of essential principle by either party to a controversy of ideology or of interest is necessary to bridge the most urgent aspects of disagreement.

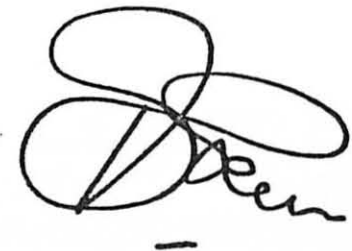
If, as we said before, man is the subject of all the aims propounded by conflicting conceptions of life, it seems logical to expect that man's true interests will determine the outcome.

There is no deeper emotion in the human soul than that of his personal relationship to God. Religion is one of the most powerful motivations of his life and his actions. During centuries, the clash of divergent theological conceptions

caused men to fight each other on the battlefields of innumerable wars of religion. In the struggle for supremacy, the various confessions forgot that man was the principal subject of their respective spiritual ministrations. But the day dawned when the fighting religious creeds realized that while upholding their beliefs they were destroying those for whom salvation was sought; that by concentrating their immediate efforts upon the raising of man to loftier status—which was the purported aim of every creed—they need not sacrifice their basic theological beliefs, the vital principles of their faith. And the wars of religion ended, while the disputation proceeded in peace.

The peoples knew that the present ideological controversy can also be resolved if those who uphold the most extreme views devote their efforts to the very subject of their proclaimed purposes: man. And within the United Nations there are many signs which indicate that such a day has begun; that governments of the people, working for the people and through the people, are bringing closer the day in which there is truly

PEACE ON EARTH





Not all humans have tinted their hands or soiled their consciences with the blood of their brethren. Millions of individuals have redeemed the dignity of the species by displaying a magnificent attitude of kindness towards the children of devastated countries.

No single activity of the United Nations has meant so much to the ordinary people, both those who received and those who gave. The United Nations Appeal for Children (UNAC), established to gather contributions to be used by UNICEF, and UNICEF itself are demonstrating that the challenge has been taken up with full courage and serious intent.

Much yet remains to be done; but the United Nations has awakened the peoples to their solidary responsibility towards all those who suffer as a result of the last war, and new trails of human generosity and understanding are now being blazed by people eager to do their share in the material and moral reconstruction of the world.

LUDWIK RAJCHMAN

What Is UNICEF?

IT IS A COMMONPLACE TO SAY THAT THE CHILDREN OF TODAY will make the world of tomorrow. In too many areas of the world, those children, alas, have lived through and suffered from untold horrors of the war and difficulties of the post-war period. Victims of aggression and/or of impact of hostilities, most of them survived marked by the effect of disease, malnutrition, and mental anguish. Some of these marks are indelible but many can be effaced.

In no period of human history has there been such a recognition on the part of public authorities, national, and local citizens and voluntary organizations, of the vital importance for the future of their nations, and of humanity itself, for large scale measures to repair the damage to their children and to improve their health and welfare.

In no period of human history has there been so much need to demonstrate the value of international solidarity. Fortunately, seldom has humanity given examples of such magnificent practical collaboration as was demonstrated by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA). In UNRRA nations that escaped the damages of

war, and, indeed, many of those which did not, agreed to contribute one per cent of their national income for relief and rehabilitation of war-devastated countries, victims of aggression. Over ninety-eight per cent of contributions were paid in and supplies to the value of billions of dollars were distributed throughout the world. UNRRA became a household word; and its achievements have a deep significance in the fight for peace. By the middle of 1946, the principal donors to UNRRA funds declared their unwillingness to continue to contribute and a very serious situation was created because in the winter of 1946-47 grave shortages of essential foodstuffs were anticipated throughout vast areas benefiting from UNRRA. The UNRRA Council decided, therefore, to recommend to the United Nations Assembly that they appeal to the governments and peoples of the world to continue relief for the benefit of the children, and, in December, 1946, the United Nations Assembly created the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, or for short, UNICEF.

UNICEF is governed by a Board elected by the Assembly, and on which twenty-six governments are represented: Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Byelorussia, Canada, China, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, France, Greece, Iraq, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Russia, United Kingdom, United States, and Yugoslavia.

UNICEF is one of the few, and perhaps the only inter-governmental organization in which delegates of governments representing conflicting philosophies cooperate side by side in a practical manner. The response to their appeal was effective. 136,000,000 in dollar equivalents have been

contributed by 36 governments and by peoples of forty-nine countries. This, indeed, is far from the billions contributed to UNRRA, and from the billions spent in political relief, but in these days of discord and armaments race, it represents a very significant demonstration of world-wide sentiment for international solidarity.

Measured by the pre-war standards of generosity, \$136,000,000 is a significant figure. Measured by the needs of the children, it is, indeed, but a marginal sum. Faced with this situation, UNICEF had to concentrate on a few barest essentials: milk and fats for the countries where livestock was destroyed; cotton and wool for linen and clothing; essential medical equipment to cope with the epidemics and social diseases; equipment to permit processing of safe milk for infants; facilities to benefit rapidly from the newest methods for controlling disease and to raise the standards of children's health.

UNICEF does not operate in the field, nor does it administer the distribution of the supplies it donates to governments. The governments act as trustees for UNICEF, and under agreement with the governments, UNICEF missions reside in the capitals of the receiving countries for the purpose of discussing government requests, the plans of operations, the manner of distribution, so as to be in a position to present progress reports to the Administration and the Board of UNICEF.

A few illustrations may suffice to give eloquence to these dry statements. More than four and one-half million children in eleven European countries have been receiving skim milk, some fat, sometimes meat, sometimes jam, which they otherwise would not have had, and many more millions are receiving cod liver oil in various forms.

Cotton and wool supplied enabled certain countries to introduce as a national policy the distribution of layettes for every baby born in the country.

Laboratory equipment and hundreds of X-ray machines have permitted, and will continue to permit, the proper diagnosis of tubercular children.

The most practical illustration of international solidarity is, however, demonstrated by the work of the 'Joint Enterprise.' Here is the story. In Scandinavia, a discovery of a great French scientist, Calmette, and of his assistant, Guérin, was put to practice in the prevention of tuberculosis; it is a live vaccine known by the initials of its discoverers, B.C.G. It is difficult to prepare and its administration requires considerable experience. Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, had this experience, and immediately after the war, they equipped teams of their own doctors and nurses and offered their services to devastated countries, in order to demonstrate the best use of this vaccine. Two years ago, the Danish Government offered to UNICEF some \$500,000 and the services of their own teams, in association with those of Norway and Sweden, for the purpose of assisting countries that might be willing to vaccinate the whole of the youth against this dreaded disease. This indeed is a 'Joint Enterprise' because it represents a common endeavor of UNICEF, the Scandinavians, and the various interested governments.

Before the vaccine can be injected, the child must be tested to see whether it is not already infected by the disease. Never in the history of modern public health has a vaccination attained such proportions. Twenty-six countries applied for assistance; the campaign started in July, 1948, and by October, 1949, in Europe alone, over 11,000,000 children had been tested, and of that number 6,000,000 vaccinated. The

campaign has now been extended to North Africa, the Middle East, Asia, and Latin America. By the time it is completed, 25,000,000 or more children will have been vaccinated.

UNICEF was created as an emergency organization; its assistance is valuable and sought after. But it represents only a small fraction of the expenditure of money and effort by the countries themselves. In the countries receiving UNICEF assistance from Finland through Eastern, Central, South-eastern Europe to Italy and France; from Northern China, through the Philippines, Siam, Malaya, Indonesia, Ceylon, India and north again to Pakistan; from Syria through Lebanon, Israel, Egypt to North Africa; Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco; finally, now in Latin America millions of children and adolescents will require tremendous efforts to give them such conditions for growth and development as they are entitled to. Their needs are continuous, and should international solidarity keep pace in the same practical manner as at present with those continuing needs, a very substantial contribution would be made to the world-wide effort for building a firm foundation of peace.

There are signs of a real recognition of this need: The French Government has offered to create in Paris an international children's centre, so that it can be utilized as an instrument of work by the United Nations, its specialized agencies, and all national institutes for the purpose of training, study, and practical application of policies that are to benefit maternal and child welfare and health. UNICEF is discussing a somewhat similar centre for South-east Asia, which may be created in India. Constructive arrangements of a similar kind are under way in Northern China. In the current work of UNICEF and in the establishment of those centres, the United Nations Secretariat and

Ludwik Rajchman

the various specialized agencies are collaborating hand in hand with UNICEF.

The same collaboration has been available whenever UNICEF has to deal with a sudden disaster. During hostilities between Israel and the Arab States, more than one-half million mothers and children had to seek refuge from their homes; for over a year now, UNICEF is aiding them. A terrible earthquake in Ecuador suddenly rendered thousands of children homeless; UNICEF, again, is helping along. In both cases, while the assistance is appreciable, it is not sufficient to solve the problems created by the emergencies. Governments themselves must find permanent solutions. But an inter-governmental agency for organized, practical international solidarity is of great importance for the establishment of peace.

Ludwik Rajchman

☆ XI ☆

Ancient Chinese philosophers set the attainment of serenity as man's spiritual goal in life; modern sociologists hold that his most earnest search is for security.

Yet neither of these vital aims can be achieved if global war again casts its world enveloping mantle upon mankind: no people, however remote, and no individual, no matter how isolated in his ivory tower, will escape the consequences of atomic chain reaction or biological and psychological weapons.

Only a revival of humanism with its reliance on the principle of free cooperation for the common good can stay the disruptive forces at work to turn the ideological controversy now going on among violently opposed conceptions of life into an armed clash.

A new philosophy of peace has been emerging from the views expressed and the practices developed in the United Nations.

CARLOS P. ROMULO

New Aspects of Peace

UPON ASSUMING THE PRESIDENCY OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY of the United Nations during its fourth session, September 20, 1949, I expressed the hope that it would earn the title of the "Peace Assembly" by its devoted efforts towards the maintenance of international security, just as its predecessor had been called the "Human Rights Assembly" because of its outstanding achievements in safeguarding human rights and fundamental freedoms. No one denies the value of slogans or the evocative power of a felicitous name. Yet, in my mind, there was a purpose beyond the desire to coin a slogan or to invent a name. The "cold war" between East and West had eased perceptibly. The international tension had abated and mankind had been granted a merciful reprieve from the fear of a third world war. In the breathing-spell that ensued, it seemed reasonable to hope that the Great Powers would make a fresh and sincere attempt to practice the all-but-forgotten art of accommodation, which is the first essential step towards real and enduring peace.

A few days after this exhortation to the General Assembly came the historic announcement by President Truman that

there had occurred an "atomic explosion" in the Soviet Union. Despite the futile academic conjectures as to whether this meant that the U.S.S.R. had or had not produced an atom bomb, it became utterly clear that peace would indeed be the major concern of the United Nations now and in the immediate future. The danger of an atomic war had seemed remote so long as we could trust the one nation that had previously enjoyed a monopoly of the atom bomb never to employ it except in self-defense. But once the monopoly was broken, the danger could no longer be regarded as a remote possibility; it had now to be faced as a proximate one completely dependent upon the separate initiative of two antagonists more or less equally armed. Peace, at that moment, ceased to be a hope which one might cherish as an emotional luxury; it had become a matter of desperate and terrifying necessity.

Not that another war with the conventional weapons would not be sufficiently destructive to inspire a lively yearning for peace. The ruin wrought by these weapons in the last war is alarming enough even if we discount the shambles of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. But the anticipation of an unknown terror breeds a feeling of despair that is new and unfamiliar. To the extent that the destructive power of the atom bomb can be made greater still, and that its employment by one side in a war might provoke the use by the enemy of the same and other weapons with equal or even greater efficacy, the problem of war and peace acquires a new quality and a new dimension. War leaves the ranks of the familiar apocalyptic terrors of famine and pestilence and joins the ultimate terrors of the Great Deluge and the Day of Judgment.

War, or violent struggle in some form, is perhaps as old as the human race. Yet, there would be little profit at this

time in exploring human nature for some plausible explanation of the causes of war. No nation is necessarily or inherently more warlike or more peace-loving than another. Nor is there much more profit in examining the theories of the economic determinists on the same subject. There is no evidence that if war should come it will be brought on by conflicting desires for territorial expansion, for wider markets or for new sources of raw materials. The question is not whether the United States and the Soviet Union can co-exist *economically* in the same world, for this they can easily do thanks to the substantial natural resources that are at the disposal of each of them. The line of conflict is heavily political in color, and the question, rather, is whether these two great Powers can co-exist *politically* in the same world.

A war between these two Powers would be a war between two aggressive political systems, two rival civilizations. It would have nothing in common with the wars of territorial conquest or economic aggrandizement, where a material prize of measurable value awaited the victor. It would instead more closely resemble the great religious wars, the intermittent struggles, for instance, between the Moslems and the Christians to decide the mastery of Europe. The stake was, as it would be in a future war, the soul and the faith of man.

The analogy is compelling, but it ends there. In the past the soldier, though expendable, was replaceable, and victory meant the triumph and glorification of the faith. In a future war in which atomic and bacteriological weapons are used, the survival of the human race would be at stake, and victory would become a meaningless word.

This is the new quality, the new dimension of a future war. It raises the cold and brutal question of whether any war is worth fighting at all for any cause if it should conceivably

result in a ruined and uninhabitable planet and possibly in the extinction of the human race itself.

The possibility that these new weapons might be used in a future war alters the whole philosophical basis of peace-making. It used to be said that peace may either be imposed by coercion or achieved by cooperation. Before the advent of international organization, the method of coercion, wherein peace resulted from the arbitrament of arms, could be and was resorted to readily and even with careless impunity. Two pugnacious princes or two rival states took to the field with their legions, and force decided the issue. The victor dictated the peace terms and the vanquished submitted to them. Though the peace that followed was not always satisfactory, it was nevertheless peace of a kind and often lasted for long periods.

Such a coercive peace would be denied to both victor and vanquished in a future war. It is generally admitted that with the weapons now available in the arsenals of the Great Powers, it would make no difference which side thought it had won the war in the end. The only peace that would follow would be the ghostly peace of the cemetery.

That leaves us the only alternative: peace by cooperation. Men first tried it in earnest by forming the League of Nations and then promptly negated this noble effort by reverting to the ancient vices of power intrigues, military posturing, clashing sovereignties, and consequent international fragmentation and anarchy. We have made another attempt in the same direction by establishing the United Nations. This may well be mankind's last experiment in the science of peace-making.

Some have complained that the experiment has so far yielded negative results. They forget that the conception

of the United Nations assumed cooperation among the Great Powers, more specifically, between the United States and the Soviet Union. It is true that as organized at present the United Nations cannot prevent war between these two Powers. But it was not organized for such purpose. On the contrary, it was organized on the assumption that these two Powers would cooperate in achieving its objectives, and that so long as they did cooperate, no serious threat to the peace could possibly arise from any quarter.

Yet, even this lack of Great Power cooperation has not prevented the United Nations from achieving some success in removing or localizing threats to or breaches of the peace. In Palestine, Greece, Kashmir, Korea and Indonesia, it has exercised a moderating influence upon situations of a highly explosive character. This shows that even with its present limitations the United Nations wields sufficient power of moral suasion to prevent the spread of violence and anarchy.

From the obvious shortcomings of the United Nations, it is comparatively easy to jump to the inevitable logical necessity for a world government and a world state. The peace which once rested precariously upon a balance of power among seven Great Powers (Great Britain, the United States, Germany, Japan, France, the Soviet Union, and Italy) now rests more precariously still upon a bi-polar system of power concentration. But it does not follow that the reduction of these centers of power from seven to two has minimized the possibilities of collision or that it necessarily represents an advance towards an eventual world state. If at all, this process has produced a cleavage between the seven centers of power that existed before the war.

It has been well said that a system of collective security based on Great Power combinations or a two-bloc system

could have the practical result of transmuting little wars into great wars.

It is true that there can be no assurance of a permanent peace without a world state. But it would be a dangerous illusion to suppose that we can establish such a world state only as a result of a global war (which, because of the new weapons, must be ruled out as obsolete) or, alternatively, as the result of a progressive political evolution, making use of the means and the instruments that we have at hand. World government, like all forms of government upon a lesser scale, is a matter of acquired mental attitude and habit. In the same manner that the integration of an individual into society or of a community into the nation would require a prior moral and intellectual discipline, so would the establishment of a world state presuppose a new kind of political *mores* on the part of the component nation-communities, chief among which would be the readiness to surrender many of the attributes of national sovereignty. It is obvious that peace would remain highly precarious at best in a system of sovereign states.

Even so, the withering away of state sovereignty has progressed more than is generally supposed. Proof of this is the rapid growth of the body of international law, the increase in the agencies of international cooperation in the social and economic fields, the heightened force of the recommendations and decisions of the various organs of the United Nations. Every member of the United Nations divests itself of a substantial portion of its jealously guarded sovereignty to the extent that it participates in the work of the organization, and the scope of its labors is expanding each year.

But it is in the one specific direction already indicated, that of accommodation, that the brightest possibilities of suc-

cess exist for the United Nations. This success in limited areas certainly suggests unlimited potentialities of effective work in a wider field. And it is in this field that the United Nations as an evolving body is best qualified to perform, using the long discarded method of accommodation through diplomacy.

Conciliation, mediation, compromise and accommodation—these are the methods of the United Nations, and they suggest the wisdom of regulation and adjustment, the practical advantages of capitalizing upon similarities and minimizing differences. It is significant that the word “compromise,” which used to be a perfectly reputable word denoting the settlement of differences through mutual concessions, has become somewhat tainted by the unpleasant odor of appeasement. This is due in part to the pride of power, and in part to careless thinking and vicious propaganda.

To return to the fateful question of the control of atomic energy, what may not have been so clear a while ago has today acquired the startling brilliance of lightning: through conciliation and accommodation, a compromise must be sought between the opposing proposals of the United States and the Soviet Union on this subject. Mankind will not be satisfied with a statement that their differences are insoluble. If hitherto men have been willing to accept the deferment of an agreement until a more salutary political climate has been developed, they cannot be put off any longer with such excuses. The reverse has become appallingly true. To achieve any improvement at all in the political climate of the world, the two Great Powers must first reach a satisfactory agreement on the control of atomic energy and the prohibition of atomic weapons. Nothing of any great importance can be accomplished before then.

Carlos P. Romulo

A great deal has been said in favor of "open diplomacy." That is has certain merits cannot be denied. Yet the atmosphere is so highly charged with provocative propaganda that one wonders whether a partial return to "secret diplomacy" may not offer certain advantages now denied to a diplomacy exclusively practiced upon a rostrum, before a microphone, in quest of voting majorities. A judicious combination of both methods is probably the answer.

The stubborn pride of power has become a luxury that we can no longer afford. Even appeasement, a word of contempt, may soon assume a new meaning and a new dignity. For now we have none to appease except humanity itself in its desperate impatience to be anchored in some secure haven of cooperation and mutual trust, and nothing to allay except its bottomless thirst for enduring peace.

Carlos P. Romulo

☆ APPENDIX ☆

APPENDIX I

*The Charter of the
United Nations*

**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*

Appendix I

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.

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;

The Charter of the United Nations

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 fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter.

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 assist-

Appendix I

ance 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.

Article 4

1. Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained

The Charter of the United Nations

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.

Appendix I

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.

The Charter of the United Nations

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 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

Appendix I

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.

The Charter 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.

Appendix I

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.

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

The Charter of the United Nations

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 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, 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

Appendix I

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.

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.

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

The Charter of the United Nations

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.

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

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.

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.

Appendix I

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.

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.

The Charter 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.

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

Appendix I

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.

The Charter of the United Nations

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.

Appendix I

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.

The Charter of the United Nations

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 the 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

Appendix I

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 pacific 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 pacific 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.

The Charter of the United Nations

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.

CHAPTER IX

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COOPERATION

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 cooperation; 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 cooperation with the Organization for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55.

Article 57

1. The various specialized agencies, established by inter-governmental 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.

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 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.

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 pro-

Appendix I

moting 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 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.

The Charter of the United Nations

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 recommendations 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

Appendix I

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 Chapters 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:

The Charter of the United Nations

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.

Appendix I

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

The Charter of the United Nations

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, economic, 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

Appendix I

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

The Charter of the United Nations

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.

Appendix I

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.

The Charter of the United Nations

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

Appendix I

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

The Charter of the United Nations

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

Appendix I

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

The Charter of the United Nations

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.

APPENDIX II

The Statute of the International Court of Justice

Article 1

The International Court of Justice established by the Charter of the United Nations as the principal judicial organ of the United Nations shall be constituted and shall function in accordance with the provisions of the present Statute.

CHAPTER I

ORGANIZATION OF THE COURT

Article 2

The Court shall be composed of a body of independent judges, elected regardless of their nationality from among persons of high moral character, who possess the qualifications required in their respective countries for appointment to the highest judicial offices, or are jurisconsults of recognized competence in international law.

[202]

The Statute of the International Court of Justice

Article 3

1. The Court shall consist of fifteen members, no two of whom may be nationals of the same state.
2. A person who for the purposes of membership in the Court could be regarded as a national of more than one state shall be deemed to be a national of the one in which he ordinarily exercises civil and political rights.

Article 4

1. The members of the Court shall be elected by the General Assembly and by the Security Council from a list of persons nominated by the national groups in the Permanent Court of Arbitration, in accordance with the following provisions.
2. In the case of Members of the United Nations not represented in the Permanent Court of Arbitration, candidates shall be nominated by national groups appointed for this purpose by their governments under the same conditions as those prescribed for members of the Permanent Court of Arbitration by Article 44 of the Convention of The Hague of 1907 for the pacific settlement of international disputes.
3. The conditions under which a state which is a party to the present Statute but is not a Member of the United Nations may participate in electing the members of the Court shall, in the absence of a special agreement, be laid down by the General Assembly upon recommendation of the Security Council.

Article 5

1. At least three months before the date of the election, the Secretary-General of the United Nations shall address a

[203]

Appendix II

written request to the members of the Permanent Court of Arbitration belonging to the states which are parties to the present Statute, and to the members of the national groups appointed under Article 4, paragraph 2, inviting them to undertake, within a given time, by national groups, the nomination of persons in a position to accept the duties of a member of the Court.

2. No group may nominate more than four persons, not more than two of whom shall be of their own nationality. In no case may the number of candidates nominated by a group be more than double the number of seats to be filled.

Article 6

Before making these nominations, each national group is recommended to consult its highest court of justice, its legal faculties and schools of law, and its national academies and national sections of international academies devoted to the study of law.

Article 7

1. The Secretary-General shall prepare a list in alphabetical order of all the persons thus nominated. Save as provided in Article 12, paragraph 2, these shall be the only persons eligible.

2. The Secretary-General shall submit this list to the General Assembly and to the Security Council.

Article 8

The General Assembly and the Security Council shall proceed independently of one another to elect the members of the Court.

The Statute of the International Court of Justice

Article 9

At every election, the electors shall bear in mind not only that the persons to be elected should individually possess the qualifications required, but also that in the body as a whole the representation of the main forms of civilization and of the principal legal systems of the world should be assured.

Article 10

1. Those candidates who obtain an absolute majority of votes in the General Assembly and in the Security Council shall be considered as elected.

2. Any vote of the Security Council, whether for the election of judges or for the appointment of members of the conference envisaged in Article 12, shall be taken without any distinction between permanent and non-permanent members of the Security Council.

3. In the event of more than one national of the same state obtaining an absolute majority of the votes both of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, the eldest of these only shall be considered as elected.

Article 11

If, after the first meeting held for the purpose of the election, one or more seats remain to be filled, a second and, if necessary, a third meeting shall take place.

Article 12

1. If, after the third meeting, one or more seats still remain unfilled, a joint conference consisting of six members, three appointed by the General Assembly and three by the Security Council, may be formed at any time at the request

Appendix II

of either the General Assembly or the Security Council, for the purpose of choosing by the vote of an absolute majority one name for each seat still vacant, to submit to the General Assembly and the Security Council for their respective acceptance.

2. If the joint conference is unanimously agreed upon any person who fulfils the required conditions, he may be included in its list, even though he was not included in the list of nominations referred to in Article 7.

3. If the joint conference is satisfied that it will not be successful in procuring an election, those members of the Court who have already been elected shall, within a period to be fixed by the Security Council, proceed to fill the vacant seats by selection from among those candidates who have obtained votes either in the General Assembly or in the Security Council.

4. In the event of an equality of votes among the judges, the eldest judge shall have a casting vote.

Article 13

1. The members of the Court shall be elected for nine years and may be re-elected; provided, however, that of the judges elected at the first election, the terms of five judges shall expire at the end of three years and the terms of five more judges shall expire at the end of six years.

2. The judges whose terms are to expire at the end of the above-mentioned initial periods of three and six years shall be chosen by lot to be drawn by the Secretary-General immediately after the first election has been completed.

3. The members of the Court shall continue to discharge their duties until their places have been filled. Though replaced, they shall finish any cases which they may have begun.

The Statute of the International Court of Justice

4. In the case of the resignation of a member of the Court, the resignation shall be addressed to the President of the Court for transmission to the Secretary-General. This last notification makes the place vacant.

Article 14

Vacancies shall be filled by the same method as that laid down for the first election, subject to the following provision: the Secretary-General shall, within one month of the occurrence of the vacancy, proceed to issue the invitations provided for in Article 5, and the date of the election shall be fixed by the Security Council.

Article 15

A member of the Court elected to replace a member whose term of office has not expired shall hold office for the remainder of his predecessor's term.

Article 16

1. No member of the Court may exercise any political or administrative function, or engage in any other occupation of a professional nature.

2. Any doubt on this point shall be settled by the decision of the Court.

Article 17

1. No member of the Court may act as agent, counsel, or advocate in any case.

2. No member may participate in the decision of any case in which he has previously taken part as agent, counsel, or advocate for one of the parties, or as a member of a national or international court, or of a commission of enquiry, or in any other capacity.

Appendix II

3. Any doubt on this point shall be settled by the decision of the Court.

Article 18

1. No member of the Court can be dismissed unless, in the unanimous opinion of the other members, he has ceased to fulfil the required conditions.

2. Formal notification thereof shall be made to the Secretary-General by the Registrar.

3. This notification makes the place vacant.

Article 19

The members of the Court, when engaged on the business of the Court, shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

Article 20

Every member of the Court shall, before taking up his duties, make a solemn declaration in open court that he will exercise his powers impartially and conscientiously.

Article 21

1. The Court shall elect its President and Vice-President for three years; they may be re-elected.

2. The Court shall appoint its Registrar and may provide for the appointment of such other officers as may be necessary.

Article 22

1. The seat of the Court shall be established at The Hague. This, however, shall not prevent the Court from sitting and exercising its functions elsewhere whenever the Court considers it desirable.

The Statute of the International Court of Justice

2. The President and the Registrar shall reside at the seat of the Court.

Article 23

1. The Court shall remain permanently in session, except during the judicial vacations, the dates and duration of which shall be fixed by the Court.

2. Members of the Court are entitled to periodic leave, the dates and duration of which shall be fixed by the Court, having in mind the distance between The Hague and the home of each judge.

3. Members of the Court shall be bound, unless they are on leave or prevented from attending by illness or other serious reasons duly explained to the President, to hold themselves permanently at the disposal of the Court.

Article 24

1. If, for some special reason, a member of the Court considers that he should not take part in the decision of a particular case, he shall so inform the President.

2. If the President considers that for some special reason one of the members of the Court should not sit in a particular case, he shall give him notice accordingly.

3. If in any such case the member of the Court and the President disagree, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the Court.

Article 25

1. The full Court shall sit except when it is expressly provided otherwise in the present Statute.

2. Subject to the condition that the number of judges available to constitute the Court is not thereby reduced be-

Appendix II

low eleven, the Rules of the Court may provide for allowing one or more judges, according to circumstances and in rotation, to be dispensed from sitting.

3. A quorum of nine judges shall suffice to constitute the Court.

Article 26

1. The Court may from time to time form one or more chambers, composed of three or more judges as the Court may determine, for dealing with particular categories of cases; for example, labor cases and cases relating to transit and communications.

2. The Court may at any time form a chamber for dealing with a particular case. The number of judges to constitute such a chamber shall be determined by the Court with the approval of the parties.

3. Cases shall be heard and determined by the chambers provided for in this Article if the parties so request.

Article 27

A judgment given by any of the chambers provided for in Articles 26 and 29 shall be considered as rendered by the Court.

Article 28

The chambers provided for in Articles 26 and 29 may, with the consent of the parties, sit and exercise their functions elsewhere than at The Hague.

Article 29

With a view to the speedy despatch of business, the Court shall form annually a chamber composed of five judges which, at the request of the parties, may hear and determine

The Statute of the International Court of Justice

cases by summary procedure. In addition, two judges shall be selected for the purpose of replacing judges who find it impossible to sit.

Article 30

1. The Court shall frame rules for carrying out its functions. In particular, it shall lay down rules of procedure.

2. The Rules of the Court may provide for assessors to sit with the Court or with any of its chambers, without the right to vote.

Article 31

1. Judges of the nationality of each of the parties shall retain their right to sit in the case before the Court.

2. If the Court includes upon the Bench a judge of the nationality of one of the parties, any other party may choose a person to sit as judge. Such person shall be chosen preferably from among those persons who have been nominated as candidates as provided in Articles 4 and 5.

3. If the Court includes upon the Bench no judge of the nationality of the parties, each of these parties may proceed to choose a judge as provided in paragraph 2 of this Article.

4. The provisions of this Article shall apply to the case of Articles 26 and 29. In such cases, the President shall request one or, if necessary, two of the members of the Court forming the chamber to give place to the members of the Court of the nationality of the parties concerned, and, failing such, or if they are unable to be present, to the judges specially chosen by the parties.

5. Should there be several parties in the same interest, they shall, for the purpose of the preceding provisions, be reckoned as one party only. Any doubt upon this point shall be settled by the decision of the Court.

Appendix II

6. Judges chosen as laid down in paragraphs 2, 3, and 4 of this Article shall fulfil the conditions required by Articles 2, 17 (paragraph 2), 20, and 24 of the present Statute. They shall take part in the decision on terms of complete equality with their colleagues.

Article 32

1. Each member of the Court shall receive an annual salary.

2. The President shall receive a special annual allowance.

3. The Vice-President shall receive a special allowance for every day on which he acts as President.

4. The judges chosen under Article 31, other than members of the Court, shall receive compensation for each day on which they exercise their functions.

5. These salaries, allowances, and compensation shall be fixed by the General Assembly. They may not be decreased during the term of office.

6. The salary of the Registrar shall be fixed by the General Assembly on the proposal of the Court.

7. Regulations made by the General Assembly shall fix the conditions under which retirement pensions may be given to members of the Court and to the Registrar, and the conditions under which members of the Court and the Registrar shall have their traveling expenses refunded.

8. The above salaries, allowances, and compensations shall be free of all taxation.

Article 33

The expenses of the Court shall be borne by the United Nations in such a manner as shall be decided by the General Assembly.

The Statute of the International Court of Justice

CHAPTER II

COMPETENCE OF THE COURT

Article 34

1. Only states may be parties in cases before the Court.

2. The Court, subject to and in conformity with its Rules, may request of public international organizations information relevant to cases before it, and shall receive such information presented by such organizations on their own initiative.

3. Whenever the construction of the constituent instrument of a public international organization or of an international convention adopted thereunder is in question in a case before the Court, the Registrar shall so notify the public international organization concerned and shall communicate to it copies of all the written proceedings.

Article 35

1. The Court shall be open to the states parties to the present Statute.

2. The conditions under which the Court shall be open to other states shall, subject to the special provisions contained in treaties in force, be laid down by the Security Council, but in no case shall such conditions place the parties in a position of inequality before the Court.

3. When a state which is not a Member of the United Nations is a party to a case, the Court shall fix the amount which that party is to contribute towards the expenses of the Court. This provision shall not apply if such state is bearing a share of the expenses of the Court.

Appendix II

Article 36

1. The jurisdiction of the Court comprises all cases which the parties refer to it and all matters specially provided for in the Charter of the United Nations or in treaties and conventions in force.

2. The states parties to the present Statute may at any time declare that they recognize as compulsory *ipso facto* and without special agreement, in relation to any other 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;
- d. the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

3. The declarations referred to above may be made unconditionally or on condition of reciprocity on the part of several or certain states, or for a certain time.

4. Such declarations shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who shall transmit copies thereof to the parties to the Statute and to the Registrar of the Court.

5. Declarations made under Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice and which are still in force shall be deemed, as between the parties to the present Statute, to be acceptances of the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice for the period which they still have to run and in accordance with their terms.

The Statute of the International Court of Justice

6. In the event of a dispute as to whether the Court has jurisdiction, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the Court.

Article 37

Whenever a treaty or convention in force provides for reference of a matter to a tribunal to have been instituted by the League of Nations, or to the Permanent Court of International Justice, the matter shall, as between the parties to the present Statute, be referred to the International Court of Justice.

Article 38

1. The Court, whose function is to decide in accordance with international law such disputes as are submitted to it, shall apply:

- a. international conventions, whether general or particular, establishing rules expressly recognized by the contesting states;
- b. international custom, as evidence of a general practice accepted as law;
- c. the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations;
- d. subject to the provisions of Article 59, judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations, as subsidiary means for the determination of rules of law.

2. This provision shall not prejudice the power of the Court to decide a case *ex aequo et bono*, if the parties agree thereto.

CHAPTER III

PROCEDURE

Article 39

1. The official languages of the Court shall be French and English. If the parties agree that the case shall be conducted in French, the judgment shall be delivered in French. If the parties agree that the case shall be conducted in English, the judgment shall be delivered in English.

2. In the absence of an agreement as to which language shall be employed, each party may, in the pleadings, use the language which it prefers; the decision of the Court shall be given in French and English. In this case the Court shall at the same time determine which of the two texts shall be considered as authoritative.

3. The Court shall, at the request of any party, authorize a language other than French or English to be used by that party.

Article 40

1. Cases are brought before the Court, as the case may be, either by the notification of the special agreement or by a written application addressed to the Registrar. In either case the subject of the dispute and the parties shall be indicated.

2. The Registrar shall forthwith communicate the application to all concerned.

3. He shall also notify the Members of the United Nations through the Secretary-General, and also any other states entitled to appear before the Court.

Article 41

1. The Court shall have the power to indicate, if it considers that circumstances so require, any provisional measures which ought to be taken to preserve the respective rights of either party.

2. Pending the final decision, notice of the measures suggested shall forthwith be given to the parties and to the Security Council.

Article 42

1. The parties shall be represented by agents.

2. They may have the assistance of council or advocates before the Court.

3. The agents, counsel, and advocates of parties before the Court shall enjoy the privileges and immunities necessary to the independent exercise of their duties.

Article 43

1. The procedure shall consist of two parts: written and oral.

2. The written proceedings shall consist of the communication to the Court and to the parties of memorials, counter-memorials and, if necessary, replies; also all papers and documents in support.

3. These communications shall be made through the Registrar, in the order and within the time fixed by the Court.

4. A certified copy of every document produced by one party shall be communicated to the other party.

5. The oral proceedings shall consist of the hearing by the Court of witnesses, experts, agents, counsel, and advocates.

Appendix II

Article 44

1. For the service of all notices upon persons other than the agents, counsel, and advocates, the Court shall apply direct to the government of the state upon whose territory the notice has to be served.
2. The same provision shall apply whenever steps are to be taken to procure evidence on the spot.

Article 45

The hearing shall be under the control of the President or, if he is unable to preside, of the Vice-President; if neither is able to preside, the senior judge present shall preside.

Article 46

The hearing in Court shall be public, unless the Court shall decide otherwise, or unless the parties demand that the public be not admitted.

Article 47

1. Minutes shall be made at each hearing and signed by the Registrar and the President.
2. These minutes alone shall be authentic.

Article 48

The Court shall make orders for the conduct of the case, shall decide the form and time in which each party must conclude its arguments, and make all arrangements connected with the taking of evidence.

Article 49

The Court may, even before the hearing begins, call upon

The Statute of the International Court of Justice

the agents to produce any document or to supply any explanations. Formal note shall be taken of any refusal.

Article 50

The Court may, at any time, entrust any individual, body, bureau, commission, or other organization that it may select, with the task of carrying out an enquiry or giving an expert opinion.

Article 51

During the hearing any relevant questions are to be put to the witnesses and experts under the conditions laid down by the Court in the rules of procedure referred to in Article 30.

Article 52

After the Court has received the proofs and evidence within the time specified for the purpose, it may refuse to accept any further oral or written evidence that one party may desire to present unless the other side consents.

Article 53

1. Whenever one of the parties does not appear before the Court, or fails to defend its case, the other party may call upon the Court to decide in favor of its claim.
2. The Court must, before doing so, satisfy itself, not only that it has jurisdiction in accordance with Articles 36 and 37, but also that the claim is well founded in fact and law.

Article 54

1. When, subject to the control of the Court, the agents, counsel, and advocates have completed their presentation of the case, the President shall declare the hearing closed.

Appendix II

2. The Court shall withdraw to consider the judgment.
3. The deliberations of the Court shall take place in private and remain secret.

Article 55

1. All questions shall be decided by a majority of the judges present.
2. In the event of an equality of votes, the President or the judge who acts in his place shall have a casting vote.

Article 56

1. The judgment shall state the reasons on which it is based.
2. It shall contain the names of the judges who have taken part in the decision.

Article 57

If the judgment does not represent in whole or in part the unanimous opinion of the judges, any judge shall be entitled to deliver a separate opinion.

Article 58

The judgment shall be signed by the President and by the Registrar. It shall be read in open court, due notice having been given to the agents.

Article 59

The decision of the Court has no binding force except between the parties and in respect of that particular case.

Article 60

The judgment is final and without appeal. In the event

The Statute of the International Court of Justice

of dispute as to the meaning or scope of the judgment, the Court shall construe it upon the request of any party.

Article 61

1. An application for revision of a judgment may be made only when it is based upon the discovery of some fact of such a nature as to be a decisive factor, which fact was, when the judgment was given, unknown to the Court and also to the party claiming revision, always provided that such ignorance was not due to negligence.

2. The proceedings for revision shall be opened by a judgment of the Court expressly recording the existence of the new fact, recognizing that it has such a character as to lay the case open to revision, and declaring the application admissible on this ground.

3. The Court may require previous compliance with the terms of the judgment before it admits proceedings in revision.

4. The application for revision must be made at latest within six months of the discovery of the new fact.

5. No application for revision may be made after the lapse of ten years from the date of the judgment.

Article 62

1. Should a state consider that it has an interest of a legal nature which may be affected by the decision in the case, it may submit a request to the Court to be permitted to intervene.

2. It shall be for the Court to decide upon this request.

Article 63

1. Whenever the construction of a convention to which

Appendix II

states other than those concerned in the case are parties is in question, the Registrar shall notify all such states forthwith.

2. Every state so notified has the right to intervene in the proceedings; but if it uses this right, the construction given by the judgment will be equally binding upon it.

Article 64

Unless otherwise decided by the Court, each party shall bear its own costs.

CHAPTER IV

ADVISORY OPINIONS

Article 65

1. The Court may give an advisory opinion on any legal question at the request of whatever body may be authorized by or in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations to make such a request.

2. Questions upon which the advisory opinion of the Court is asked shall be laid before the Court by means of a written request containing an exact statement of the question upon which an opinion is required, and accompanied by all documents likely to throw light upon the question.

Article 66

1. The Registrar shall forthwith give notice of the request for an advisory opinion to all states entitled to appear before the Court.

2. The Registrar shall also, by means of a special and direct communication, notify any state entitled to appear be-

The Statute of the International Court of Justice

fore the Court or international organization considered by the Court, or, should it not be sitting, by the President, as likely to be able to furnish information on the question, that the Court will be prepared to receive, within a time limit to be fixed by the President, written statements, or to hear, at a public sitting to be held for the purpose, oral statements relating to the question.

3. Should any such state entitled to appear before the Court have failed to receive the special communication referred to in paragraph 2 of this Article, such state may express a desire to submit a written statement or to be heard; and the Court will decide.

4. States and organizations having presented written or oral statements or both shall be permitted to comment on the statements made by other states or organizations in the form, to the extent, and within the time limits which the Court, or, should it not be sitting, the President, shall decide in each particular case. Accordingly, the Registrar shall in due time communicate any such written statements to states and organizations having submitted similar statements.

Article 67

The Court shall deliver its advisory opinions in open court, notice having been given to the Secretary-General and to the representatives of Members of the United Nations, of other states and of international organizations immediately concerned.

Article 68

In the exercise of its advisory functions the Court shall further be guided by the provisions of the present Statute

Appendix II

which apply in contentious cases to the extent to which it recognizes them to be applicable.

CHAPTER V

AMENDMENT

Article 69

Amendments to the present Statute shall be effected by the same procedure as is provided by the Charter of the United Nations for amendments to that Charter, subject however to any provisions which the General Assembly upon recommendation of the Security Council may adopt concerning the participation of states which are parties to the present Statute but are not Members of the United Nations.

Article 70

The Court shall have power to propose such amendments to the present Statute as it may deem necessary, through written communications to the Secretary-General, for consideration in conformity with the provisions of Article 69.

APPENDIX III

The Declaration of Human Rights

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,

Appendix III

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 realisation 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 con-

The Declaration of Human Rights

science 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 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 tribu-

Appendix III

nal, 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 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

The Declaration of Human Rights

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.

Appendix III

ARTICLE 22 Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realisation, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organisation 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 insuring 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. Educa-

The Declaration of Human Rights

tion 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 realised.

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.

Appendix III

(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.

About the Authors

ROBERT EMMET SHERWOOD

Mr. Sherwood was born in New Rochelle, New York, April 4, 1896, and studied at Harvard University, receiving his Litt.D. in 1917. He continued his studies at Dartmouth College in 1940 and at Yale University in 1941.

In 1917 he enlisted in the 42nd Battalion, Black Watch, Canadian Expeditionary Force. He was honorably discharged in February, 1919.

He was Dramatic Editor of *Vanity Fair* from 1919 to 1920. He became Associate Editor of *Life* in 1920 and in 1924 he was appointed Editor. He was with *Life* until 1928. During this period he was also Motion Picture Editor of *Life* and the *New York Herald*.

Mr. Sherwood served as Special Assistant to the Secretary of War in 1940 and as Special Assistant to the Secretary of the Navy in 1945. He was Director of the Overseas Branch of the O.W.I. until September, 1944.

Mr. Sherwood is a Pulitzer Prize playwright and author. He received the Pulitzer Prize in 1936, 1939 and 1941 for play and in 1949 for his biography *Roosevelt and Hopkins*.

Biographical Notes

He received the Gold Medal for Drama, National Institute of Arts and Letters, in 1941.

TRYGVE HALVDAN LIE

Trygve Halvdan Lie, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, is a Norwegian who came to his post with wide experience in law, labor relations, and foreign affairs. He was Norway's Minister of Foreign Affairs and delegate to the first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations when he was elected Secretary-General on February 1, 1946.

Trygve Lie was born in Oslo on July 16, 1896, the son of Martin Lie, a carpenter, and Hulda (Arnsen) Lie. In order to help pay his way through school and college, he worked as an office boy at the national headquarters of the Norwegian Labor Party in Oslo. At the age of 16, while still in high school, he was elected president of the Labor Party's branch in Aker, a suburb of Oslo. He held this position from 1914 to 1919, when he was graduated from the Oslo University Law School and became secretary to the Secretary of the Norwegian Labor Party.

Mr. Lie was appointed legal adviser to the Labor Party in 1922 and four years later was made a member of its National Council, a position which he held until 1940. As legal adviser he was active in promoting the peaceful settlement of many major controversies between labor and management.

When the Labor Government came into power in 1935, Mr. Lie was appointed Minister of Justice and served in this capacity until June, 1939, when he became Minister of

[234]

Biographical Notes

Commerce. At the outbreak of the war, he took over the newly created Cabinet Department of Shipping and Supply, building up Norway's supplies and helping to save the Norwegian fleet for the Allied cause. He was instrumental in founding the Norwegian Trade and Shipping Mission, which, with some 1,000 ships under its control, was the largest shipping concern in the world.

Mr. Lie accompanied his government to London after the German invasion, and was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs of the government in exile on February 21, 1941.

He first became connected with the United Nations when he was chosen to head the Norwegian Delegation to the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco in 1945.

On May 7, 1945, Mr. Lie returned to London to expedite shipments of food and clothing to the Norwegians. He returned to Oslo with his government later that month, and after the Labor Party victory in October, 1945, was reappointed Minister of Foreign Affairs. It was from this post that he was sent to London for the first meeting of the General Assembly, when he was elected Secretary-General.

DR. HERBERT VERE EVATT

Dr. Herbert Vere Evatt, President of the third regular session of the General Assembly, has had a distinguished career in national and international affairs. Deputy Prime Minister, Attorney-General, and Minister for External Affairs of Australia, Dr. Evatt played a prominent part at the

[235]

Biographical Notes

San Francisco Conference in 1945. Since then he has served on the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, on the Security Council, the Atomic Energy Commission, and the Commission for Conventional Armaments.

Dr. Evatt has headed every Australian delegation to the Assembly from the beginning. He was President of the Third Session of the General Assembly in 1948 and 1949 which was held in Paris and Lake Success and Flushing.

Born in 1894 at East Maitland, New South Wales, Dr. Evatt graduated in 1917 at the University of Sydney, and was admitted to the Australian Bar, obtaining his Doctorate of Law in 1924. A year later he turned to politics and for four years was a Labour member of the New South Wales Parliament. In 1930, at the age of 36, he became the youngest High Court Judge in the history of the British Empire, a position which he resigned in 1940, on being elected to the Federal Legislature. A year later Dr. Evatt became Australia's Attorney-General and Minister for External Affairs. In 1942-43 he headed the Australian Missions to Washington and London, as a result of which additional war supplies were allocated to the South-West Pacific war theatres.

Since November, 1946, Dr. Evatt has been Australia's Deputy Prime Minister. He has represented his country in the Pacific Council, in the British War Cabinet, the Council of Foreign Ministers (in 1945), at the Paris Peace Conference, the British Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, and on the Far Eastern Commission. In 1947 he was President of the South Pacific Regional Conference. Dr. Evatt is one of Australia's leading contemporary writers on Australian history, his best-known historical work being *Rum Rebellion*.

Biographical Notes

CHARLES HABIB MALIK

Dr. Malik was born in Bitirram, Lebanon, in 1906 and studied at the American University of Beirut, receiving his A.B. in 1927. He worked with a Rockefeller Foundation unit in Egypt from 1930 to 1932, and then came to the United States to continue his studies at Harvard University. He obtained an M.A. in 1934 and a Ph.D. in 1937, both in Philosophy.

Dr. Malik was Assistant Professor of Philosophy at Harvard from 1936 to 1937, and then returned to Beirut, where he served as Professor of Philosophy and Head of the Department of Philosophy at the American University until 1945. During his years at this institution, he was active on many local educational committees and wrote a number of articles and essays on philosophy. He has also made numerous intensive studies on the political, social, religious, intellectual and educational problems of Lebanon and the Near East.

In 1945, Dr. Malik received his first diplomatic appointment as Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to the United States, becoming the first man to represent Lebanon in this capacity. He was appointed Minister of Lebanon to Cuba in 1946.

Dr. Malik was delegate of his country to the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco in 1945. He has been a representative of his country at every session of the General Assembly and has represented Lebanon at the majority of the sessions of the Economic and Social Council. He was President of the Economic and Social Council for the year 1948.

Biographical Notes

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT
(Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt)

Eleanor Roosevelt has been officially associated with the United Nations since she went to London as United States Delegate to the First Part of the First Regular Session of the General Assembly. She continued in that post at the Second Part of the First Regular Session of the Assembly in October, 1946, and at the Second and Third Regular Sessions.

Throughout her service with the United Nations, Mrs. Roosevelt has served as the United States Representative on the Third Committee of the General Assembly—the Committee on Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Questions. She also was the United States Member and Chairman of the Nuclear Commission on Human Rights during April and May of 1946. She is the United States Member and Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights.

Mrs. Roosevelt was born in New York City, October 11, 1884, the daughter of Elliott and Anna (Hall) Roosevelt. She married Franklin Delano Roosevelt on March 17, 1905.

For many years she has been active in educational, sociological and political affairs. She was finance chairman of the Women's Division of the New York Democratic State Committee from 1924 to 1928. She worked with the Democratic National Campaign Committee in 1928 as a member of the Advisory Committee in charge of women's activities. In the early part of the war she was an Assistant Director of the Office of Civilian Defense.

She is the author of numerous books and papers, including *When You Grow Up to Vote* (1932); *It's Up to the Women*

Biographical Notes

(1933); *This Is My Story* (1937); *My Days* (1938); *The Moral Basis for Democracy* (1940); and *A Christmas Story* (1940). She writes a daily column and conducts a question and answer page in *McCall's* magazine, and has a weekly radio program in association with her daughter, Mrs. Anna Roosevelt Boettiger. At present she is writing the second volume of her autobiography.

Mrs. Roosevelt has five children and sixteen grandchildren.

JAIME TORRES BODET

Jaime Torres Bodet, Foreign Minister of Mexico, was elected Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization on November 26, 1948. He succeeded Julian Huxley of the United Kingdom. Mr. Torres Bodet's term of office is for six years.

He was born in Mexico City on April 17, 1902, son of Alejandro Torres and Emilia Bodet de Torres. He was educated at a local high school and teachers' college and studied at the School of Sciences and Letters at the University of Mexico. Combining an educational and diplomatic career, he has played a leading role in organizing Mexico's educational program.

From 1922 to 1924, Mr. Torres Bodet was head of the Library Department of the Ministry of Public Education. For the next four years he was Professor of French Literature at the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters. From 1929 to 1931, he was Secretary of the Mexican Legation in Spain, and in 1932, Chargé d'Affaires of Mexico in Holland. Mr. Torres Bodet

Biographical Notes

was Secretary of the Mexican Legation in France from 1933 to 1935, and in 1936 and 1937, Head of the Diplomatic Department of the Ministry of Foreign Relations.

He was Chargé d'Affaires of Mexico in Belgium from 1938 to 1940, and Assistant Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Relations until 1943.

In 1943, the President of Mexico designated him Minister of Education, and in that capacity he conducted a campaign against illiteracy. He founded circulating libraries, organized rural schools, and devoted his major effort to the orientation and administration of education in his country.

In 1945, he headed the Mexican Delegation to the UNESCO Preparatory Conference in London and was one of the signatories of the UNESCO Constitution.

In December, 1946, he became Foreign Minister of Mexico and has since led Mexican delegations to many international conferences. He was elected one of the vice-presidents at the Second Session of the United Nations General Assembly at Flushing Meadow in 1947.

Since 1920, Mr. Torres Bodet has contributed articles to many newspapers and magazines and has written a dozen books, among them *La Educacion Sentimental* (*Sentimental Education*), Madrid, Spain, 1929; *Primero de Enero* (*January First*), Madrid, Spain, 1934; and *Nacimiento de Venus y Otros Relatos* (*Birth of Venus and Other Narratives*), Mexico, 1941.

In recognition of his work in education, the Universities of Mexico and Southern California have conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters.

Biographical Notes

JOHN BOYD-ORR

Lord John Boyd-Orr, who, until April, 1948, was Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, is an internationally known nutritionist and agricultural scientist as well as a practical farmer.

Lord John was knighted in 1935 for his public service. He founded and directed, until his election to Parliament in 1945, the Rowett Institute for Research in Animal Nutrition in Aberdeen, Scotland. He was interested in the operation by the institute of a successful thousand acre stock farm on which the results of research were applied on farm animals under farming conditions. He also owns and actively operated a large mixed farm in the county of Angus in Scotland.

Lord John Orr was born in Ayrshire, Scotland, in September, 1880. He studied at Glasgow University for ten years and is a graduate in three faculties—arts, science and medicine. In 1913, he was the moving spirit behind the establishment of the new Agricultural Research Institute, which became the Rowett Institute. During World War I, Lord John served with the British Army and was awarded the Military Cross and later the Distinguished Service Order for bravery in action. During the years when he was working on animal nutrition at Aberdeen, he was also continually interested in human nutrition.

In 1930, Lord John established the journal *Nutrition Abstracts and Reviews*, and has been its Editor-In-Chief ever since. In 1935, he published a book, *Food, Health and Income*, in which he showed that there was a direct connection between the kind of food people ate and their health, and

Biographical Notes

that as family income fell, diet became worse and health and physique suffered.

Lord John was a member of the British Nutrition Committee set up on recommendation of the League of Nations and also of several agricultural commissions for the reorganization of agriculture in Britain. He was for twenty years a member of the Colonial Agriculture and Animal Health Council, and until 1946, Chairman of the Scottish Scientific Advisory Committee. In 1945, he was elected to Parliament as a representative of the Scottish universities. He gave up his seat in 1946, when it became clear that his position as Director-General of FAO would continue to take up all of his time.

He is a Fellow of the Royal Society of London, elected for his fundamental research in physiology, and is both Rector and Chancellor of the University of Glasgow. He received his baronetcy in January, 1949.

BROCK CHISHOLM

Dr. Brock Chisholm, Executive Secretary of the World Health Organization Interim Commission, was elected first Director-General of the permanent Organization on July 21, 1948.

Dr. Chisholm was born in Oakville, Ontario, on May 18, 1896. He volunteered for military service during World War I at the age of 18, and was able to complete his studies only after the end of the war, receiving his degree of Doctor of Medicine from the University of Toronto in 1924.

Dr. Chisholm then went to England to specialize in psy-

Biographical Notes

chiatry and did post-graduate work at several hospitals, among them the Middlesex and All Saints Hospitals in London. During the period from 1925 to 1931, Dr. Chisholm was engaged in general medical practice at his native Oakville. In 1931, he accepted a post on the staff of the Institute of Human Relations at Yale University and, subsequently, was connected with Queen's Square Hospital and Mandsley Hospital in London. In 1934, he returned to Canada and practiced psychological medicine in Toronto until 1940. During World War II, Dr. Chisholm became Commandant of the Northern Area, M.D., then Director General of Medical Services, with the rank of Major General, a post which he held from September, 1942 to November, 1944. He was then appointed to the post of Deputy Minister of Health in the Department of National Health and Welfare, which he held until July, 1946, when he was elected Executive Secretary of the World Health Organization (I.C.).

Among other posts held by Dr. Chisholm was that of Chairman of the Canadian Medical Procurement and Assignment Board (1942-44). He was President of the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene and Chairman of the Health Committee, Canadian Youth Commission (1943-46), as well as member of many medical societies, among them the Ontario Medical Association, the Canadian Medical Association, the American Society for Research in Psychosomatic Problems, the American Psychiatric Association, and the American Psychological Association. Dr. Chisholm is also a counsellor for the Menninger Foundation, and an associate editor of the journal *Psychiatry*.

Dr. Chisholm was made Commander of the Order of the British Empire in the New Year's Honour List of 1943. He

Biographical Notes

is also the recipient of the Lasker Award for Outstanding Contribution to Veterans' Rehabilitation.

Dr. Chisholm is the author of the William Alanson White Memorial Lectures, 1945, and *Morale*, 1940, and of many technical journal and magazine articles.

LUDWIK RAJCHMAN

As a member of the Polish Delegation to the United Nations, and earlier as a Polish Member of the Council on UNRRA, Dr. Ludwik Rajchman has taken a leading role in the preparatory work which led to the creation of the Children's Fund. He is widely known as an authority on child welfare, and for eighteen years prior to the outbreak of World War II, he was Director of the Health Organization of the League of Nations.

Born in Warsaw in 1881, and qualified as a Doctor of Medicine at the University of Krakow in 1906, he served for the succeeding two years as an Assistant Bacteriologist at the Pasteur Institute in Paris. In 1909 and 1910, he lectured in Bacteriology at the University of Krakow, after which he was appointed Chief Bacteriologist at the Royal Institute of Public Health in London.

He was appointed a Research Fellow at King's College, the University of London, in 1913, returning to Poland in 1919 as General Director of the National Institute of Health, Warsaw.

From 1920 to 1921 he served as Polish Member of the League's Epidemics Commission, and was Director of the League's Health Organization from 1921 to 1939. In 1933

Biographical Notes

and 1934 he was a delegate of the League's Council to the National Economic Committee of the Republic of China.

From 1939 to 1943, he was adviser to the National Government of China.

Since 1945, Dr. Rajchman has served as the Polish Member of the Council of UNRRA, and also as Chief of the Polish Supply Reconstruction Commission in Washington.

Dr. Rajchman has been Chairman of the Executive Board of the International Children's Emergency Fund since December 19, 1946.

RALPH J. BUNCHE

Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, who was United Nations Acting Mediator in Palestine, is Director of the Department of Trusteeship and Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories.

Dr. Bunche was born on August 7, 1904, in Detroit, Michigan. After the death of his parents in 1916, he and his sister Grace moved to Los Angeles, California, where, for the next ten years, they were in the care of their maternal grandmother.

He received his A.B. in 1927 from the University of Southern California, and in 1928 an M.A. from Harvard University. He made his first field trip to Africa on a Rosenwald Fellowship, this study winning him his Ph.D. in 1934 from Harvard.

In 1936 and 1937, Dr. Bunche did Post-Doctorate work in colonial policy and anthropology at Northwestern University,

Biographical Notes

the London School of Economics, and the University of Cape-town, South Africa.

He has been Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science of Howard University since 1928, and has been on leave of absence since September, 1941.

In 1936, he was Co-Director of the Institute of Race Relations, Swarthmore College.

From 1941 to 1944, Dr. Bunche was Chief of the Africa Section of the Office of Strategic Services; in 1944 and 1945, he was Associate Chief, Division of Dependent Area Affairs of the Department of State, and from 1945 to 1947 was U.S. Commissioner of the Caribbean Commission, this post being a presidential appointment.

As a representative of the United States he attended the Dumbarton Oaks Conference and the International Labor Conference in Philadelphia in 1944.

Dr. Bunche was Technical Expert of the U.S. Delegation to the United Nations Conference on International Organization in San Francisco, 1945; Adviser of the Delegation to the Executive Committee of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations in London, 1945; Adviser of the U.S. Delegation to the International Labor Conference, 1945; and in the same capacity attended the First Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in London, 1946.

Dr. Bunche is a member of the Executive Council of the American Political Science Association; the Board of Trustees, Phelps-Stokes Fund; Board of Directors of the American Institute of Race Relations; the Advisory Committee on Dependent Territories of the International Labor Office; and Board Member of the United Nations Association, U.S.A.

In addition to numerous articles in scholarly journals, Dr. Bunche has written such books as *A World View of Race* in

Biographical Notes

1936, *The Anglo-American Caribbean Commission*, in 1946 and was collaborator of *An American Dilemma*.

Dr. Bunche joined the Secretariat in the Department of Trusteeship Affairs. He was Principal Secretary of UNSCOP (United Nations Special Commission on Palestine). Then he was in charge of the Secretariat of the Bernadotte Mission and, upon the death of Count Bernadotte, became Acting Mediator. Following the conclusion of the armistice agreements in Palestine, Dr. Bunche returned to the Secretariat.

BENJAMIN A. COHEN

Benjamin Cohen was born on March 18, 1896, in Concepcion, Chile, son of Alberto Cohen and Rebeca Gallerstein Cohen.

He was educated at the English School of Lota and the Internado Barros Arana in Santiago. He took his Bachelor's Degree in Philosophy and the Humanities at the University of Chile, Santiago, and received his Master of Science in Foreign Service, Magna Cum Laude, from the University of Georgetown, Washington, D.C. There he also completed the requirements for Doctor of Philosophy. In 1947, he received the honorary degree of LL.D. from the American University in Washington, D.C.

After serving for eleven years as reporter, City Editor and Associate Chief Editor on several important dailies in Chile, he served as Press Attaché to the Special Chilean Embassy to the First Centennial of Brazilian Independence (1922). From 1923 to 1927, he was Secretary of the Chilean Defense in the Tacna-Arica Arbitration and of the Chilean Embassy in

Biographical Notes

Washington. In 1934, he was Chargé d'Affaires ad Interim in the United States and on special missions to Paraguay and Bolivia. In 1936, he was appointed Director of the Diplomatic Department of the Chilean Foreign Office, a post he held for three years. He has been Chilean Delegate to numerous Pan-American Conferences and was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Bolivia (1939-1945) and Ambassador to the United States of Venezuela in 1945.

Besides the conferences in which he participated as a Chilean Diplomatic Officer, Mr. Cohen served as an international official on commissions and in arbitrations as Secretary, Interpreter and Delegate in numerous international conferences. He has been a member of the Faculty of the School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University.

In 1945, he was loaned by the Chilean Government to the International Secretariat of the United Nations for the Executive Committee and the Preparatory Commission. During the first General Assembly in London, he was the Chief of the Information Planning Section. Early in March of 1946, he was appointed Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations in charge of the Department of Public Information. He is a member of numerous learned societies, including the Chilean Society of History and Geography (Santiago); Academy of Political Science (New York); International Law Association (London); Academy of Arts (Athens), and many others.

As Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Cohen is in charge of the United Nations Department of Public Information.

Biographical Notes

CARLOS PEÑA ROMULO

General Romulo was elected President of the Fourth Session of the General Assembly, which opened September 20, 1949, in New York, after a full and distinguished career with the United Nations. As head of the Philippine Delegation, he attended the First Session in London in 1946 and has served at all succeeding sessions. During the Third Regular Session in Paris from September to December, 1948, and in New York during April and May, 1949, he was Chairman of the Ad Hoc Political and Security Committee. He has also served as Philippine Delegate to the UNRRA Conference head of the Philippine Delegation to the London Conference on Devastated Areas, Chief Philippine Delegate to and President of the United Nations Conference on Freedom of Information, and Philippine Delegate to the New Delhi Conference on Indonesia.

General Romulo was born in Manila on January 14, 1901. He was graduated from the University of the Philippines with an A.B. in 1918 and then attended Columbia University, New York City, where he received his M.A. This was followed by an LL.D. from Notre Dame University in 1935, a Litt.D. from Rollins College, Florida in 1946, a Ph.D. in 1948 from the University of Athens, and an Honorary Doctor of Laws from the University of the Philippines in April, 1949.

He received his Brigadier Generalship in September, 1944, after a brilliant war record in which he served as General MacArthur's aide-de-camp on Bataan, Corregidor and Australia and accompanied General MacArthur and the liberat-

Biographical Notes

ing forces in the invasion of Leyte and later in the recapture of Manila. His many decorations include the Distinguished Service Star of the Philippines, the Gold Cross, the Silver Star, the Purple Heart, the Presidential Unit Citation with two Oak Leaf Clusters, Philippine Legion of Honor (Commander), the Grand Cross of the Order of the Phoenix from the Greek Government, and the Grand Cross of the Order of Carlos Manuel de Céspedes from the Republic of Cuba.

General Romulo was Editor-in-Chief of the TVT Publications in Manila in 1931 and in 1937 was the publisher of the DMHM newspapers in Manila until 1941. He served as Secretary of Information and Public Relations in President Quezon's War Cabinet in Washington from 1943 to 1944. He was then appointed Resident Commissioner of the Philippines to the United States until 1946 and was acting Secretary of Public Instruction in President Osmena's Cabinet from 1944 to 1945.

He won the Pulitzer Prize in Journalism for distinguished correspondence for a series of articles written on a trip through the Far East just before the war. In America he wrote the following best-sellers: *I Saw the Fall of the Philippines* (1942); *Mother America* (1943); *My Brother Americans* (1945); and *I See the Philippines Rise* (1946).

In March, 1947, General Romulo was awarded the First Annual Gold Medal Award by World Government News for work in the United Nations for peace and world government. The Woodrow Wilson Memorial Foundation of Princeton University presented him with the Gold Medal in May, 1947, "in recognition of his contribution to public life," and he was given the International Benjamin Franklin

Biographical Notes

Society's Gold Medal for "distinguished world statesmanship in 1947." He was also made Freeman of the City of Plymouth, England, in October, 1948.

Virginia C. Eschscholtz
 Charles Waring
 Robert Schmitt
 Thompson

Harold Stassen
 34426
 Lie, Trygve
 Peace on earth
 341.1
 LIE

34426
 Lie, Trygve
 Peace on earth
 341.1
 LIE

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE CARDS
 FROM THIS POCKET

ABILENE PUBLIC LIBRARY
 ABILENE, TEXAS 79601

Erasmus M. ...
 Mann ...

Abilene, Texas
 Cranborne
 Halifax
 Broadhead
 (J. ...)

顧維鈞
 P. ... Zald

Stadler
 Astrand

果昭芳
 Brown
 ...
 ...