FUNDAMENTALS OF CIVIC EDUCATION

PART TWO

(AN INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)

Supplementary textbook for Preparatory and College students
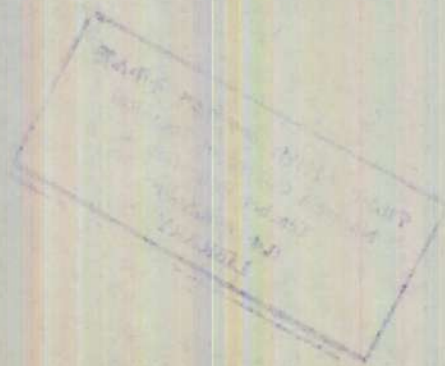
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Acknowledgments

This textbook is dedicated to my beloved son
Robel (Bini-shu) Kassaye Amare.

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Introduction

The study of Civic Education has immense importance in developing the culture of responsibility and greater participation. The intense dissemination and practice of civic ideals will deepen democracy and popular participation. Citizens will be able to identify their rights and responsibilities.

This textbook is designed in line with the National Civic Education Syllabus of preparatory classes. This material serves to instill Civic Education ideals, values, principles, practices...etc. for students who are going to shoulder the responsibility of citizenship. Students are expected to have wider understanding of the global political situations and assess their local and national practices. This material is not only essential to teachers and students. But it serves also the public in orienting and equipping them with some ideas about the subject matter, Civic education.

In the effort and the step towards instituting democratization, the contribution of Civic Education is unquestionable. The widespread participation of the public is one of the prerequisite in developing democratic culture. Participatory democracy needs higher participation of the public in different decision-making processes that affects their life. Therefore, this material will at least play some part in promoting the mission of Civic Education (the development of competent and responsible citizenship).

The first chapter of the textbook discusses about the international relations and international politics, national interest and Foreign policy. Chapter II emphasizes about the history of Cold War and the Post Cold War global conditions. The next Third and Fourth Chapters are the backbone of the material. The study of International Relations is complete when it is able to incorporate and discuss about International Law and Organizations. Finally, chapter IV deals with the current global issue about the Civil Society, which

is now an every day language of statesmen and politicians. There are two annexes that will assist the students for better comprehension of the two universal type international institutions, i.e., The League of Nations and the United Nations.

This material is not exhaustive and complete, It requires the active involvement of interested individuals educationalists, and others. I have attempted to contribute what I have. I invite all interested personalities and institutions (private and government) to enrich my first and second textbooks for better quality.
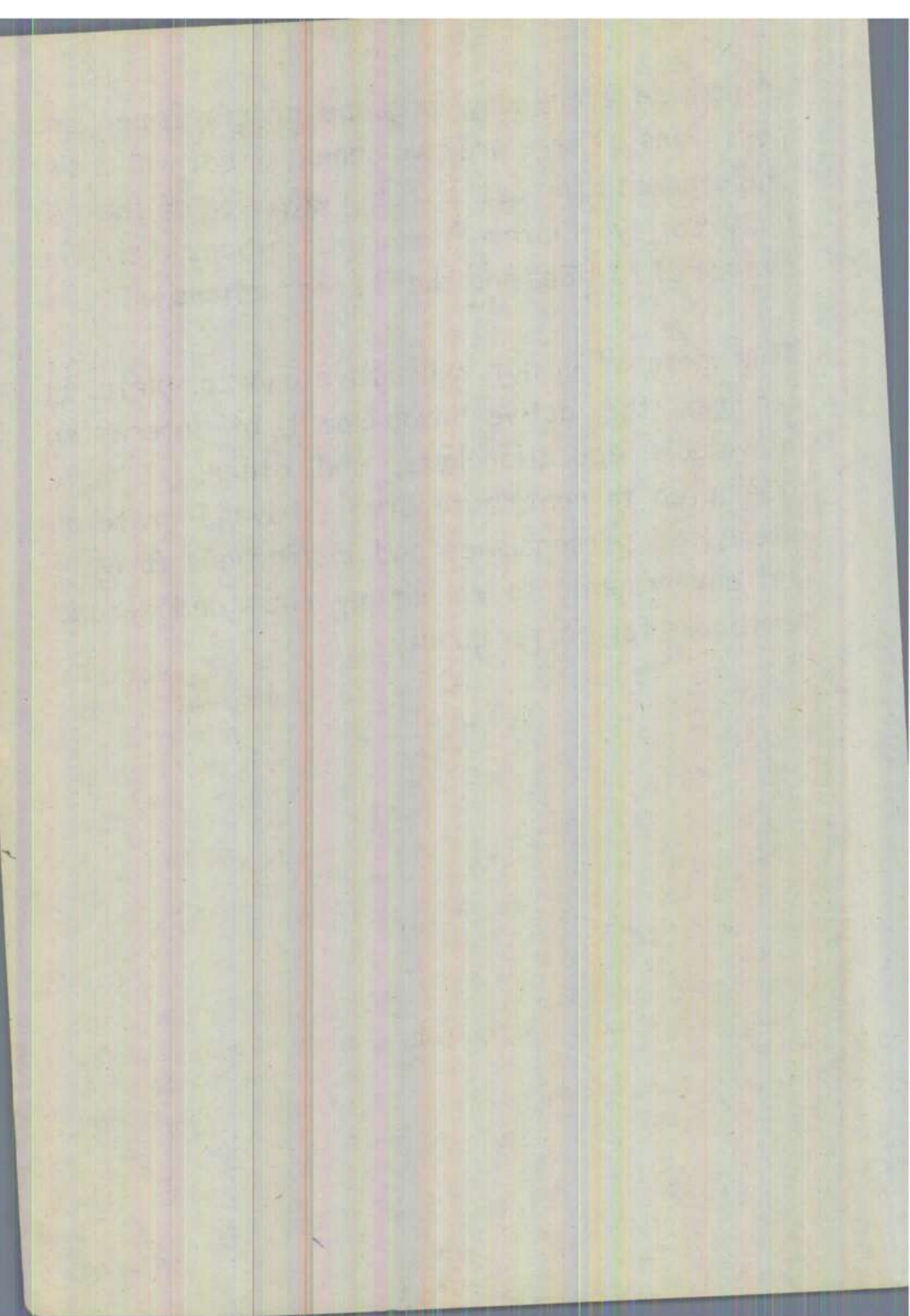
Chapter 1 What is International Relations?

1.1 Defining International Relations

International Relations is conceived as a system of peaceful communication. It is the totality of all relations, peaceful and non-peaceful, political, and non-political (economic, legal, cultural...) types.

According to Mathiesen (1959), International Relations embraces all kinds of relations traversing (crossing) state boundaries, no matter whether they are an economic, legal, political or any other character whether they are private or official. It also includes all human behavior originating on all side of state boundary and affecting human behavior on the other side of state boundary.

Frankel, J. (1969) conceived International Relations as anew discipline, a combination of studies of the foreign affairs of the various countries and of international History- It includes also the study of international society as a whole and of its institutions and processes (studying the web of transnational politics).

In Hoffman explanations " the discipline of International Relations is concerned with the factors and activities which affect the external policies and the power of the basic units into which the world is divided (as cited in Vandana, 1998).

International relations is concerned with the study of the nature, conduct, and influences upon, relations among individuals or groups operating in a particular arena within the frame work of anarchy (in this context anarchy means absence of government not disorder) (as cited in Reynolds 1994).

The object of the study of International relations is variously described as the 'international system' and 'international society'. Hedley Bull (as cited in Woods, 1997) defines an international system as comprising two or more states which have sufficient contact between them and sufficient impact on one another's decisions to cause them to behave as parts of a whole. In such international system, states behave strategically making their decisions on the basis of what they think other states will do. By contrast an international society is defined as a group of states, which knowingly share common interest and values and conceive themselves to be bound by common set of rules in their relations with one another and share in the working common institutions.

1.2 Growth and Development of International Relations

The study of International Relations has passed various historical stages of development. They are Ancient, Medieval, Modern, and Contemporary (after the revolution in 1970s)

The Ancient Period -----Before the emergence of organized political bodies, i.e., states, there were relations of inter clans, tribes, villages, and cities communities. The relations were carried out in peace. With the gradual appearance of city-states, the subject of politics began to grow. The then city-states and transnational institutions were Sparta, Athens, League of Achean and League of Peloponessian and Delphic council and Amphictyonic respectively. Kaliijarvi, (1961) stated that Greece become a laboratory of experimentation in foreign affairs and world politics --Disputes were arbitrated, criminals extradited, ambassadors, messengers, heralds, diplomatic officers and secretaries exchanged, temples accorded immunity from attack or violation, cooperation among states fostered. (as cited in Vandana, 1998)

There is an assertion that every international political practice had its antecedent in Ancient Greece. The following written and unwritten rules and practices of the then period are witnesses of their importance for today's political world.

- Rules of procedure observed in treaties and customs to regulate diplomatic relations and conduct of war
- Recognizing the equality and independence of political units
- Diplomatic immunities, asylum and citizenship rules
- Pacific settlement of disputes through diplomatic negotiations, mediation, bargaining, arbitration...etc.

The Greeks have contributed a lot to local and international politics. Famous philosophers of the time Plato, Aristotle, Stoics and others had contributed to study politics and political concepts like justice, brotherhood...etc.

After the Greeks, the Romans changed the picture of International Relations. They gave new complexion to the nature of politics among states. The Romans wiped out small strong and weak cities and replaced it with Roman Empire. The modern system of International Law is based on what Romans contributed in the form of Jus Naturale and Jus Gentium. The concept of Universal Law and World Empire are contributions of Rome. These foundations served as basis to the establishment of League of Nations, United Nations and modern municipal law.

Medieval Period ---The demise of the Roman Empire resulted in decline and unstable political situation between 410 AD-600 AD. After the 7th century there were gradual revival of culture and knowledge, and restoration of city-state system. State is the main

ctor in the conduct of international relations. But during the Middle Ages (Medieval), there were no states and no great development in inter-state relations Gierke stated that, the political structure at that time was a christan unit living nominally under the authority of the Monarch virtually under the Pope (as cited in Vandana, 1998).

The Medieval period of history is important in the development of International Relations. Modern nations state system is the legacy of the medieval political developments. This was possible by the cumulative effect of concepts like nationalism and sovereignty.

Modern Period--- The decline of church marked the emergence of nations-states equipped with the instruments of sovereignty and nationalism. Industrial revolution accompanied by imperialist and colonial systems in Europe had also impact in changing the political situation of Europe and the world at large. It was in the modern era with the strengthening of nation-state systems that diplomacy assumed a significant role in international relations. Some of the practices were: -

- European states appointed diplomatic representation to maintain their foreign relations
- Permanent embassy staffs were recruited to collect and pass information of allies and enemies

There was gradual shift from internecine war or religious war to conducting bilateral and multilateral treaties and alliances. It signified the emergence of international system in the form we have today .In spite of all these attempts, states recourse to war until the 18th century. The 1648 peace of Westphalia was turning point in the development of international relations. But it was short-lived by the recurrence of conflicts like

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- Europe-Spanish war ----------(1701-1713)
- Austrian Succession war ------(1740-1748)
- Seven Years war   (1757-1763)
- The Partition of Poland
- The French Revolution   (1789)
- The American Revolution and war of independence (1776)
- The battle of waterloo   (1814)

Contemporary Period---The outbreak of the war and its after effect changed the pre-1914 principal political issues. The 1919 Treaty of Versailles served as springboard for the creation of the first universal type international organization. International relations began to show dynamism in its essence and practice. International relations became more and more vital as a discipline, chair, and departments began to be established in UK and USA. In 1919 the school of Foreign Service in USA came into existence and another school of International relations at University of Southern California. The Royal Institute of International Relations was established in London in 1920 with affiliated institutes in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Pakistan. After World War II, by the initiative of UNESCO, there was conference of all university representatives. The aim was to motivate universities to establish a department or chair of International Relations. Later, the subject began to expand to states of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Stages in the Development of International Relations--- The development of International Relations as a field of study began in around 1914. Te study of International Relations in the 20th century has passed various stages. According to Thompson (as cited in Chandra, 1979), it has passed through four stages.

Stage One---The first phase ends with World War I. It is known as a period of diplomatic history. The then political phenomenon was explained on the basis of history combined with legalities. Inter-state contacts were considered as a set of treaty and model inter-relationships. This period was dominated by the monopoly of diplomatic historians who generally avoided the study of current affairs and deducing any universal principles from their descriptive study of facts. In addition, this historical orientation precluded (not allowed) the development of theoretical core for the discipline. Therefore such practice did not allow the development of theory international relations.

Stage Two---It began after the end of World War I. During this stage, the study of current affairs was highly emphasized and lacked integral view of international relations because, it stressed on the present without referring the past.

Stage Three---It began after World War I and continued up to post World War II. The then scholars (Potter, Shotwell, Fenwick...) adopted legalistic-moralistic approach and looked war as an accident and a sin. They suggested institutionalization of international relations through law and organizations. International institutions could resolve any type problems at international level. The main concern during the period was not to understand the nature of international relations but to develop legal institution and organizational devices (The concentration of research and academic interest was in the field of international organization and law). During the interwar period the development of international relations was based on describing and analyzing great power interplay. The emphasis during this period was more on military strategy.

Stage Four ---It began after World War II. During this period, there was shift of emphasis, i.e., from international organization and international law to forces and influences, which shape and condition the behavior of states. These forces and influences are determinants of foreign policy, techniques in the conduct of foreign relations and the mode of resolution of international conflicts.

According to Olson (1972) during the 1970s there was a defining and redefining of international relations. In the 1970s perhaps 5th phase could be delineated (outlined) concentrating on system analysis and conceptual framework to the creation of a body of theory. This may lead to a properly termed science of international politics (as cited in Vandana, 1998).

1.3 Approaches to the Study of International Relations

There are approaches in the study of international relations. They are called levels of analysis. There are three levels of analysis.

1. System Level Analysis---It is a concern with the characteristics of international system and sub-systems. The international system as a whole consists of these states, international organizations, multinational corporations, individuals, and their interactions. Based on the major power poles, international system is divided into three categories. They are Uni polar, Bipolar and Multi polar systems.

Uni polar System: This type of international system would have just one dominant power. The Roman Empire is one best example in the existence one power through dominance overall other countries and establishes a universal empire.

Bi polar System: This system is characterized by two roughly equal major powers worldwide. It resembles the international

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system that existed after the Second World War. For example the post 1945 major powers namely the USA and its allies and the USSR and its allies.

Multi polar system: It is the system in which there are more than three powers through out the world. This system resembles the international system that existed from 1648-1945in Europe. In addition a system that has three major powers is called Tri polar system. According to system analysts' factors external to states and the world political environment in combination determine the pattern of interactions among states. According to them one has to study not only the behavior of states, but also many other actors worldwide.

2. State-level Analysis--- Political scientists who prefer state-level analysis examine the forces or factors within the states (not external to the state) that influence or determine its. foreign policy and its interactions with other states. These internal factors include the domestic political system, the policy situation, political culture, political leaders, opposition political parties, interest groups, and public opinion. State-level analysts argue that states internal factors determine their international relations.

3. Individual Level Analysis---Political Scientists who prefer individual level Analysis study human beings as actors in international relations. Individual Level analysts study the role of human beings in international relations from the different perspectives. These are:

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by examining the nature of human kind or fundamental human characteristics such as psychological and biological factors

by examining how people act in organizations. That is how

groups behave and how the interactions affect decisions. by examining the motivations, ambitions, and perceptions of political leaders that affect or determine state's foreign policy and its interaction with others.

The content and nature of study of international relations has shown remarkable changes after World War II. This was due to several factors in international life (as cited in Chandra, 1979 and Vandana, 1998). These changes were

- Technological development
- Growing liquidation of colonialism
- Rise of new nations (as a result of de-colonization process)
- Emergence of new universal value (Human Right Issues)
- The desire for seeking a theoretical order in the knowledge of international affairs
- Increasing economic interdependence
- Powerful transnational ideologies (the spread of communism, Neo-Nazi and Fascist Movements
- Demographic shifts (increase in population size)
- The emergence of Transnational Actors (the number and role of Multi National Corporations and Trans National Corporations have profound impact at home and abroad in the economic and political world).
- Prolific Growth of permanent international institutions (The UN and other specialized agencies operating all over the world).

- Socialization of Foreign Policy---The rise of new generation also facilitated the growth of people's participation in foreign affairs. This democratization is called 'Socialization of Foreign Policy'.
- End of Bio polarity and emerging world order---The end of cold war, the collapse of communism in East Europe and the disintegration of Soviet Union have led to dramatic changes in international situations. As a result multiple polar in the political and economic world began to appear.

1.4 What is International Politics?

The study of International politics is another dimension in the study of politics at global level. There are differences regarding the nature and definition of the concept. International politics is

- The interaction of state policies within the changing patterns of power relationships (Padelford and Lincoln, 1954).
- It is the struggle for and use of power among nations (Morgenthau, 1954).
- It is aspects of politics concerned with disagreement, competition, rival claims, and various outcomes arising from states ---a desire for change in the relations of states (Purnrell, 1973).
- Those aspects of interactions and relations of independent political communities in which some elements of opposition, resistance or conflict of purpose or interest is present (Harold and Sprout, 1962).
- It embraces the foreign policies of all states in their mutual interactions as well as in their interactions with

the international system as whole, international organizations and with social groups...(Frankel, 1969).

Politics in relations to nations is international politics. Politics is a process of adjustment of relationships among nations in favor of a nation or group of nations by means of power [Power is man's ability to exert and his actual exertion to control and influence minds and actions of other men] (as cited in Vandana, 1998). Therefore, in the international system politics is understood and explained in terms of power. Power politics is central in international politics.

Nature of International Politics

Politics among nations (states) is conceived within the basic framework of the system. State system is the division of the world population into nations each of which has complete legal authority within its particular territory and none of which recognizes a government legally superior to its own (as cited in Austin, 1996). Nations (states) are major actors in international politics. Politics within states (domestic politics) differs from politics between nations (international Politics). Domestic politics refers to national and political events, conditions, directions...etc. Domestic politics tells us a lot about international politics. There are established relations between domestic politics.

Identities between Domestic Politics and International Politics

Both of them consist conflicts among people, acting mainly in groups whose values and interests differ and incompatible.

Both of them act to achieve values which inevitably result in conflicts.

Both of them tend to be non-cumulative. This is to mean that one issue replaces another in the center of political stage (reflected in reshuffling of conflicting individuals. and groups).

Both realities, competing groups sometimes use violence to achieve goals.

Differences between Domestic Politics and International Politics

The difference mainly focuses on the nature of competing groups and frameworks (social, legal, and political) competition

International Politics	Domestic Politics
1. Main contestants are nations (states) with less or no over lapping membership.	1. Main contestants are individuals and interest groups with high overlapping membership
2. There is no world government with the power to make and enforce policies binding upon all peoples and states.	2. There is government that enforces policies. And interest groups induce government to enforce policies that favor them.

Relations between International Relations and International Politics

International relations is not international politics. But the central element in the study of International Relations is international politics. These two concepts are used interchangeably. They have semantic and philosophical distinction. The following table elucidates the relations between International Relations and International Politics.

Difference between International Relations and International Politics

International Relations	International Politics
1. It embraces the totality of relations among peoples and groups in world society	1. It deals with politics of the international community centering around diplomatic channels, relations among states and other political units which involves game of power
2. The relations can be official political relations between governments acting on behalf of their states	2. The relations can be political and non political (social, economic, humanitarian...)
3. Relations suggest some kind of harmony and cooperation	3. Politics suggest conflicting side of the behavior

4. International Relations is a wider concept. A relationship exists only when a group (state or government) acts and another reacts. This is the core of International Relations Action-Reaction	4. International Politics is narrower concept. It is identified as chain of reaction state's concern is political involving power struggle [power politics is the hallmark (seal) of International politics]

The concern for peace is common denominator in International Relations and International Politics. The concern for peace affects political as well as non-political aspects of international issues. In the ultimate analysis, the two terms International Relations and International Politics become synonymous at the hands of great text writers and commentators and do appear closer in spite of the subtle points of distinction between them and no settled opinion about the various expressions used above (as cited in Vandana, 1998).

Concepts that express global political processes

International Affairs---Any event that happened somewhere, some time under certain condition has significance in International Relations. International Affairs is an expression covering a generalized view of the world. This generalized view covers event of famine, epidemic, or accident in any part of the world.

World Politics---In most cases people identify International politics with world politics. Though they are used similarly, they are not similar. World politics requires the prevalence of world state. World state is not possible in immediate future. The ground in the practice of world politics is increasingly become possible with the

proliferation of international organization and supranational agencies. For example, The UN is operating at universal level beyond sovereignty in the new world order. As far as international politics gets its field of operation in international organization and supra national agencies, it is also world politics (as cited in Vandana, 1998). Generally, the current trend in the world displays that international politics deals with the present while world politics represents a future oriented meaning (as cited in Vandana, 1998).

1.5 Actors in International Relations

International Relations is real by the active role of actors at the international scale. The number of actors at global level is steadily showing rise with the change in the international system. These actors are Nation-states, Governments, Transnational Institutions, and Transnational Civil societies.

1. **Nation-States**---The concept of nation-state denotes a political unit, which is sovereign and containing inhabitants who identify and support a political unit. History is testimony to 1648 which, marked birth of modern nation-state in a world of political system based on sovereign states as basic political actors (as cited in Vandana, 1998). Nation -states are actors in the formal diplomatic and legal network of relationships.

2. **Governments**---Government as an actor makes decisions, formulates policies and reacts to the decisions and policies of other governments. A government of a state to formally act on behalf of a state, it must be recognized as legitimate government of the state by other governments. From the viewpoint of international relations a state comes into existence when it is recognized by other states and a government acquires the ability to act on state's behalf when other governments recognize it (as cited in kassaye, 2001). The organs of

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government (legislative and executive) are involved in the making and conducting of foreign policies (as cited in Reynolds, 1994).

3. Intergovernmental Organizations ---It is possible to divide intergovernmental organizations into trans national and supranational organization. Supranational Institutions perform a wide variety of functions whereas trans national organizations are specialized in performing limited functions.

3.1 Supranational Organizations---These groups are composed of states. Units (individuals or states) and structure (the international system) are in constant interaction with each other. States interact at the international level, their interactions affect decision makers' beliefs and attitudes, domestic political pressures and conceptions of national interest. For example Once President Reagan and Gorbachev started to negotiate disarmament, the two leaders engaged in a process, which changed not only their own aspirations and perceptions but also those of interest groups, political institutions and public opinion in their own countries.

The word supranational is relatively recent origin and refers to institutions which have been created for the performance of specific functions and which have power to take decisions binding on the members whether they have participated in the decision or not.

3.2 Trans national Organizations---It constitutes Intergovernmental organizations and Non-governmental organizations. The members of intergovernmental organizations are states.

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Instances of transnational organizations- Intergovernmental types

- Rhine Commission established by the congress of Vienna in 1815
- European Commission for the Danube River established in 1856 (These two institutions are limited in the range of action both functionally and geographically)
- International Telegraphic Union established in 1856
- Universal Postal Union established in 1865
- The League of Nations established in 1920 represent the first attempt to create a universal political organization
- The United Nations established at the end of 1945 (established modeling League of Nations but with extensive revisions)

In addition to the quasi-universal organization, there were many groups of states with limited membership determined by various criteria (geographical, military, political, economic...)

British Common Wealth
African Union (AU)
Arab League (AL)
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)

These organizations are seen as actors in three ways (as cited in Reynolds, 1994)

A. When there is clearly institutionalized system, that is, the authorized agent acting according to the resolution reached by the main organs of the organization. For example when IMF announces the making of loans to
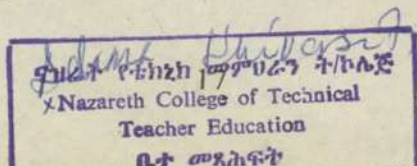
support currency has implication on the transaction and finance at global level.

B. When their act affects the behavior of their members. The decision of the organization directly or indirectly affects the member states. The member states can also positively or negatively affect each other's behavior.

C. When International Institution have supra-national characteristics are much more evidently actors on the international stage. This is possibly applied when the institution is established to perform specific and limited functions and which contain special agencies with defined powers.

Cartels, trade unions, internationally based industries; political parties (like the former Socialist or Communist Internationals) and religious groups (like Roman Catholic Church, Iranian Fundamentalism...) are other examples of trans national groups. These are also actors, which influence the behavior of other actors in international arena.

Non-Governmental Organizations known as trans national Civil Societies---Civil societies since 1990 is implying separateness of civil society from the state. Besides indigenous arrangements, there are trans national associations in the realm of civil societies. Trans national civil society has to be viewed as a political project, which crosses the global / local divide. They are now recognized as Non-Governmental Organization [NGO]. The members of non-governmental organizations are private individuals (as cited in Dunne and Wheeler, 1999)

There now exist several hundred non-governmental organizations, which consist persons of similar interest or concerns, and their *purpose* is to advance interests which members share. Trans national NGOs are in a sense that they organize conferences, *discussions*, the exchange of information and personal meetings among people who are members of different states and promote transactions across frontiers.

We have seen transnational groups or institutions that act on the international stage. It is necessary to state role of individuals as actors at global scale. Individuals are increasingly becoming as main actors and movers of global politics affecting states of the world. For example

- Betrand Russel's role during the 1962 Cuban Missile crisis
- Author of a book [Salman Rushdin's book---The Satanic Verses]
- A tourist who spends foreign currency and meets nationals of other states [A Japanese lad and a German damsel long stay in South Ethiopia, Hamer Society sharing their lifestyles]
- The Runner who competes and being champion of long runs in different international tracks [Haile Gebre Silassie's international recognition and being Honor citizen of another state has impact at the international level].
- Ossama Bin Laden and other groups of political activists which others are classifying them as terrorists have impact beyond national frontiers. The recent September 11, 2001 attack over the world trade centers and Pentagon has international repercussion in many respects.

All these and others are international actors, though their isolated activities are not likely to be much of international consequences. But selected individual's activities have implication at global scale.

1.6 National Interest and Foreign Relations

1.6.1 What are National Interests?

What are national interests? National interests comprise the range of particular ends usually of a relatively short-term nature, which policy makers at given time are trying to achieve (as cited in Reynolds, 1996). Robert O'sgood defines it as "a state of valued solely for its benefit to the nation-like preservation of territory. National interest is crucial in international politics. National interest is known as wide interest of the peoples of a nation and/or state's aspirations Professor Rosenau has proposed a distinction between the use of the concept for the purpose of political analysis and that of political action. But national interest is vague concept in terms of analytical tool and instrument of political action. Despite its vagueness (vagueness to the point of being meaningless and even pseudo theory) it is important in explaining, describing, and understanding the behavior of nation states. As an analytic tool, it is employed to describe, explain, or evaluate the sources or the adequacy of a nation's foreign policy. As an instrument of political action, it serves as a means of justifying, denouncing, or proposing policies. Both usages refer to what is best for a national society. (as cited in Frankel, 1970).

National interest is the key concept in foreign policy making (as cited in Prakash, 1970). National interests usually refer to foreign policy but applied also to domestic politics---For example when the national interest a state is for modern agricultural sector promotion. This is to be more productive and to train large number of students in agricultural mechanization and development. As national interest is foreign policy, we can employ alternative terms like 'public' or general interest, 'public', or 'social good' for domestic politics (as cited in Frankel, 1970).

To analyze national interest, there are two approaches. These are objectivity and subjectivity. National interest can be objectively defined or at least can be examined with the help of some objectively definable yardsticks and criteria. But, when subjectively defined or interpreted is constantly changing (pluralistic set of objective preferences).

Defining National Interest

It is a state of affairs valued solely for the benefit to the nation --like preservation of territory, independence and fundamental governmental institutions self sufficiency in the conduct of foreign relations for national prestige. (Robert O'good)

It is conceived as " the political tradition and the total culture context within which a nation formulates its foreign policy (Morgenthau (1973).

It is a concept, which nations apply in trying to influence the world environment in their advantage (Rostow).

The general long term and continuing purposes, which the state, the nation, and the government all see themselves as serving (Charles Lerche and Abdul Said, 1970).

The general and continuing end for which a nation acts (Brookings's Institute). Dyke (1957) defines it as which states seek to protect or achieve in relation to each other.

According to Morgenthau national interest is determined by internal and external factors.

Internal factors---From political tradition perspective--- It refers to personality ideals and role of statesmen, political lobbies, or groups, kind of government structure and political process.
From cultural context--- It refers cultural environment related to customs, traditions and perceptions of societies, ideology of the state.

External factors---It refers to nations geographic environment its place in world community of nations in the context of capability, relations with neighboring states, pressure and compulsions of proximate states, roles of great powers, international organizations…etc.

National Interest has two most important purposes. In its primary purpose it gives general policy orientation towards the external environment. Secondly, it serves as controlling criterion of choice in immediate situations. These purposes are expected to show consistency to the nation's foreign policy.

Genesis of National Interest

The evolution of the modern state system led to the development of national interest after the recognition of the concept of national state. The history of the concept of 'national interest' goes back to the earliest stages of the evolution of the modern period, in the 16th and 17th centuries, first in Italy and then in England (as cited in Frankel, 1970). After the advent of nationalism, the older terms were gradually replaced by reference to the nation. American statesmen extensively used the term 'national interest' ever since the establishment of the constitution. Similar terms were used concurrently like 'National Honor', Public Interest' and ' General Will'.

It is scarcely possible to trace the early history of national interest much further back to primitive societies. Nevertheless, the primitive societies when engaged in sporadic contacts must have already developed some notions of self interest based upon survival, securing power and wealth. But, it is likely that they conceived it within the specific bargaining or conflict of situations rather than in general terms. In ancient Greece, the concept could not be articulated because of the absence of clear-cut political boundaries and of the modern distinctions between cultural and political communities. The Greeks generally conceived within interests and within the orbit of their individual city-states (as cited in Frankel, 1970).

Classifications of National Interest

According to Thomas D. Robinson (1961) national interest is classified into six categories.

1. Primary Interests--- are vital or core interests of a nation like security and survival (preservation of physical and political identity of a state against foreign powers).
2. Secondary Interests---are vital but not crucial as primary interest. Secondary interest includes protection of citizens abroad and ensuring diplomatic immunity of the diplomatic staff
3. Permanent Interests---It includes states long term and constant interests which, change rarely (steadily changing). It is also related to the vision and the general and national objectives of a state like developing self-reliant economy and powerful nation.
4. Variable Interests---It refers to vital interests of a state within a certain circumstance (a given condition). They function within time and place and are influenced by different factors like institutions, personalities, and ideas (example existing political parties, leadership qualities and public opinion).

5. General Interests---It includes shared interests. When many states are advancing common interests like trading, diplomatic relations, and commercial contacts. These are also specific interests, which evolve logically out of general interests.

Frankel (1970) suggests his own way of classifying national interest. They are: -
1. Aspirational level---It refers to the vision of good life to some set of goals. It indicates the general direction desired.
2. Operational level---It refers to the sum total of its interests and policies actually pursued.
3. Explanatory level---It refers to demonstrating and evaluating the policies pursued. Its main role is to prove oneself rights and one's opponents wrong.
4. Polemical level---It refers to rationalizing and criticizing foreign policy.

Core elements of national interest
There is minimum component of national interest any modern state. These are security, national development, and world order. **Security** ---All nations desire and continuously search for national security, political independence, and territorial integrity.

National Development ---The promotion of economic interest, which includes the preservation or acquisition of favorable condition and terms of trade. Security and national development are core components of national interest.
World Order---It includes maintenance of international peace, the promotion of international law or the establishment of global organization.

1.6.2 Foreign Policy: Conceptual Approach

It is a system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behavior of other states and for adjusting their own activities to international environment (George Modelski, 1962). According to Hartman, it is a systematic statement of deliberately selected national interests (Hartman)

It involves the formulation and implementation of a group of principles, which shape the behavior pattern of a state while negotiating with other states to protect or further its vital interests (Rodee, Anderson Chirstol, 1957). Foreign policy is defined as a formulation of desired outcomes, which are intended (or expected to be consequent upon decisions adopted or made by those who have authority (or ability) to commit the machinery of the state and a significant fraction of national resources to that end (D Vital, 1968 as cited in Frankel, 1970).

Any kind of contact or relations is not associated with foreign policy. But matters that originate and are directly or indirectly sponsored by government of a state can be considered as elements of foreign policy.

The making of foreign policy is another element that constitutes the study of foreign policy. Foreign policy making involves making three kinds of choices.

1. The choice of goals---deciding what should be the state's general objectives in international politics and particular objectives in particular situation. This choice often involves sacrificing some goals in order to pursue other more important goals.

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2. To select methods used to achieve the goals---It involves the various instruments applied to advance the foreign policy goals.
3. Capabilities must be assessed---It implies the state's self-assessment of its potential and actual power during the making of foreign policy. The content and practice of foreign policy should reflect the actual capabilities of the states. (as cited in Ranny, 1990).

1.6.3 Relations between Foreign Policy and National Interest

The goals and objectives of any state foreign policy constitute national interest as a basis. The objectives of any state foreign policy are the following (as cited in Chandra, 1979).

A. Maintaining territorial integrity of the state
B. Promoting economic interest
C. Providing for national security
D. Protecting national prestige and developing national power
E. Maintaining world order

National interest is key concept in foreign policy. The making of foreign policy begins by identifying the state's key national interests. As long as the world is divided politically, national interest will remain the key concept in world politics (as cited in Vandana, 1998). Foreign policy cannot be subordinated to any other principle than national interest. The functional essence of national interest and foreign policy can be seen in such perspectives. The purpose of national interest is to minimize continuous conflicts by a process of adjustment of conflicting interests through diplomacy. The total task of foreign policy is to defend national interests peacefully, restrictively, and rationally (as cited in Vandana, 1998).

States design their foreign policy on the basis of their national interests. National interests are not static phenomena. They show drastic change due to change of state's values, internal power shifts, and the prevalence of powerful economic and political personalities…etc. We cannot understand foreign policy without comprehending and identifying main national interests. There is direct co-relation between national interest and the foreign policy designed.

Factors that Determine Foreign Policy

During foreign policy making, there are factors or frame of references that determine foreign policy making. According to Reynolds (1996), foreign policy consists of the external actions of achieving long-range goals and short-term objectives. Action is constrained by the perceived circumstances of the state on behalf of the decision-makers acts. The decision-makers act is seen in two ways.

A. Domestic Environment of decision-makers. It is constrained by its geography, economy, demography, its political structure and tradition and its military strategic situation

B. International environment of the decision-makers

To sum up, foreign policy determinants an be divided as

- Internal factors
- External factors
- Policy-making factors

Internal factors are made of elements that make the totality of internal situations of a state.

- Geographic-Strategic Factor
- National Capacity
- Historical factors
- Public Opinion

External factors also encompass various international factors.

- World Organization creating a static international environment
- World Public creating dynamic international environment
- Reaction of friendly states about the foreign policy a country

1. Internal Factors

Geographic-strategic Factors—Geography is one of the potent factors that shape foreign policymaking. Geography includes location, natural resources, size, topography, state boundaries, population (size, character and distribution), climate, soil, hydrograph...etc. In geographical situation, the characteristics of size, topography, shape, and climate are important. A size large enough to support a population sufficient to man and adequate military establishment; a climate, which is uniform and conducive to physical vigor, preferably either temperate or tropical highland and a shape which is compact rather than elongated or disjoined (like Pakistan till 1971) is thus easier to defend, provide power potential allowing a state to prosecute an independent foreign policy (as cited in Chandra, 1979). Topography and terrain are geographical elements that enter into foreign policy making. Topography offers boundaries with natural defense barriers (using mountains, forests, swamps, rivers, deserts, and oceans). In almost all states the obstacles and opportunities arising from topography have entered into calculation of statesmen. Let see how topography and terrain shapes the foreign policy of Italy. The gentle shelving of the Italian coast towards sandy shores on the Adriatic littoral, offering new harbors, has been seen by Italian leaders as posing strategic threats of invasion from the sea which could be countered only by influence over the countries western side of the Adriatic and particularly over the area around the Valona in Albania sea. Similarly, the Appennine

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Mountain range, with its Western spurs running down to the Tyrrhenian Sea, has impeded communication and movement of the Italian peoples and so enabled strong local patriotism to persist with notable political consequences (as cited in Reynolds, 1996). The advent of science and technology has undermined the impact of geography over foreign policy making. But, the advantages and disadvantages of geography in nuclear era still remain operative.

Historical Traditions ---Foreign policy is influenced by history of a nation. From history, a nation adapts a style and culture, which in turn influence the course of action that a nation follows in its external relations. For example Ethiopia has long standing history in maintaining its territorial integrity. Ethiopia's foreign policy rests on keeping its territorial integrity and non-interfere in the internal affairs of other states. These foreign policy principles are results of culminated resistance history of the people of Ethiopia against colonialists and expansionists.

National Capacity---It refers to military strength, level of technology and advancement and economic level and development, quality of population, size of the state,...etc. Foreign policy is expected to be compatible with national capacity for better outcome. States are not endowed with equal natural resources (critical raw materials) as iron, coal, oil, rubber, uranium, and others for the production of war materials. Such differences are also reinforced by the unevenness of educated manpower required to utilize available resources. Therefore, all nations cannot design similar foreign policies. It means there is variation in national capacity. For example Britain pre-1945 and post-1945 foreign policy is different. After 1945, Great Britain lost most of its colonial territories, which were sources of national power. Because of this change, Great Britain's national capacity was affected and forced to reconcile its foreign policy and changed national capacity.

Public Opinion--- Views, attitudes, beliefs ...of the people towards any political, economic, ...ideas, institutions, peoples organized and articulated in systematic way. It is one of the internal determinant. It is only applicable in states which democracy is the guiding principle, otherwise dictatorial system are immune from considering popular feelings. For example, USA had to withdraw from Vietnam under the pressure of public opinion. Similarly, USA was forced to withdraw its forces from Somalia (in the middle of 1990s) by the intense pressure of American public opinion. The US soldiers faced serious opposition and confrontation from the different Somali warlords and ordinary Somali people.

2. Policy makers Role

The impression, attitude, belief, thought, inclination, personality...of policy makers is another important variable in the formulation of foreign policy. Policy makers are the different ranks of leaders who have a say in the design and making of foreign policy. The way foreign policy makers interpret national interest and understand the international environment has impact on the making of foreign policy.

3. External Factors
Three elements together form what is known as international environment.

1. World organization, international law, and international ethical norms have also influence over each states foreign policy. The chance of states foreign policy success depends how much it accommodates the main principles of world organization and international law.
2. World public opinion ---The international public opinion has influence over the practice of states of foreign policy. World public opinion is dynamic. With the change in world political

situation, there will be different wave of world public opinions that put pressure over states concerned. For example, Bush Junior's (current US president) official public address classifying Iran, Iraq, and North Korea hosting terrorist groups has encountered criticism and support from the international community. World public opinions were critical of the president's speech.

3. Relations with Friendly States---At minimum, every state has friendly nations or allies. During foreign policy formulation, policy makers have to take into account the interests of friendly states.

Finally, foreign policy is thus a product of complex interplay of geography, history, past experiences, present requirements, and -perception of national interests, besides domestic, regional, and international affairs (Dutt, 1984 as cited in Chandra, 1995).

1.6.4 Instruments (Methods) to advance Foreign Policy (national policy)

There are various instruments used to advance foreign policy objectives (goals). According to Ranny (1996) the following methods (means) are effective in securing better outcomes
1. Diplomacy and Recognition
2. Trade policies and Foreign aid
3. Propaganda and Subversion
4. Terrorism
5. War

Other writers include additional instruments like imperial, colonial, and Neo- colonial practices.

Diplomacy and Recognition

Diplomacy is the conduct of international relations by negotiations among nations official representatives (as cited in Ranny, 1996). It is the management of international relations through negotiation. As

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sovereign states co-exist in an international environment dominated by power, diplomacy as an instrument of foreign policy is designed to achieve agreement or compliance in all cases of conflict of interest. Diplomacy should not be confused with foreign policy. Foreign policy is substance (content) while diplomacy proper is the method and process to foreign policy.

Any formal and basic relations between two nations is established through the exchange of official diplomatic missions which are composed of envoys known as Ambassador, Minister or Charge d' affairs. Recognition is a condition for peaceful diplomatic relations between states. The decision on whether or not to recognize a particular foreign regime can thus become a major issue in any nation's foreign policy. The basic question is the yardstick of extending recognition. Some consider the government's full control of its particular nation or pass certain minimum standards of moral and political respectability. Some nations attempt to answer theses questions by extending De Jure recognition to governments of which they approve and De Facto recognition to those which they disapprove (as cited in Ranny, 1996).

Diplomacy is in large part an activity of the modern world. It is true that among the ancient Greeks, in the Romans world, or between the Chinese Middle Kingdom and its tributaries, negotiating missions from time to time departed and returned; but it was not until the 15th century, with the Italians in the lead, that permanent mission began. By the 18th century the practices had spread through Europe and the foundations of the modern diplomatic system has been laid (as cited in Vandana, 1998). It was in the early 19th century that diplomatic methods became a generally observed norm and code.

Whoever conduct diplomacy it is used for different purposes
1. 1. Diplomacy can be used to seek genuine agreements.
   - The US-USSR multiple agreements on strategic arms limitations
   - The 1987 agreement to limit the number of Inter continental Ballistic Missile in Europe
2. It can be used as propaganda device to embarrass the state's antagonists
3. Diplomacy can be used to play for time while awaiting improvement in the military situations
   - The lengthy peace talks between China and UN representatives in Korea in 1952-53 in which the Chinese were talking time while attempting irregular military attacks until they realize their potential is weak. Finally, the Chinese knowing their military situation entered negotiation and truce was concluded.

There are many types of diplomatic practices. Some of them are as follows.
   1. Democratic Diplomacy---It involves the increasing participation of the people in the affairs of the government (a trend that began after 18th century). It is largely responsible for the decline of conventional diplomacy.
   2. Multi lateral Diplomacy (Parliamentary Diplomacy)---It is two types
      - Temporary international conferences---example- 1648 conference of Westphalia, 1899 and 1907 Hague conferences etc.
      - Creation of permanent International Organization--- example- the establishment of League of Nations and United Nations

Multilateral diplomacy has supplemented traditional bilateral diplomacy.

3. Summit Diplomacy---In the past, there was personal diplomacy was relatively new. Sir Winston Churchill coined the phrase in 1953, when he proposed a conference between Western and Soviet Head of governments. Example of Summit diplomacy

   - Meetings of Asian and African Heads of States and Prime Minister in Bandung in 1955.
   - Non-Aligned conference of states since 1961.

4. Coalition Diplomacy---It is the conduct of foreign affairs with friendly states in alliance

   - NATO---designing and implementing common strategies of the organization

5. Commercial Diplomacy---It is the way of applying economic interests through diplomatic endeavors for promoting national interests.

   - Economic blockades, threats to discontinue economic aid by major powers, formation of alliances are some ways to conduct commercial diplomacy

6. Cultural Diplomacy---It involves non-political issues for improving relations with other countries. Example --The Ping Pong diplomacy of the American President Nixon in 1970s when he sent a table tennis team to china for improving ties with the country.

7. Shopkeeper Diplomacy (Warrior Diplomacy) ---Shopkeeper diplomacy is cautious, logical and peace oriented approach of a shopkeeper, whereas the warrior diplomacy is brilliant quarrelsome and dynamic approach of the warrior.

Thus the study of history of diplomatic methods reveals that nations adopt different kinds of methods according to the nature of the circumstances and strategies they adopt to fulfill their national interests (as cited in Vandana, 1998).

Trade Policies and Foreign Aid

Trade policies and foreign aid are known as economic instruments. An economic instrument may be defined as an economic capacity, institution, or technique of explicitly or implicitly applied to foreign policy goals (as cited in Chandra, 1979). Economic instruments are non-violent and represent manifestations of a state's economic policy in an effort to advance the national interest. Economic instruments serve for good purpose or bad ones; may be used between trends and foes in peace and war. Economic instruments can be explained as trade instruments, financial instruments, and foreign assistance instruments.

Trade Policies as Economic Instruments
Most states used trade restrictions such as tariffs, import quotas and licenses, export controls, regulation of rates and conditions of international currency exchange, and even barter to control their economic relations with other nations. Tariffs are major economic instruments practiced by states. What is then custom tariff? It is a duty or tax imposed upon imported or exported goods. In most countries duties on exports are common. Tariff is usually formulated to enhance economic power. It may be imposed as a revenue raising procedures; it may be enacted to protect national industries-- for

economic, political, or strategic reasons; and it also may be designed to injure or threaten to achieve some economic or political concessions (as cited in Chandra, 1979).

States entered into agreements to regulate international trade relations. The most inclusive of all agreements is the General Agreement on Trade and Tariff (GATT). It was founded in 1948, in 1994 GATT had 123 states as members, and 29 more accepted its rules. In 1994 most GATT's member states signed a revised treaty establishing a new World Trade Organization (WTO) to monitor international trade and resolve disputes over tariffs and import quotas.

The treaty to establish WTO was ratified by 104 of the members, but several major trading powers (notably Australia, India, Japan, South Korea and the USA) delayed ratification because of strong opposition from several of their most powerful pressure groups. Over 90% of the world 's international trade is now conducted according to GATT and WTO rules on such matters as import and export quotas, custom regulation and above all, tariff rates on imported goods (as cited in Ranny, 1996).

International Cartels---They are other economic instruments to advance national policies. A cartel is an association of independent enterprises in the same or similar lines of business, which exist for the purpose of exercising some sort of control over competition. The main purpose of cartel is to exert a monopolistic influence on the market. There are many types of cartels---those, which fix prices (like OPEC), those which limit productions and those which divide sales territory.

Intergovernmental Commodity Agreements ---It is also another device of promoting national policies. It assures a particular state as a definite share in the world market. It also aims at the protection of producers never consumers. Example ---The 1949 Inter American Agreement

Dumping---It is a means of the sale of goods for export at price lower than those charged by domestic buyers. It was systematically practiced in about 1890. The effect of dumping for the exporting country maintains employment whereas for the importing country sporadic dumping may divert or ruin competitive local industries. The recent Chinese goods flooding the Ethiopian markets can be cited as an example of dumping.

Foreign Aid as an Economic Instrument---Foreign Aid had been an important tool of foreign policy. Today it has become one of the most significant economic methods used in international politics. Most of the developing countries solicit foreign aid bilateral or multilateral. Foreign aid programs are generally politically motivated and rarely activated by humanitarian considerations. Some of the premises of extending foreign economic assistance are:

- to maintain political stability in the receiving states so that they may remain faithful allies
- to alter the policy of the aid receiving states in favor of the donor nations
- to earn receiving states friendship
- to make feasible their foreign policy objectives

There are four types of aid program; these are military aid, technical assistance, grants, commodity import programs, and development loans (as cited in Cahndra, 1979). According to the working reality, foreign aid despite its size has proved highly ineffective in making

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iends and serving allies. It has not proved to be reliable instrument
f foreign policy. It has failed to promote economic stability,
lemocratic institutions, and practices or a more reasonable foreign
policy. But foreign aid seems likely to be a major weapon of foreign
policy for relatively few rich nations.

Subsidies as Minor Economic instruments---Subsidies are
payments paid to encourage production at home or sales abroad.
Subsidies are known as offensive instrument whereas protective
tariff is a defensive weapon. An offensive weapon, subsidies,
promotes dumping which tariff could not do.

Quotas and Licenses---Governments impose a direct control over
imports using quota system and licensing attains the most rigid
control over imports. The purpose of fixing quota is to protect
domestic producers and to make sure that there is no unfavorable
balance of trade.

These are not the only economic instruments used by states across
the world in promoting foreign policy. There are other instruments
like:

- Pre-emptive buying
- Trade and Payment agreement
- Control of Enemy Assets
- Loans and Grants
- Expropriation and Repudiation (denial)
- Black Lists
- Others---Barter Agreements, Import Surtax,
  Sanitary Regulations, Custom Procedures
  (Invisible Tariff), Boycott (to stop imports) and
  Embargo (to stop exports)

Propaganda and Subversion

Diplomacy and Foreign Aid are direct efforts to induce the public officials of other nations to act as desired. Propaganda and subversion are indirect efforts in that they are intended to change political conditions in the target nations in such way that the leaders of those nations will be forced to adopt the desired policies.

Propaganda has long history in human society. After the turn of the 19th century, propaganda gradually become institutionalized and as a possibility of instrument for national policy. The revolution in communication, expansion of educational facilities and techniques, particularly radio, motion pictures and TV have opened the channel of influences. It is considered as a means of psychological warfare. The Roman Catholic Church, for the dissemination of Christian doctrine, first coined the word propaganda. Pope Gregory XV established it in 1622 for propagation of Christian religion.

What is Propaganda? There are various definitions of propaganda.

- It is a systematic attempt to affect the minds, emotions, and actions of a given group for public purposes (Frankel, 1969).
- It is deliberate attempt by some individual or group to form, control or alter the attitudes, emotions and feelings of other groups by the use of the instrument of communication, with intention that in any given situation the reaction of those so influenced will be that desired by the propagandist. Propaganda is the process to maximize persuasiveness to a point of view rather than adhering to some standard of scholarship or uncovering new fact (Holsti, 1978).
- It is organized efforts by governments or members of governments to induce either domestic groups or foreign states to accept policies favorable to their own (Palmer and Perkins, 1976).

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- It is the use of mass communications to influence public opinion in the target nation, so that its people will insist that their officials act as the propagandizing nation wishes (Ranny, 1996).

The aim of propaganda is primarily, though not wholly, is to influence a desired direction of the domestic environments of the decision makers of others states and to decrease their ability to oppose. The availability of this means of influencing behavior is the consequence of increasing popular involvement in politics and the development of communication technology (as cited in Reynolds, 1994). On the other side, the effectiveness of propaganda as a means of advancing purposes thus depends on the susceptibility of the target and on the availability of appropriate technical means. The technical means in this context means medium of penetrations like printed materials, films, video shows, ...etc. Propaganda techniques as a foreign policy tool may include cultural program or exchanges, distribution of books, literature and the use of radio and TV. These mass media may serve to disseminate information, to propagate a particular opinion (whether true or false), to advocate particular course of action, and to stimulate groups in opposition to the target government.

Sometimes states try to influence the policies of other states by subversion. This is an instrument of policy not new in principle but new in range and scope. The biblical story in genesis of the serpent's temptation of eve to eat the forbidden fruit was an essay in subversion. What is subversion? Literally, it means overturning or overthrowing of something. In the political context, it is concerned with bringing influence to bear by a variety of means on groups within a state (groups from the state operating from outside) in order to overthrow the government or to prevent its overthrow, or to cause it to change or not to change its behavior. It is covert action designed to overthrow an established government.

Subversion takes many forms. The major form of subversive activity is clandestine rather than public. Techniques may include the spreading of rumors, the infiltration of organizations, the sponsoring of riots, strikes, sabotage, the assisting of dissatisfied groups (in finance and military soft and hard wares) in the country, or in exile through advisors, the creation of political scandals, the organization and supporting of coup d' etat, organizing and supporting of guerilla warfare, organizing political assassination…etc. (as cited in Reynolds, 1994).

Examples of some subversive acts of the then Soviet Union

Rumors---In 1939 in Britain there was rumors circulating that Chamberlain (the then Prime Minister) was intending to do another deal with Hitler.

Infiltration of Organization---Trade unions or left wing political parties of many countries were penetrated and sabotaged.

Sponsoring strikes---The use of communist parties for strikes of late 1947 in Italy and France were targeted in breaking the Marshal Plan and the nascent organization for European Economic co-operation.

- This was manifested in extending support to the Nazis of 1932 in the belief that Nazi accession to power would so sharpen the class struggle that a communist takeover would follow.
- Organization of and support to the coup d' etat in Czechoslovakia in February 1948.
- Support to the Greek guerrillas after 1946
- Direct military assistance to insurrectionary groups in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania in June 1940.

Subversive Acts of USA

USA after World War II has used similar methods through the instrumentality of CIA

- Overthrowing of the supposedly pro-communist regime of Arbenz in Guatemala in 1954 and the reduction of assistance to Vietnam in 1963 until the Diem regime was overthrown by army coup d' etat
- Supply of arms and transport to the Cuban exiles for the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961 (as cited in Reynolds, 1996).

In all these cases states use propaganda and subversion as a means of advancing foreign policy objectives.

War

The fifth means of states for the achievement of their purposes is named as war (Chandra, 1979, Vandana, 1995) or the use of force (Reynolds, 1994). In this reading, war and use of force are interchangeably applied implying similar meaning.

Though war is not a choice, it has long been used as instrument (means) of national policy. It is endemic disease of nation-states. Much of human history is the history of war. What is war? It is different from non-peaceful methods of settling disputes-- intervention, reprisals, embargo...etc. The term war is used in different senses. There is now cold war, total war, propaganda war, political war, preventive war, guerilla war, and so on. The term has another meaning besides direct use of armed force. According to Quincy Wright war in broadest sense " is violent contact of distinct but similar entities". And in narrower 'sense " is the legal conditions which equally permit two or more hostile groups to carry on a conflict by armed force." Malinowski defines it as "armed conflict between two independent political units by means of organized

military forces in the pursuit of a tribal or national policy (as cited in Chandra, 1979). To Karl Van Clauswitz war is the only part of political intercourse. It is by no means independent of political action. According to Clauswitz war is nothing but a continuation of political intercourse with the admixture of other means. It is an extension of political policy to the field of force. It arises out of political situations and results from a political motive (as cited in Chandra, 1979).

Our general conception about war is geared towards armed conflicts. But war has various facets. It is classified to facilitate an understanding of the various kinds of military confrontations
   A. Wars fought for Justice and Injustice
   B. Personal and Public wars
   C. Total and Regional wars
   D. Civil war, Conventional and Unconventional war
   E. Guerilla war, Ecological war
   F. Cold war, Propaganda war, Psychological war
These classifications help our understanding of war in different ways and how much it determines national policy (as cited in Vandana, 1995).

The Future of War as an instrument of National Policy

The future of war depends on the nature of war that is being fought. War has been used as an instrument of by nation states for the attainment of power expansion of land, imposition of ideology and life styles spread of religion and faith, ethnic and cultural interests, expression of superiority, attainment of wealth, technology, men and material and enactment of treaties and agreements made under pressure. The global scenario has changed the nature and practice of war. The nature of war has changed with the emergence of a strong power on the international scene. In today's world war had crossed limitations of geographical boundaries and has assumed a transnational character. The mechanization of warfare has increased

he destructive power of war---chemical, biological and nuclear war. Because of this there is an assumption that it is no longer an instrument of national policy.

Nevertheless, we should not jump to a conclusion that war being so dangerous will no longer be employed. Rather a more hopeful and practical approach would be to see that this instrument is used very sparingly and in a morally defensible ways. War is best seen as one of the methods that nations in fact use to achieve their ends. For most nations war's tremendous costs and great risks make it the method a last resort. Most nations turn to war only when one of their most cherished goals---such as preserving independence or protecting their basic institutions ---appear to be in mortal danger and all other means of achieving their goal seem to have failed. Only such goal in such circumstances can justify the costs and risks of war. In the following cases use of force is seen as a necessary or advantageous means of seeking a policy goal.

- Israel and Arabs have fought four wars since 1947 (in order to survive as seen by Israelis).
- North Korea attacked South Korea in 1950 (to make a greatly deserved gain without serious risk of heavy loss in case of North Korea).
- Communist China sent troops into Tibet in 1950s and fought a frontier war with India in 1962 (to increase prestige and decrease that of an opponent and rival in the Sino-India clash.
- Indonesia used military violence in the confrontation with Malaysia between 1963 and 1966 (to divert attention from internal troubles).
- India and Pakistan fought over Kashmir in 1965 (to attempt to bring to a successful end an intolerably prolonged situation of acute conflict ---Kashmir) (as cited in Reynolds, 1994).

Sometimes war is waged to restore moral and righteous rule and imposition of human rights in a bid to overthrow corrupt, repressive, and exploitative governments. Wars waged to intervene in affairs of two countries solve outstanding problems, disputes, and restoration of durable peace in the region are also considerable significant. War will be last resort when politics and diplomacy fail to settle causes of conflict. Therefore, war will continue to be instrument of national policy.

Terrorism

Since 1980s some nations identified terrorism as method of foreign policy. What is Terrorism? It is systematic use of violence or the threat of violence against civilians to achieve political objectives.
Historically, the term terror was taken from the 1873-1874 French Revolution ---'reign of terror'. During this period, the committee of Public Safety led by Maximilien Robespiere, sought to eliminate the opposition by using mass executions to terrify and intimidate all those who opposed them (in just over a year more than three hundred thousand persons were arrested and over seventeen thousand were sent to guillotine) (as cited in Ranny, 1996)

Today terrorism is used by nations and political groups that cannot accomplish their objectives by diplomacy and that are too weak to use conventional military force. Some of the immediate targets of terrorists are: -

- ♦ Ordinary and unsuspecting passengers on airlines
- ♦ Patrons of airports
- ♦ Prominent restaurants
- ♦ Recently passenger planes ...etc.

Such acts are used to pressure target governments to alter policies according to the wishes of terrorists. The following are instances of terror acts that influence policies of states.

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- Shiite Muslims of Lebanon force USA to end its support of Israel.
- In 1979 Iranian Shi'ites stormed the US Embassy in Teheran and held 60 diplomatic employees prisoner for a year before they were finally released.
- In 1985 group of armed men hijacked a US airliner and held over 70 passengers hostage demanding Israel release political activists from jail.
- In 1988, a bomb planted in a plane destroyed a Pan-American 747 flying out of London.
- In 1993 a car bomb exploded in New York city World Trade Center killing innocent civilians with extensive damage
- On 11 September 2001, passenger planes crushed with twin buildings (World Trade Center) and Pentagon premises and more than 6000 people died and the buildings were changed into rubble.

Terrorism is perpetrated (carried out) by extreme secrecy. Secrecy makes it difficult to be certain which governments are using terrorism as a matter of policy. Whether directed by government or not, terrorism is extremely difficult for target nation to deal with.

So far it is difficult to agree in defining the term terrorism. The US and its allies classify groups of political activists in Ireland (IRA-Shen Phen), in Middle East (Hamas, Hizbollah, Islamic Jihad, and Others), in Philippines (Abu Seyaf Collectives) ...etc. as terrorists. But these political groups identify themselves as freedom fighters, liberation movements, opposition groups targeting USA's, and its ally citizens and national interests. Still now, the term is argumentative. Nevertheless, terrorism is advanced as instrument of political policies by some states.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

CHAPTER 1

Multiple Choices: Read the following questions and choose the best answer out of the given alternatives

1. International relations is the totality of all relation. It means
   a) Political
   b) Economic
   c) Legal
   d) All of the above
2. The 3rd stage of development of international Relations as legalistic -moralistic approach suggest
   a) Diplomatic History
   b) Current Affairs
   c) Institutionalization of International relations
   d) Forces of Foreign Relations
3. An expression covering a generalized view of the world like epidemics, famine...etc.
   a) Global Politics
   b) International Affairs
   c) International Relations
   d) International Politics
4. Which of the following is not post World War II reality?
   a) Growing liquidation of colonialism
   b) Emergence of powerful transnational ideologies
   c) Prolific growth of permanent international institutions
   d) None of the above

5. The common denominator of international relations and international politics is
    a)   Concern for militarisation
    b)   Concern for Arms Race
    c)   Concern for relief works
    d)   Concern for Peace

6. The key element in foreign policy is
    a)   Geographical location
    b)   Historical Tradition
    c)   Identification of National Interest
    d)   Public Attitude

7. The approaches applied in analyzing national interest are
    a) Empirical and Rational
    b) Time and Space
    c) Political and Logical
    d) Subjectivity and objectivity

8. According to Morgenthau, the cultural context of national interest refers to
    a) Personality ideals and roles of statesmen
    b) Customs, traditions and perceptions of societies
    c) Geographical environment
    d) None of the above

9. The history of the concept of national interest goes back to
    a) 12th and 13th centuries
    b) 14th and 15th centuries
    c) 16th and 17th centuries
    d) 18th and 19th centuries

10. Vital or core interests of a nation like security and survival are categorized as
    a) Variable interests
    b) Permanent Interests
    c) Secondary interests
    d) Primary Interests
11. The polemical level of national interests indicates
    a) Demonstrating and evaluating the policies pursued
    b) Rationalizing and criticizing foreign policy
    c) Sum total of interests and policies
    d) Vision of good life to some set of goals
12. Which of the following is recognized as core element of national interest?
    a) Security
    b) National Development
    c) World order
    d) All of the above
13. Identify an element that is not the main objective of foreign policy
    a) Promoting economic interest
    b) Maintaining world order
    c) Providing national security
    d) None of the above
14. National capacity in foreign policy making implies
    a) Military strength
    b) Level of technology and
    c) Economic level and development
    d) All of the above
15. In diplomacy, the meetings of heads of state and Government can be classified as
    a) Cultural diplomacy
    b) Submit diplomacy
    c) Commercial diplomacy
    d) Democratic diplomacy

True or False: Read the questions and decide either True or False

16. International politics is a totality of all relations, political non-political relations.
17. Before the emergence of organized political bodies, i.e. states there were relations of inter- class, tribes, villages, and communities
18. Modern nation state-system is not legacy of the medieval political developments.
19. In the development of international relations, the study of current affairs lacked integral view of international relations.
20. In Bipolar system there are more than three dominant powers
21. In domestic politcs the main contestants are individuals and interest groups .
22. Supranational institutions perform a wide variety of functions whereas transnational organizations are specialized in performing limited . functions.
23. The evolution of the modern state system led to the development of national interest after the recognition of the concept of national state
24. Any state's design of foreign policy does not require identification of national interest.
25. Recognition is a condition for peaceful diplomatic relation between states.
26. The 1948 Peace of West phalia was a turning point in the development of international relations.
27. International relations suggest harmony and co-operation.
28. International relations is real by the active role of individuals at the international scale.

29. International politics refers to the political relations of states.
30. The practice of world politics is increasingly become possible with the increase of international organization and supra national organizations.

Writing Questions: Read the following and attempt to answer

31. What are the three elements that are involved in the making of foreign policy?
32. Define National interest
33. Out line the factors that influence the making of foreign policy.
34. What do you understand about the dynamism of national interest?
35. List down methods used in the advancement of national policy.
36. What is the relation between foreign policy and diplomacy?
37. Identify the premises of extending foreign economic assistance.
38. What is the difference between war and terrorism?
39. How do you make a distinction between diplomacy and propaganda as instrument of national policy?
40. Outline the three major categories of the international system.

Chapter II Cold War: From Rise to Demise

2.1 The Era of Cold War

Cold war was a post 1945 international relations, i.e. bipolar world order. The strained relations, whom steadily developed between the super powers, (USA and USSR) in the after math of the Second World War, are known in international relations as cold war. The term cold war had an American origin. It described the post World War II relations between the Eastern Bloc and the Western Bloc.

In dictionary of Politics (as cited in Chandra, 1995) Cold war is a state of tension between two countries in which each side adopts policies designed to strengthen it and weaken the other. It is a line falling short of real (hot war). It designed as 'hot peace', 'hard peace', or 'bitter peace'. Cold war is the struggle for leadership or domination between rival social systems (a struggle between opposed valued systems), i.e. capitalism and socialism. It is not armed struggle but rivals that continue their hostility without severing their peacetime diplomatic ties. The hostility is expressed in political, psychological, economic, subversive and other measures.

The Origin and Causes of Col War.
From the late 1940s to the late 1980s international politics was dominated by the conflict between the world's two most powerful nations, the United States and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). The struggle was called "Cold War" because the two nations and their allies were opposing each other in economics, politics, diplomacy...etc. (as cited in Ranny, 1996). There is no consensus on the circumstances of cold war beginnings. Historically cold war is assumed to start in 1917. The foundation of cold war was laid during the 1945 Yalta agreement. The leaders of the three states, USA (Roosevelt), United Kingdom (Churchill), and USSR (Stalin) agreed to divide Germany and Europe. After the Yalta summit, the

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allies fell apart and mutual distrust and suspicion began to surface. The 1945 'Fulton Speech' of Churchill of Britain marked the birth of cold war. He said, "A shadow has fallen upon the scene so lately lighted by the allied victory. Nobody knows what Soviet Russia and its Communist International organization intend to do in the immediate future.... From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent" (as cited in Chandra, 1995). Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe, Warsaw, Berlin, Bucharest and Sofia; all these famous cities and the population around them lie in what I must call the Soviet Sphere ... (as cited in Simons, 1994). In this speech Churchill outlined his perception of the emerging cold war.

Cold war was recognized as an after effect of World War II. But it was not a new reality in the political landscape of the world. The Western Nations and Soviet Union were exhibiting differences in various historical happenings. The cold war had practically started in 1917 when the Bolsheviks seize power in Russia. Let us identify some international political struggle of the Western Powers and Soviet Union

- ♦ The Western Nations declined to recognize the infantile Bolshevik government of Russia (later on Soviet Union)
- ♦ Until 1933, USA refused to recognize the Soviet Government
- ♦ Soviet Union got League of Nations membership after 14 years of its establishment
- ♦ The Soviet did not get co-operation from western powers in her attempt of collective security and disarmament programs
- ♦ France and Britain pursued the policy of appeasement with the intention of creating rival power in Germany to check the Russian power.

The cold war was thus rooted in ideological incompatibilities. It was a product of mutual antagonism and misunderstanding about each other's perception (as cited in Chandra, 1995).

There were other occasions that facilitated the emergence of cold war. These were significant rifts between the western nations and Soviet Union

- The soviet's attempt to install Pro-Soviet government in Eastern and Central Europe. During the Yalta agreement (1945) the western nations accepted soviet military authority over Eastern and Central Europe and to conduct free elections for establishing democratic government. The Western nations took steps in order to check any further expansion of soviet influence.
- During the allied operation, allied forces (Western Nations and Soviet Union) occupied Iran. Northern Iran was under the Soviets. Under the 1942 agreement all forces must withdrew from Iran, but the Soviet Union refused and only later withdrew by the pressure of the UN.
- There were intense rivalries between Western Nations and Soviet Union over the government established in Greece and Turkey.
- There were differences on diverse peace treaties. The Soviet Union conception of the peace treaties was different from the others. The questions of Italo-Yugoslavia frontier, former Italian colonies and reparations, German-polish frontier…etc. were long disputed issues.

In a nutshell, the efforts of the Soviet Union to consolidate its position in Eastern Europe and the determination of the West to contain communist expansion generated the heat of cold war, the Soviet Union responses to western policies of containing communism aggravated it, and thus a chain of reaction was set off.

A Table showing summary of Cold war

The struggle between the two super powers was manifold; it was expressed in diplomacy, economy, and ideology and world opinion. The world after 1945 was divided into two concerted blocs of states presided over by the two super powers- USA and USSR. The following table shows the rivalry between USA and USSR.

Western Bloc	Eastern Bloc
1. It was led by USA	♦ It was led by USSR
2. Satellite states were West European nations	♦ Satellite states were East European Nations
3. Ideological orientation and social and economic system is Capitalist	♦ Ideological orientation and social and economic system is Socialist
4. USA adopted Marshal Plan (in 1948) as a step to save European continent from further enlargement of the Soviet orbit	♦ USSR initiated Moltov Plan (1949) and established Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA)
5. The Brussels Pact (March 1948) and North Atlantic Treaty (April 1949) were military measures adopted by the West	♦ Warsaw Treaty organization as military measure was established in 1955 to counter weight NATO
6. Western powers merged their occupation Zone in the Western part and proclaimed Federal Republic of Germany (Western Germany)	♦ The Soviet Union proclaimed the establishment of German Democratic Republic (East Germany)
7. South Korea is American backed regime	♦ North Korea is Soviet supported regime

2.2 Phases of Cold War

The cold war was dynamic phenomenon. The intensity of cold war during the last 45 years has passed the following phases (as cited in Prakash, 1995)

Phase One (1945-1949)

During this time the heat of World War II was raging when the cold war began. The beginning of cold war was manifested when the soviets attempted to impose communist ideology in Eastern Europe and turning its attention towards Western Europe; USA assumed the responsibility to check Soviet expansion and subversion. USA adopted Truman Doctrine (1947) and Marshal Plan (1948) to save the west from communist influences.

Another factor of heightened tension between the super powers was the refusal of USA to recognize the newly established communist government of China (1949). Rather USA extended recognition to nationalist (Kuomintang) government of Formosa (Taiwan) and remained a permanent member of the Security Council of the United Nations until 1971.

Phase Two (1950-1953)

In the second phase of Cold War, the theatre of cold war shifted from Europe to East Asia. In 1945, under the terms of agreements made at Cairo and Potsdam, Korea was occupied by Soviet Union and USA (as cited in Simons, 1994). The Korean crisis (1950-1953) was manifestation of the cold war. On June 25, 1950 North Korea attacked South Korea. The UN Security Council (taking advantage of the absence of Soviet delegate) declared North Korea as an aggressor and authorized the creation of unified command under the UN flag to repel the aggressor. At this moment, the cold war turned into hot war. In this phase, military and economic offensives were continued. The

USA entered into Security Pact with Japan (1952) and formed ANZUS by signing a treaty of mutual defense with Australia and New Zealand (1952).

Phase Three (1953-1962)

The death of Joseph Stalin (1953) changed the nature and practice of cold war. Stalin's successor (Khrushchev) introduced the policy of peaceful coexistence. This resulted in relaxation of the cold war. Nevertheless, there were conditions of tensions. For example during this period, Indo-China was arena of cold war. The Geneva agreement partitioned Vietnam at the 17th parallel between North and South Vietnam. Simultaneously, the independence of Laos and Cambodia was recognized. At this juncture, to contain Chinese expansion in South East Asia--a collective defense pact was signed on 8th September 1954 at Manila and SEATO (South East Asian Treaty Organization) was formed.

Between 1955 and 1958, the theatre of cold war shifted to West Asia and CENTO (Central Treaty Organization) (1958) was established as western military pact. During this phase, the tension between the East and the West was somewhat relaxed.

Some of instances of relaxation of tension were:-

- The Austrian Peace treaty of 1955
- The Suez Crisis of 1956, both the super powers stood on the same side thereby averted a major crisis in West Asia.
- Khrushchev's visit to America in 1959 was a major turning point in the history of cold war.
- Considerable improvement of super powers following the Camp David summit

On the other side, the U-2 incident (spy plane) renewed the tension between the two super powers. This situation was reinforced by the Berlin crisis (1961). The climax of the crisis came when on 13

ugust 1961 a 25-mile long partition (Berlin Wall) was created to
eck the flow of refugees from East Berlin to West Berlin. This
isis was followed by another crisis known as Cuban missile crisis.

hase Four (1962-1969)

he Cuban Missile Crisis was one of the principal East-West
onfrontations in the history of cold war. The 1962 Cuban Missile
Crisis was defused by the final agreement of the USA and USSR to
nd up their nuclear showdown. This period was marked both by
collaboration and competition. The negative attitudes and postures of
he cold war gradually yielded place to newfound willingness on
both sides to talk, to accommodate, and to co-exist. The Cuban
Missile crisis (nuclear showdown) gave lesson to the super powers,
as it will result in mutual destruction. They believe in the principle of
peaceful co-existence. This spirit of accommodation was reflected in
the conclusion of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1963 and the direct
Tele type connection of USA and USSR known as Hot Line
Agreement (1963). In spite of all these efforts, there were hot spots
in the world --the 1965 American bombing of the North Vietnam, the
1967 Arab Israeli war and the 1969 Berlin Crisis.

Phase Five (1969-1979)

This period was described as a period of Détente. Many treaties and
agreements were included to reduce tensions.

- On 10 August 1970 the Soviet Union and East Germany
  concluded a treaty known as Moscow-Bonn treaty under which
  the Soviet Union agreed not to use force against Germany.
- In August 1971 Britain, USA, France and Soviet Union
  concluded an agreement over Berlin
- On 8 November 1972 East Germany and West Germany
  concluded a treaty whereby they recognized each other's
  existence
- On 4 July 1972 North Korea and South Korea concluded an
  agreement on different issues

- Both powers signed Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (1968) and both sides understood the significance of disarmament
- In May 1972 President Nixon visited Moscow (USSR) and signed SALT-I (Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty-I).
- In 1974 Ford visited Moscow and signed the Vladivistock in agreement which was a basis for SALT-II later signed in Vienna
- The Helsinki Accord (1975) was high water mark of East and West reconciliation

Phase Six (1980-1985)

This period marked the gradual withering away of cold war. Despite efforts of the 1970s, the specter (spirit) of super power confrontation was rising. For example

- The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan
- President Regan's belligerent rhetoric (public speech) and muscular posture rekindled (renewed) the embers (residues) of cold war

The above political realities darkened the prospect of Détente. The theatre of cold war shifted (as second incarnation) from Europe -to West Asia, to India Ocean and finally to Pacific region. A new round of arms race began. The Reagan administration stood for strategic superiority over the Soviet Union by stockpiling newer sophisticated weapons and star weapons to roll back Soviet influence. This time, they focused on roll backing of communism. The containment of Soviet Union was considered as outdated.

In the mid-1980s, there was change of leadership in Soviet Union. Michael Gorbachev instituted a new thinking which renounces the ideology of cold war. The new commitment and disengagements of Soviet Union demanded reciprocal measure over USA. The process of Détente was restored and in the close of 1980s, cold war gradually came to an end.

Most national and international political affairs from the birth of the United Nations to the collapse of the Soviet bloc were influenced more by the exigencies (requirements) of the cold war than by the efforts of the United Nations. Cold war directly and indirectly was having greater impact on international political, economic, cultural, social…etc realities. Cold war has passed away as part of world history.

2.3 The Period of Post Cold War

It is difficult to exactly identify the beginning of post-cold war era. But there is a point of agreement; while cold war was gradually withering, post-cold war practices were reflected in international system. With, the end of cold war, the soviet/ Eastern bloc was crumbling. Such kind of political reality was having profound impact over world politics and economy. Before the close of 1980s, the world was experiencing bipolar politics. The political situation after the close of 1980s is quite different from the pre-1980s bipolar politics.

Post Cold war Political Directions

The impact of post cold war does not exclude the Soviet Union and USA. The ending of cold war had thrown many traditional polices into questions. Some of the changes are

- The disintegration of the Soviet /Eastern European bloc necessarily had a host of military and political consequence (internally and in its external relations).
- The condition in Russia and Common Wealth of Independent States (CIS) has shown massive erosion of social services, collapse of industrial production.
- Soviet Union disruption of aid to Cuba. Soviet Union was supporting Cuba over decades. The Soviet economy

'is powerless to assist Cuban economy from US blockade.

- USA was no longer forced to save the world from communism, a circumstances that was to have economic and political consequence around the globe.
- The USA was once a massive creditor nation was now in debt; the arms race had contributed to huge trade and budgetary deficits that would inevitably force a change in the political direction.
- The US is no longer a 'dominant political power'. What is clear is that the US is being forced to address the implications of tri-polar economic world (Europe-America - Japan). The growing economic constraints on Washington will increasingly restrict its scope for maneuver in both the General Assembly and the Security Council.
- The aftermath of cold war has also another history. Western political bodies have enormous role over many countries of the world. The IMF- World Bank- GATT axis still has greater clout (influence) in the global economic framework, giving the western establishments a handle on the economic management of most countries in the world. (as cited in Simons, 1994).
- The growing racial tensions (tribalism) are taking a different pattern. In the heart of Europe (the Balkan Region) and The Great Lakes Region (in Africa), there was (is) massive inter-ethnic and religious conflicts. The conflict between Hutus and Tutsis in Rwanda and Burundi resulted in the practice of Genocide and unstable government respectively. The situation in the former Yugoslavia is also another witness of inter-racial and religious conflicts ---Serbs against Croats, Bosnians, and Kosovars succeeded by mass migration and dislocation of inhabitants.

The post cold war ear has experienced conflicts among political groups. For example conflicts in Africa since the end of the cold war have been conflicts within sovereign states (among political groups, ethnic groups… etc.). The main motive of these political groups focuses on assuming power through unconstitutional means. The case of Sieraleone (the Revolutionary United Front-RUF raised up arms against the incumbent government of Teji Inkaba), Angola (the three-decade war between Angolan People Liberation Movement-MPLA (the party in power) and UNITA (a liberation movement fighting the governing party) and the condition in Somalia (growing war lordism amidst of stateless system) reached to this climax after the demise of cold war.

Massive imbalances between poor nations and rich nations are realities of post cold war era. The developed nations have growing uninterested ness in addressing the economic difficulties of poor nations. The industrialized societies rejected the voice of the developing countries, i.e., New International Economic Order (NIEO) proposal. Poverty (reflected in the form of hunger, economic backwardness, unemployment, poor social services…etc.) is a reality in developing countries. Particularly peoples of Sub-Saharan Africa are experiencing life below poverty line.

In post cold war world power is more diffused than it was at the height of the cold war. At the world stage, there is focus on the UN how it is going to function in the new world environment. There is increased demand in reforming UN structures, an improvement in its decision-making apparatus, a revision of Security Council permanent membership. There is growing consensus on the pivotal role of the UN in the post cold war world. Though, it is too early to discuss about post cold war world, there are various speculations on the future. Would post-cold war UN at least be able to work in the way its founders intended? Would the international body remain

relatively impotent, inevitably sidelined by the growing power of the Multinational corporations, recalcitrant (disobedient) states, and the obvious military hegemony of the world's one surviving super power, USA (as cited in Simons. 1994)?

Multiple Choices: Read the following questions and choose

the best answer out of the given alternatives

41. The term cold war describes
    a) A struggle between opposed value systems
    b) The post world war II relations between the Eastern Bloc and Western Bloc.
    c) The political, psychological, economic, subversive and other measures
    d) All of the above
42. The two powerful nations that dominated the global politics after WW were
    a) France and Britain
    b) German and Japan
    c) USSR and USA
    d) Europe and USA
43. The foundation of cold war was laid down during
    a) The Pots dam agreement
    b) The Yalta agreement
    c) The Dam Barton Oaks agreement
    d) The Moscow agreement
44. The cold war was mainly rooted in
    a) Social incompatibilities
    b) Cultural incompatibilities
    c) Ideological incompatibilities
    d) Religions incompatibilities

45. One of the following factors generated the heat of cold war
    a) Soviet Union consolidation of its position in Eastern Europe
    b) The determination of the west to conation communist expansion
    c) The question of former Italian colonies and reparations
    d) A and B
46. As USA adopted Marshal Plan, USSR adopted
    a) True man Doctrine
    b) Roosevelt plan
    c) Moltov plan
    d) Stalin Doctrine
47. The end of cold war signaled
    a) The rise of comments influence
    b) The break -up of Soviet/ Eastern bloc
    c) The rapid development of third world countries
    d) The emergence of Asia States as great powers
48. The leader of Ex- Soviet that instituted a new thinking , renouncing cold war was
    a) Yuri Andropov
    b) Joseph Stalin
    c) Nikita Khruschev
    d) Michael Gorbachov
49. The period between 1969-1979 (Phase Five of cold war)was known as
    a) Period of Détente
    b) Period of Arms Race
    c) Period of Arms confrontation
    d) Period of Propaganda warfare

50. Which of the following is true?
    a) The Soviet Union got league of Nation membership in 1934
    b) The western nations failed to recognized the 1917 Bolshevik government
    c) USA recognized the Soviet Government after 1934
    d) All the above

True or False: Read the questions and decide either True or False

51. Historically, cold war was assumed to begin in 1971 when the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia.
52. Cold War was recognized as an after effect of World War II, and it was a new reality in the political landscape of the world.
53. As council for Mutual Economic Assistance is to western Bloc, European Economic Community is to Eastern Bloc.
54. During the late 1940s USA extended recognition to the People's Republic of China.
55. During the second phase of cold war, the theatre of cold war shifted from Europe to East Asia.
56. Cold war did not have direct or indirect impact over international political, economic, cultural and social, realities.
57. The IMF- World Bank - GATT axis has enormous (great) influence over the economic management developing countries.
58. It is possible to identify exactly the beginning of post cold war period
59. In post cold war world, power is more diffused than it was at the height of the cold war.
60. The role of UN during the cold war period was effective than the post cold war period.

Writing Questions: Read the questions and attempt to answer.

51. Write down some of the international political struggle of the Western powers and the Soviet Union.
52. What were the two vital military blocs during the cold war?
53. List down the main phases of cold war
54. What was the special feature of phase four of the cold war (1962-69)
55. Identify some of the political facts that serve as examples of relaxation of tension between USA and USSK (1953-1962)
56. What were the peculiar global political features in the world during the close of 1980s?
57. State the dominant economic poles after the disintegration of the soviet Empire, i.e. the end of cold war.
58. In post-cold war period, Africa is experiencing racial tension and conflict among political groups. Can you state some examples.
59. Despite the end of cold war, there were instances of confrontation. What were the political realities that darkened the prospect of detente?
60. What do you understand about roll back of communism and containment of communism?

Chapter III What is International Law?

3.1 Introduction: Genesis and development

International law plays pivotal role in international relations.
In the world of community of nations, sovereign states conduct their relations on a body of norms, treaties, and other standards of conduct that together form the foundation of modern international law (as cited in Vandana, 1996). There are various justifications on the importance of international law. Why do human beings aspire to design international law? Some of the historical realities that triggered the introduction of international legal system are

- Just as a legal system is essential for the civilized existence of a community, so also international law is essential for the civilized existence of a world community. Without a legal system to regulate the conduct of the people in society, there would be rule of the jungle, 'might is right', would be the guiding principle and civilized existence would , become totally impossible.

- In today's world political and geographical frontiers are no longer considered as impediments (barrier) to individuals seeking to interact with their counterparts in other parts of the globe. No country can now think in terms of remaining in complete isolation. From the era of independence and irresponsibility in the international sphere, we have marched towards an era of interdependence and mutual responsibility to each other. Developments in science and technology have annihilated the barriers of time and space in addition distance is no longer a problem for inter-state communications.

- Both the positive and negative effects of science and technology have added significance to international law. It is needless to say that in their positive aspects, science and technology have greatly engendered the scope of interaction among the people of the world and have contributed to the growth of common consciousness. In their negative aspects, scientific and technological developments have brought in chain of production and distribution of highly dangerous and destructive weapons of warfare including nuclear weapons. The destructive potential of modern war has been increased to an imaginable extent. War is no longer a luxury or a way of exhibiting heroism or strength. It is, therefore, felt that there is the inescapable necessity for a system of law to regulate the conduct of the sovereign states so as to avoid a war and bring them to the conference table, whenever there is any dispute among them.
- The growth of community consciousness has developed through centuries. This consciousness has greatly assisted in developing international law.
- The legal tradition of Western Europe, Roman law and traditions of Ancient Greece had helped in the development of international law.
- The teachings of Christianity, i.e., the ideal of common spiritual brotherhood, have also part in the growth of international legal system.

Defining International Law

International law is the result of great political transformation that marked the transition from Middle Ages to the Modern Period of history. For an atmosphere of peace and order, among such sovereign entities, it was inevitable that certain rules of law should govern these relations. In such situations legal rules must determine mutual rights and obligations and these core rules came

to be known as international law (as cited in Vandana, 1996). The following are some of the conceptions about international law.

> It is the name for a treaty of customary and conventional rules, which are considered legally binding by civilized state in their intercourse with each other (Oppenheim, 1905).
> It is the body of rules accepted by the general community of nations as defining their rights and the means of procedure by which those rights may be protected or violations of them redressed (restore) (Fennwich, 1924).
> It is generally defined as law applicable to relations between states (Jessup, 1948).
> International law embodies certain rules relating to human relations throughout the world, which are generally observed by mankind and enforced primarily through the agency of government to the independent communities into which humanity is degraded (Ellery C. Stowell, 1931).
> A communist thinker defines international law as the international code of peaceful existence (Korovan, 1962).

Early History

The evolution of international law can be traced down to the origins of sovereign territorial states, which needed definition and protection of their states in order to conduct their relations (as cited in Vandana, 1996). While the modern international system can be traced back some four hundred years, certain of the basic concepts of international law can be discerned (differentiated) in political relationships thousands of years ago. Around 2100 B.C., a solemn treaty was signed between the rulers of Lagash and Umma, the city-states situated in the area known to historians as Mesopotamia. The

agreement was concerned in establishing a defined boundary to be respected in both sides. After 1000 years later, Ramses II of Egypt, and the king of Hittites agreed to establish eternal peace and brotherhood. Other agreements signed at Kadesh (North of Damascus) included respect for each other's territorial integrity., the termination of a state aggression and the setting up of a form of defensive alliance (as cited in Shaw, 1995).

The Greek city-states were independent and autonomous but they were guided by common community consciousness. There were factors responsible in promoting common consciousness among the various city-states--these were common language, racial origin, history, traditions, and religion. Treaties of alliance were signed between Sparta and Argos in 418 B.C. They agreed for arbitration in matters of difference. Despite common consciousness, there was no collective security practice (as cited in Das, 1995).

One of the most influential of Greek concepts taken up by the Romans was the idea of natural law. This was formulated by the Stoic philosophers of the 3rd century B.C. and their theory constituted a body of rules of universal relevance. Such rules were rational and logical and could not be restricted to any nation or any group but were of worldwide relevance. This element of universality is basic to modern doctrines of international law. Natural law is fundamental concept in legal theory; it is vital to the understanding of international law as well as being an indispensable precursor (pioneer) to contemporary concern with human rights.

The Middle Ages and Renaissance

The authority of the organized church and the comprehensive structure of power that it commanded characterized the Middle Ages. Of particular importance during this era was the authority of the Holy Roman Empire and the supranational character of Canon Law.

Nevertheless, commercial and maritime law developed apace. English law established the law merchant (a law of rules covering foreign traders), which was applied universally. Through out Europe, mercantile courts were set up to settle disputes between tradesmen at various fairs. A network of regulations and practices weaved its way across the commercial fabric of Europe and constituted an embryonic international trade law. Such type of rules that grew out of the early middle ages constituted the seeds of international law. Before these rules flourish, European thoughts had first to be developed by Renaissance (as cited in Shaw, 1995).

The development of self-conscious nationalism marked the close of middle ages. The spiritual authority of the church was repudiated. Renaissance and Reformation dealt a heavy blow to the authority of the church. This affirmed the emergence of state absolutism. Independence of states in the absence of a common bond of unity led to frequent wars and anarchy. In 1648 war was terminated. The negotiations at Osnabruck and Munster (peace of Westphalia) were the first great conferences, which in future marked the relations among the international community. This time France, Spain, Portugal, and the Italian cities and Duchies had become independent, Holland and Swiss were formally recognized. The independence and sovereign status of these states was based on equality. Balance of power was set up to prevent the dominance of any single state in future. The two treaties Osnabruck and Munster legally guaranteed collective security. The peace of Westphalia marked the beginning of a new era in international relations (as cited in Das, 1995).

In later periods, states lost moral obligation to the community as a whole. The narrow interpretation of sovereignty and treaties become meaningless. States assert their rights without due consideration to international obligations. The outbreak of the French revolution (of 1789) forced the European states to be preoccupied with the

problems of balance of power. Later Napoleon changed the geography of Europe and balance of power was unsettled.

There were continuous attempts to restore the European balance of power. The Congress of Vienna (May 30, 1814) and the Holly Alliances (of 1815 and 1818) can be marked as practices to restore the balance of power and measures taken for peace and welfares of peoples. But the Holly Alliances were not treaties but declarations of faith; members were not forced to take any specific action. The then unstable politics was reflected in each sovereign state. War was accepted as instrument of national policy. In spite of unstable politics of the international community, there were certain factors of unity that prevented the breakdown of the political system.

The 18th century was a ferment of intellectual ideas and rationalist philosophies contributed to the evolution of the doctrine of international law. The 19th century, by contrast, was a practical, expansionist, and a positivist era. The congress of Vienna that marked the end of Napoleonic wars enshrined the new international order, which is to be based upon European balance of power. International law became Euro-centric. This is to mean international law was geographically internationalized through the expansion of European Empires and less universal in conception and more reflecting European values (as cited in Shaw, 1995).

The 20th century further expanded the concern with the practice of international law. The rapid increase in interdependence, globalization has increased the need for the rules of conduct to govern various transnational areas like trade, finance, environment, human rights, travel and communications. In the current state of world affairs, nations have felt an increased need to justify their actions on the basis of international law. Today world public condemn any breach of the norms of international conduct (as cited in Vandana,1996).

3.2 Development of International Law by Conventions

There were series of international conferences to regulate social and economic interests of states. Statesmen and publicists were thinking about a world of law based upon the active involvement and co-operation of sovereign states. There were attempts to implement common interests of nations. The outcome was the desire to convene several conferences like The Hague of 1899 and 1907, London conferences and others (as cited in Das, 1995).

1. The Hague Conference of 1899---At this period, unstable political situation of Europe made war inevitable. But for the promotion of common interest, there was necessity of economic and social interdependence. On May 18, 1899 the first Hague conference was convened at the invitation of Nicholas II of Russia (Czar of Russia). The conference was attended by 26 states. The objective of the conference was to limit armaments but was summarily dismissed. There were other decisions of the conference.

- Recognized arbitration as the most effective and equitable means of settling disputes. This was enacted as convention for the pacific settlement of International disputes
- Rules and regulations were drawn up for regulating the conduct of war. This was designed as convention with respect to the laws and customs of war on land

One of the contributions of Hague conference was opening the possibility of law making by common consent. Nevertheless, the conference did not assist in strengthening the political structure of international community.

2. The Hague Conference of 1907---This conference was opened in June 15, 1907. Like the 1899 conference, the final outcome was failure but the consolidation of the political structure of the international community was more urgent. The participants of the conference were 44 and Latin American states took part for the first time. Despite the increased size of participants and scope of the convention, participants could not agree on limited obligation of to arbitration. The 1907 Hague conference produced 13 conventions and parts of Maritime Law were also codified. Out of 13 conventions 11 of them are related to war. Some of the agreements were

- ◆ Code of warfare on land adopted in 1899 was revised
- ◆ Conventions dealing with status of merchant ships at the outbreak of hostilities
- ◆ The conversion of merchant ships into war ships
- ◆ The laying of submarine contact mines, bombardment by naval forces, the adaptation of the principles of Geneva conventions to maritime war...etc.
- ◆ Convention dealing with rights and duties of the neutrals in naval warfare

3. The Declaration of London--- The Declaration of London is extension of the 1907 agreement on the contents of the International Prize Courts. The provision to establish the Prize Courts was effective, but did not come to terms on the principle of law. The declaration of London was signed on February 26, 1909 at the close of the London Naval Conference, covered chief points in dispute between belligerents and neutral states. Nevertheless, there could not be agreement on the issues raised rather preferred to decide referring earlier customary practices (as cited in Das, 1995).

Why did the conference failed to implement the instruments? Because, states accepted war as inevitable. There was no effort in organizing an international community to stifle war and maintain law and order. War was accepted as a legal procedure. Other states that are outside of war circle did not bother about the issue of wrong or right. The consequence was the outbreak of World War I. The then international law was no longer in tune with realities of the needs of international life. World war I was a witness largely because of the disorganized efforts of the international community.

4. The covenant of the League of Nations---The covenant of the League of Nations was an integral part of the Treaty of Versailles. The Treaty of Versailles was concluded between Allied and Associated powers (Germany) and was signed on June 28, 1919. The treaty contained provisions of international law and served to modify the working international law. There were attempts to amend the substantive and procedural parts of international law. The principle of Balance of Power was replaced by collective responsibility of states to maintain world peace. Provisions were made for certain degree of compulsory arbitration in settlement of disputes. This paved the road to establish an international legal body, i.e., Permanent Court of International Justice. League of Nations helped the development of international law by means of law making process. It helped in signing of conventions like the Convention of Traffic in Women and Children of 1921, the Slavery Convention of 1926, and the General Act for the pacific settlement of disputes in 1928.

5. The Interwar Period 1919-1939)---The creation of Permanent Court of International Justice on December 16, 1920 resulted in the expansion of the scope of international law. Sovereignty of the members became limited and the right to resort to war for the settlement of disputes was reduced. Questions of international law,

which was considered political, now become juridical. States disregarded armament-build up began to rely on "collective security". The Locarno agreement of 1925, created pledges for non-aggression and peaceful method of solution of disputes. In 10 years time, the league was in a position "to promote international security". The Pact of Paris of 1928 (which USA was a leading actor) renounced war as an instrument of national policy. The signatory states were obliged to implement peaceful settlement of disputes. However, all these efforts and systems were broken by invasions (of Manchuria, Austria…) and attacks (of Ethiopia).

6. The UN Charter as a proposal for new Security System---The effect of Nazism led to the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security. The charter of UN was adopted with introduction of statute of International Court Justice (ICJ) as an integral part of the charter (International Court of Justice was based on the statute of Permanent Court of International Justice). The UN was constituted after the 2nd World War with a more elaborate organization and powers to tackle the various international issues. It made significant contribution to the development of international law. The UN charter provided for more comprehensive methods for pacific settlement of international disputes and more effective measures for the enforcement of the law against possible aggression. International law is dynamic and it is changing with the change of time and the experience of world community. International law is expanding and it has been accepted as binding and obligatory confined only to the European states and has become a universal system embracing almost all nations.

3.3 Sources of International Law

There is no single body able to create laws on the world scene binding upon everyone, nor a proper system of courts with compulsory jurisdiction to interpret and extend the law (This implies

lack of a legislature, executive and structure of courts). Where is the law found? There are "sources" available from which the rules may be extracted or tested. In this context "sources" means those provisions operating within the legal system on technical level (as cited in Shaw, 1995).

Article 38 (1) of the statute of the international Court of Justice widely recognized as the most authoritative statement as to the sources of international law. It provides that the court (ICJ) whose function is to decide in accordance with international law such disputes as are submitted to 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 (as cited in Shaw, 1995).

International conventions, custom, and the general principle of law are described as three exclusive law-creating processes. Judicial decisions and academic writings are regarded as law determining agencies, dealing with the verification of the alleged rules.

Besides the above sources there are other supplementary sources. They are international comity (reciprocal courtesy), state papers other than treaties, state instructions for the guidance of their own officers and tribunals, resolutions of international conferences, municipal acts of parliaments and the decisions of municipal courts and opinions of Juris-consults or text book writers (as cited in Das, 1965).

What is Custom? Dictionary defines custom as usual and generally accepted behavior among members of a social group. It is an old and original source of law. During the first stage of international law development, custom was the most important source but now it is secondary source. Custom is the line of conduct, which the society has consented to regard it as obligatory. The loose character of international law has given predominance to custom as a source of law. Custom in international law is dynamic source of law, in light of the nature of international system and its lack of centralized government organs.

What are Treaties? In contrast with the process of creating law through custom, treaties (or international conventions) are modern and more deliberate method. Treaties are known by a variety of differing names, ranging from conventions, international agreements, pacts, General Acts, Charters, to statutes, declarations, and covenants. Treaties are most important sources of international law. There are two categories of treaties:

> Law-making treaties ---They are general rules for the guidance of the state.
> Treaty Contracts ---They deal with a special matter between the contracting states only.

The law making treaties alone is a source of international law. Some instances of law-making treaties are:

> Treaty of Westphalia (1648)
> Treaty of Paris (1815)
> Treaty of Versailles (1919)
> Declarations of Paris (1956)
> The Geneva Conventions of 1864, 1906, 1929 and 1949
> The Suez Canal Conventions (1818)
> The Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907
> The Covenant of the League of Nations
> The Barcelona Conventions (1921)

- ➤ The Kellogg-Briand Pact or Paris Peace Pact (1928)
- ➤ Montreax Convention regarding the straits (1936)
- ➤ The Charter of United Nations (1945)

What are the General Principles of law recognized by civilized nations? In the absence of treaty law or customary international law this principle helps the court to put reliance on the principles of justice and equity. The general principles also contain principles of private law administered in national courts and applicable to international relations.

What are judicial decisions? According to Article 38 of the statute of International Court of Justice, judicial decisions are taken as subsidiary means for the determination of rules of law but have immense importance. Judicial decisions have contributed indirectly to the development of international law. Though judicial decisions are sources of international law, it should not be over-estimated. There are limits in the essence of judicial decisions.

What are Decisions of Municipal Courts? The decisions of municipal courts have considerable influence on the development of international law. The jurisdiction of municipal courts is specific national and deal with cases of specific nature.

What are textbooks writers, works of jurists and commentators mean? Article 38 of the statute of the International Court of Justice, authorizes the court apply the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations as subsidiary means for the determination of rules of law. Authors rely on legal principles to discover the practices of states. However, writings of authors do not independently form the source of law, but they may lead in the course of time to form international law. by providing legal ideas and practices.

What is International Comity? Comity is a special kind of factor that influences the growth of international law. Comity (as defined by Justice Andrews) is the reciprocal courtesy, which presupposes friendship and assumes the prevalence of equity and justice. States in their mutual intercourse with each other follow not only legal rules or usage but also rules of politeness, convenience, and goodwill. These rules are not laws but rules of comity.

What are State Papers? State Papers contain issues of states. Jurists give confidential (top secret) opinions to their governments. The archives of the Foreign Affairs Department of every country contain valuable expert opinions which are published would enrich the literature of international law.

What is State Instructions to the Officers? The acts and declarations by statesmen and the opinion of legal experts and jurists given in relation to particular matters, furnish evidence of usage, which grow in international custom as they are adopted by other states.

The International Law Commission
The International Law Commission was established by the General Assembly in 1947 with the declared object of promoting the progressive development of international law and its codification. It consists of 34 members from Africa, Asia, America, and Europe who remaining office for 5 years each and who are appointed from lists submitted by national governments. Many of the most important international conventions and treaties have grown out of the commission's work. The commission is involved in at least two major sources of law. Its drafts form the bases of international treaties, which, bind those, states which have signed and ratified and continue to be part of the general international law. Secondly, its work is part of the whole range of state practice that can lead to new rules of customary law.

Besides international law commission, there are other bodies, which are involved, in the same mission. The United Nations Commission on International Trade Law (UNCITRAL) and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) are actually increasing the range of international law in the fields of economic, financial, and development activities. Other organs are also engaged in producing various declarations and statements. These are Committee on the principles of international law, International Labor Law and United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural organization. There are also independent bodies that are actively involved in the field. The International Law Association and the Institut de Droit International are the best-known organization, which study and stimulate the law of the world community.

3.4 International Law and Municipal Law

International law consists of a body of customary and conventional rules, which are accepted as binding by the other states in their mutual dealings with one another. The rules aim at regulating the conduct of the states in their mutual relations. Municipal law (National or State or Country law) regulates the conduct of its citizens and the aliens who happen to be there within the jurisdiction of the state (as cited in Das, 1995). Municipal law governs the domestic aspects of government and deals with issues between individuals, and between individuals and administrative apparatus, while international law focuses upon the relations between states (as cited in Shaw, 1995). According to Kelson, national law (municipal law) regulates the behavior of individuals and international law regulates the behavior of states. While national law is concerned with external relations of states; International law is concerned with external relations of states or their foreign affairs (as cited in Das, 1995).

Differences between International Law and Municipal Law

International law	Municipal Law
1. Customs grown up within the family of nations and law making treaties concluded among the various member countries constitute the source of International Law	1. Sources of Municipal law are customs grown up within the boundary of the state concerned and statutes enacted therein
2. International law regulates the relations among sovereign states in their mutual dealings with each other	2. Municipal law regulates the relations between the individuals or between the individual and the state.
3. International law is a law between sovereign states which is based upon their consent	3. Municipal law is a law of the sovereign over individuals
4. International law is not backed by any sovereign power and this makes it weak law.	4. Municipal law is backed by sovereign power of the state.

On the issue of unity and diversity of international law, there are two theories known as Dualistic theory and Monistic Theory.

Dualistic Theory---This theory sometimes known as positivism (pluralism). According to dualist view International Law and Municipal Law are two independent systems and are entirely separate from each other.

Monistic Theory---Those who uphold this theory tend to fall into two distinct categories; those who like Lauterpacht uphold a strong ethical position with deep concern for human rights and others like kelson, who maintain a monist position on formalistic legalistic grounds (as cited in Shaw, 1995). According to this theory International Law and Municipal Law are essentially one ---the former regulates the conduct of states and the latter of individuals. Law is essentially a command, which is binding upon the subjects. National Law (Municipal Law) is binding on the individuals within the jurisdiction of a particular state. Advocates of the theory assert that International law and Municipal law are two phases of one and the same thing. Although international law is directly addressed to the state as corporate bodies, it is equally applicable to the individual, for states are only groups of individuals. The chief exponent of this theory was Kelson of the Vienna School (as cited in Das, 1995).

3.5 Settlement of Disputes

The basic objective of international law is to create conditions of peace and tranquility and maintain international order. The settlement of disputes is the pragmatic requirement for the ultimate goal of maintaining international peace and order. There are two methods of settling disputes accepted by international law. These are:

1. Amicable (Peaceful) Method of Settlement
2. Compulsive (Non-peaceful) Method of Settlement

A dispute on the international scene may of course aris[e] between states and international organizations or betw[een] organization themselves but also between states and privat[e] Dispute is regarded as a disagreement over a point of law conflict of legal views or of interests between two persons.

Amicable Method of Settlement

The Pacific settlement of disputes is categorized into d[iplomatic] means and Judicial (legal) means (as cited in Shaw.1995).

A. What is Diplomatic means? ---There are various peace[ful] for the settlement of international disputes through d[iplomatic] procedures

1. Negotiation---Of all procedures used to resolve di[sputes] the simplest and most utilized form is under negotiation. It refers to intercourse between the state[s] purpose of arriving at a settlement of the dispute or re[solving] divergent opinions or at least understanding the positions maintained. It does not involve any third par[ty] the direct relations between the parties in conflict. (a[s] Shaw, 1995). The negotiation may be carried out eith[er] Heads of States or their accredited envoys or prior t[o] may be an attempt to clear the controve[rsy] correspondence, letters, personal meetings meetings of high level officials of the concerne[d]

2. Good Offices or Mediation---When it may [fail] the parties to directly negotiate for settlem[ent] is a need of a third state (3rd party) to o[ffer] the purpose of settling differences (as employment of the procedures of [...]

involves the use of a third party, whether an individual or individuals, a state or group of states or an international organization, to encourage the contending parties to come to settlement (as sited in Shaw, 1995). The term "Good Office" refers to the practice of bringing the conflicting parties together and persuading them through advice to come to settlement. Technically good offices are involved where a third party attempts to influence the opposing sides to enter into negotiations (as cited in Das, 1995 and Shaw, 1995 respectively). On the other hand, mediation means the conducting of the negotiations between the disputing states through the agency of the third state. Either at the request of the disputing parties or at its own initiative the 3rd party helps in finding out some method of peaceful settlement (as cited in Das, 1995). The dividing line between the two approaches (Good Office and Mediation) is often difficult to maintain, as they tend to merge into one another, depending upon the circumstances. One example of the good offices method is the role played by the American President in 1906 in concluding the Russian -Japanese war. Another might be the part played by France in encouraging US-North Vietnamese negotiations to begin in Paris in early 1970s. A mediator (US Secretary of State n the Middle East in 1973-74) has active and vital functions to erform in seeking to cajole (persuade) the disputing parties to accepting what are often his own proposals (as cited in aw, 1995).

nquiry---When there is a difference of opinion on factual ers, which underlie a dispute between the parties, the al solution is often to institute a commission of Inquiry to nducted by reputable observers to ascertain precisely the n contention. Inquiry method was first elaborated in 1899 Conference, as possible alternative to Arbitration. er, the method of Inquiry is limited in that it can only levance in the case of international dispute (which

cannot involve the honor or vital interests of the parties). But it involves when the conflict centers around a genuine disagreement as to the particular facts which can be resolved by recourse to an impartial and conscientious investigation (as cited in Shaw, 1995). Inquiry was most successfully used in the Dogger Bank incident of 1904 where Russian Naval ships fired on British fishing boats in the belief that they were hostile Japanese torpedo craft. The Hague provisions (of 1899) were put into effect and the report the international Inquiry commission contributed to a peaceful settlement of the issue. This encouraged as elaboration of the technique by the 1907 Hague Conference (as cited in Shaw, 1995).

4. Conciliation--- This refers to the various methods adopted by a third state for bringing an amicable settlement to the dispute between two or more states. The process of conciliation involves a 3rd party investigation on the basis of the dispute and the submission of a report embodying suggestions for settlement (as cited in Das, 1995 and Shaw, 1995). Conciliation commission for the amicable settlement of disputes among states was provided by the Hague conferences of 1899 and 1907. Conciliation reports are only proposals and do not constitute binding decisions. Conciliation is different from mediation and arbitration. In conciliation the matter is referred to a body of persons for ascertaining facts and suggesting ter of settlement. Mediation denotes negotiation between th parties through the agency of a 3rd state. Conciliation also differs from arbitration; in the former the parties to the dispute are free to disregard the results of the negotiation, but in the latter the decision of the arbitrator is binding on the parties. A number of multilateral treaties provide for conciliation as a means of resolving disputes. The 1957 European convention for the pacific settlement of disputes, the 1969 Vienna Convention on the law of treaties and the 1982 convention on the law of the sea all contain provisions concerning conciliation. The

conciliation procedure was used in the Iceland --Norway dispute over the continental shelf delimitation between Iceland and Jan Mayen Island. The agreement establishing the conciliation commission stressed that the question was subject of continuing negotiations and that the commission report would not be binding, both elements are characteristic of the conciliation method.

B. Legal Means---Arbitration and judicial settlement are categorized under legal means

A. Arbitration---The procedure of arbitration grew to some extent out of the processes of diplomatic settlement and represented an advance towards a developed international legal system. International arbitration was held to be the most effective and equitable manner of dispute settlement, where diplomacy failed. The importance of this method is recognized by all states, for the settlement of disputes. In the words of Lawrence, "Its value resides in its judicial or quasi-judicial character. It signifies the reference of the dispute to an individual or a small group of individuals to whom the parties state their respective cases and whose decisions they arte bound to obey. When the dispute is submitted to arbitration, the matter takes on the semblance of a trial before a court. However, in the absence of a treaty, it is not binding on the part of the states to refer their disputes for arbitration. But once the dispute is referred to arbitration, disregard for the decision would amount to a breach of promise (as cited in Das, 1995). The 1899 Hague Convention for the pacific settlement of disputes adopted provisions on international arbitration and established a Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA). It is not really a court since it is not composed of a fixed body of judges. PCA consists of a

Positive Reprisal---It is a resort to the primitive law embodied in the phrase of 'an eye for an eye"...etc.

Negative Reprisal---It is a peaceful step taken on unfriendly state by refusing debt payment or refusing to fulfill treaty obligation.

Special Reprisal---It is an act of indemnification (compensation) of private individuals for injuries and losses inflicted on them by the subjects of other nations.

General Reprisal---When a state considers itself aggrieved, it performs war like operation without the intention of making war.
- like putting pressure on the offending state
- seizing or destroying property
- holding territory
- capturing vessel...etc.

Reprisals have support of international law when there is denial of justice. The classic case was dealt with the law of reprisals in the Naulilian dispute between Portugal and Germany in 1928. This was as a result of a military raid on the colony of Angola, which destroyed property in retaliation for the mistaken killing of three Germans in the Portuguese territory (as cited in Shaw, 1995).

3. Hostile Embargo---This is also treated as reprisal. It means provisional seizure or detention of the merchant ships or property of the offending state in the port of the state that seeks to redress.
4. Pacific Blockade---It is also a method of reprisal. It consists in temporary suspension of the commerce of the offending state by closing access to its coasts. All these actions take place without resort to hostile measures, i.e., as methods of redress or short of war or securing international peace. Pacific Blockade may be instituted by the Untied Nations Security Council and cannot be

The ICJ works towards promoting international peace and security. The court devises ways and means for the amicable settlement of disputes that are likely to endanger peace and security. The member countries of the United Nations refer their cases to the International Court of Justice and the decision given by the court is final and binding on the parties to the case (as cited in Das, 1995).

Compulsive Method of Settlement

Compulsive methods are short of war methods applied to settle disputes. The following are some the methods of compulsive settlement (as cited in Das, 1995).

1. Intervention---This method is used for the purpose of seeking redress for the wrong caused by another state. It is used to denote almost all kinds of interference in the internal affairs of another state. But more specifically it refers to interference in the domestic or foreign affairs of another state, which amounts to violation of that state's independence. Intervention is backed by the threat of force. The practice of intervention is more of political than legal consideration.

2. Reprisals---There is a difference in precisely defining reprisals. Historically, it designates the seizing of property, of persons by way of retaliation. Some writers limit the meaning of the word reprisal to the act of taking or withholding the property of a foreign state or its nationals. According to Lawrence, "Reprisals are the modes of putting stress upon the offending state which are of a violent nature, though they fall short of actual war. He divided reprisals into; Positive, Negative, Special, and General categories.

principles of international law. There are a number of bodies, however, by prestige and jurisdiction the International Court of Justice is important. The impetus to create a world court for the international community was developed as a result of the atmosphere engendered by the Hague Conference of 1899 and 1907. The Covenant of the League of Nations called for the formulation of proposals for the creation of a world court and in 1920 the Permanent Court of International Justice (PCIJ) was created. It was intended as a way to prevent outbreaks of violence by enabling easily accessible methods of dispute settlement in the context of a legal and organizational framework to be made available.

The PCIJ was superseded after the Second World War by the International Court of Justice (ICJ) described by the charter as the UN's "principal judicial organ". In essence, it is a continuation of the permanent court, with virtually the same statute and jurisdiction and with a continuing line of cases no distinction being made between those decided by the PCIJ and those by the ICJ (as cited in Shaw, 1995).

The Jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) falls into two distinctive parts: its capacity to decide disputes between states, and to give advisory opinions when requested so to do by particular qualified entities. In the Western Sahara case, the ICJ gave advisory opinion as regards to the nature of the territory and the legal ties there with Morocco and Mauritania at the time of colonization, not with standing the objection of Spain, the administering power (as cited in Shaw, 1995)

panel of persons, nominated by the contracting states (each one nominating a maximum of four) comprising individuals "of known ability (competence)" in questions of international law, of the highest moral reputation and disposed to accept the duties of an arbitrator. If the contracting states wish to go arbitration, the conflicting parties are entitled to choose the members of the tribunal from the panel. The PCA also consists of an international bureau which acts as registry of the court and keeps its records and a permanent Administrative, Council exercising control over the bureau.

Arbitration as a method of settling disputes combines elements of both diplomatic and judicial procedures. It depends for its success on certain amount of good will between the parties in drawing up the compromise and constituting a tribunal as well as actually enforcing the award subsequently made. A large part depends on the negotiating processes. On the other hand, arbitration is adjudicative technique in that the award is final and binding and the arbitrators are required to base their decision on law.

Some instance of inter-state arbitration
➤ The North-Eastern Boundary case between Canada and USA
➤ The Anglo-French Continental shelf case
➤ The Iran-USA claims Tribunal (which arose out of alleged violations of property rights as result of the Hostage crisis)

B.   What is Judicial Settlement?---Judicial Settlement comprises the activities of all international and regional courts deciding disputes between the subjects of international law, in accordance with the rules and

resorted to by individual states since the enforcement of the charter of the United Nations.

5. Retrosion---It is a retaliatory measure adopted by a state for unfriendly acts of another state. Retrosion is the adoption by one state of an unfriendly and harmful act, which is nevertheless lawful, as method of retaliation against injurious legal activities of another state. Retrosion is a legitimate method of showing displeasure in a way that hurts the other state while remaining within the bounds of legality. Some measures of retrosion are like

- imposing similar restriction upon the subjects of the offending state
- severance of diplomatic relations
- recall Ambassadors
- expulsion or restrictive control of aliens
- withdrawal of fiscal or tariff concessions

An example of Retrosion is furnished by the measure adopted by India against South Africa for the latter's anti-Indian attitude and the policy of racial discrimination (this situation came to an end when South Africa renounced its policy of Apartheid).

6. Sanctions---Article 2 (3) of the charter of United Nations authorizes member states to settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a way that international peace and security are not endangered. The enforcement provisions mentioned in Chapter VII of the charter, however authorizes the Security Council to apply collective measures against the defaulting state and by virtue of article 2 (6) of the charter. It may take the following steps such as interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal telegraphic, radio and other means of communications and the severance of diplomatic relations and blockade for the purpose of preventing breach of peace (as cited in Das. 1995).

Schools of International Law

There are three schools of thoughts in the study of international law. The thoughts reflect the various opinions of international law writers. The three schools of thought are Naturalism, Positivism, and Grotian.

1. Naturalism---Those who consider natural law as the main basis of international law and responsible for its development were known as Naturalists. Professor Samuel Puffendorf was known as leader of this school of thought.

2. Positivism---This school of thought gives emphasis to customs and practices followed by the states. They believe that customs and treaties are basis of international law and responsible for its growth and development. Customary law based on treaties and customs was given highest importance by the positivists Richard Zouche and Bynkershoek were advocates of positivist school of thought.

3. Grotian---The third way Grotian stand midway between naturalism and positivism. The Grotians were able to distinguish positive law and natural law of nations as important as natural of nations. Emmerich De' Vattel was the leading writer of this school of thought.

There were personalities that contributed to the development and enrichment of international law. These were;

- Fransisco de Vitoria, Professor of Theology at Salamanca
- Alberico Gentili
- Hugo de Groot or more popularly known as Grotius (1583-1645)
- Richard Zouche (1590-1660)
- Samuel Puffendorf (1632-1694)
- Cornelius Van Bynkershoek (1673-1742)
- Emmerich De' Vattel (1714-1769)

CHAPTER THREE

Multiple Choices: Read the following questions and choose the best answer out of the given alternatives

71. Identify the effect of science and technology in the world
    a) Production and distribution of destructive weapons of warfare
    b) Engendered the scope and intervention of the world
    c) Has contributed to the growth of common consciousness
    d) All of the above

72. The evolution of international law can be traced down to the
    a) Origins of sovereign territorial states
    b) Emergence of the first industrial revolution
    c) Disintegration of great empires
    d) All of the above

73. The treaty between Rulers of Lagash and Uma city-states around 2100 B.C centered on
    a) Establishing eternal Renee and brotherhood
    b) Establishing a defined boundary respected on both sides
    c) Respecting each other's territorial integrity
    d) All of the above

74. One of the most inferential of Greek concept taken up by the Romans was the idea of
    a) Positive law
    b) Natural law
    c) Moral law
    d) State law

75. A period that was characterized by the authority of the church and power structure was
    a) Ancient period
    b) Medieval period
    c) Modern Period
    d) Contemporary period
76. On of the following is not true
    a) Development of self conscious nationalism marked the close of middle ages
    b) Spiritual authority of the church was repudiated (rejected)
    c) The appearance of Renaissance and Reformation were heavy blows to church.
    d) The end of Middle Ages did not mark the emergence of state absolution
77. The practices that marked the restoration of European Balance of power after Napoleonic war was
    a) The congress of Vienna of 1814
    b) The Holy Alliance of 1815
    c) The Holy Alliance of 1818
    d) All of the above
78. Which of the following contributed to the evolution of the doctrine of International law
    a) The 18th century intellectual ideas
    b) The 18th century rationalist philosophies
    c) The various alliances of big nations
    d) A and B
79. The number of attending states of the first Hague Conference were
    a) 44
    b) 50
    c) 26
    d) 31

80. The most effective means of settling disputes which was recognized during 1899 Hague conference was
    a) Conciliation
    b) Negotiation
    c) Mediation
    d) Arbitration
81. The chief point covered during the 1909 London Declaration was
    a) The making of law of war
    b) The convention on the right and duties of neutral states
    c) The dispute between belligerents and neutral states
    d) The designing of maritime law
82. During the inter war period (1919-1939) questions of international law was considered as
    a) Political matter
    b) Economic matter
    c) Juridical matter
    d) Social matter
83. The main theme of Pact of Paris of 1928 was
    a) Creating alliance for military power
    b) Renovating war as instrument of national policy
    c) Disturbing the Balance of power
    d) None of the above
84. Which of the following is identified as exclusive law creating process ?
    a) International conventions
    b) International customs
    c) International general principles of law
    d) All of the above
85. Identify dynamic source of International law
    a) Treaties
    b) Custom
    c) Decisions of Municipal Courts
    d) Text book writes

86. Inter state differences resolved by the direct talk of the conflicting parties is identified as
    a) Arbitration
    b) Negotiation
    c) Conciliation
    d) Inequity

87. Which of the following can be taken as instance of conciliation procedure in political history?
    a) US-Vietnamese negotiations in early 1970s
    b) The Dogger Bank incident of 1904
    c) US Secretary of State mission in 1973-1974
    d) The Iceland - Norway Dispute over the Jan Mayen Iceland

88. Which of the following legal means has quasi-judicial character?
    a) Commission of Inquiry
    b) Good office
    c) Arbitration
    d) Conciliation

89. One of the following does not have legal backing as a compulsive method of settling disputes
    a) Retrosion
    b) Reprisals
    c) Intervention
    d) Pacific Embargo

90. The school of thought in International law that gives emphasis to customs and practices is
    a) Naturalism
    b) Positivism
    c) Grotian
    d) All of the above

True of False: Read the questions and decide either True or False

91. In contemporary world, political and geographical elements are obstacles for interaction with other counter ports.
92. International law is an outcome of great political transformation that marked the transition from Middle Ages to the Modern period.
93. During the time of Greek city-states, besides common conciseness, there were also practices of collective security.
94. Natural law is vital to the understanding of international law and pioneer to contemporary concern with human rights.
95. The English, law of merchant did not have universal character .
96. The Peace of West phalia marked the beginning of a new era international relations.
97. The Outbreak of the French Revaluation (of 1789) did not hare any impact on the European Balance of Power.
98. The 19th century international law was Euro-centric, i.e. it was only geographically internationalized through the expansion of European Empires
99. The distinctive feature of 1899 Hague conference was first time participation of Latin American states.
100. After the 1909 London Declaration, European states accepted peace as the only means for order and stability in the world
101. The Covenant of the League of Nations was an integral party of the 1991 Treaty of Versailles.
102. The UN charter provided for more comprehensive methods for pacific settlement of international disputes.
103. According to Dualist theory International Law and Municipal law are essentially one and inseparable
104. Inquiry Method was first elaborated in 1899 Hague conference as a possible alternative to Arbitration.
105. Arbitration as a method of setting disputes does not contain both diplomatic and judicial procedures.

Writing Questions: Read the following questions and attempt to answer.

106. Why do human beings aspire to design international legal system?
107. Define International law.
108. What are the factors responsible in promoting common consciousness among the various Greek city States?
109. Identify the transnational law, which was characteristic of Roman Catholic Church.
110. State the law that constituted the seeds of international law during early middle ages.
111. List down the great conferences of 1648.
112. Outline the independent and formally recognized states during the Peace of Westphalia
113. Write the main idea of the first Hague conference of 1899. International Justice as law making treaties?
114. What is the difference between Permanent court of International Justice and International Court of Justice?
115. State the main Sources of international law.
116. Define Custom.
117. Outline the two categories of treaties.
118. List down some of the bodies that are involved in International law making.
119. Compare Municipal law and International law.
120. Discuss the theories on the unity and diversity of International law.
121. List down the main methods of setting disputes amicably.
122. What is the difference between Mediation and conciliation?
123. Outline compulsive method of settling disputes.
124. List down schools of International law.
125. What is positive law in the thoughts of international law?

Chapter IV The Study of International Organizations

4.1 Introduction: Historical Development

The evolution of the modern nation state and the consequent development of an international order founded upon a growing number of independent and sovereign territorial units inevitably gave rise to questions of international co-operation. Diplomatic representation became more widespread as the system expanded and political, economic relationships multiplied. However, diplomatic contents were not able to resolve the then complexities of international system and the concept of international conference evolved as a form of extended diplomacy. Such gatherings dealt with problem that concern more than two or three states and in many cases resulted in an international treaty or formal peace (as cited in Shaw, 1995).

Treaties concluded during ancient period were considered as the first step towards international organization. Even with out national unity, Greeks developed Procedures and patterns of inter-state organizations. Romans were strange to the idea of international organizations. They believed in universal empire. The Council of Constance was the most spectacular international congress of history (1444) to resolve rival claims to papacy. The Roman Catholic Church was non-governmental (private) international organization. Another example was Hanseatic League, which was formed during the middle ages. It was an association for the promotion of trade among European countries, which became a kind of political organization (as cited in Chandra, 1995).

There have always been thoughts of an international order, established by military conquest, economic imperialism or spiritual and ethical commitment and various gatherings. Ancient conquerors were proud to extend their way throughout the known world. For example, the great Dutch humanist Erasmus (1466 - 1536) imagined 'kingdoms of moderate power united in a Christian league', though the fathers of the Roman Catholic Church increasingly were pre occupied with the firsts of mammón, had a different universal vision. On the other side, the peace of Westphalia can be taken as a milestone in the development of international relations. The 1648 Peace of Westphalia ended the thirty-years old religious conflict of central Europe and formally established the modern secular nation state arrangement of European politics. It also legalized the new order of European international relations.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, some of the best schemes for international organization include the Grand Design of Henry IV of France. Maximilien de Bethune, Due de Sully (1560 - 1641) who became Henry IV's chief Minister and trusted counselor, gave details in his Grand Design. This scheme was later reflected in the 20th century Covenant of the League. Sully envisaged a universal christan common wealth of Europe. There were also other schemes of international organizations which include William Pen's proposal of a parliament of Europe (1693), Abbede Saint Pierre's project to bring perpetual peace in Europe (1712), Bentham's plan for a universal and perpetual peace (1793) and Kant's perpetual peace (1795).

The central agency for enforcing the Vienna settlement (1815) was the Quadruple Alliance of Austria, Britain, Prussia, and Russia, which in 1818 became Quintuple Alliance by the addition of France. These alliances were important marks in the development of international organization, because the alliances occurred after Napoleonic era, periodical conferences were instituted, and there was a general agreement that peace depended on big powers

collaboration. This alliance was the first example of international government, but it could not last after the defection of France and Britain in 1825.

The 19th century witnessed a considerable growth in international organizations and administrative agencies such as the International committee of the Red Cross (1863); the International Law Association (1873), the European Commission for Danube (1856); International Bureau of Telegraphic Administration (1868); the Universal Postal Union (1886); the International Office of the Public Health (1903) and the International Institute of Agriculture (1905) (as cited in Chandra 1995, Shaw, 1995). The emergence of such international institutions laid the basis for contemporary international institutions. The League of Nations (1920) and the United Nations (1945) are logical culmination of pioneering work of the private and public international unions, the large numbers of which required some form of central co-ordination.

4.2 Universal Type Institutions

4.2.1 The League of Nations (1920 - 1946)

With the end of the World War I a new epoch began in the history of international relations. In 1920, the first universal type international organizations came into existence. The league of Nation was a real organization with a legal personality and agencies of its own. It is an outcome of international awareness after the First World War. It sought to promote international co-operation, peace, and security upon the basis of disarmament, the peaceful resolution of disputes, a guarantee of the sovereignty and independence of member states and sanctions. (as cited in Shaw, 1995).

order to understand the league character, there are important elements that explain about the essence of the League. The character f league was determined in part by its structure and powers as efined in the covenant; in part by the nature of its shifting membership and the impact of non-number states; in part by the ange of administrative and political problems it was forced to onfront (as cited in Simons, 1994).

The league of Nation had three main organs

1. The League Assembly ... It consisted of representatives of all members and met annually. It had the authority to render binding decisions concerning political problems and peace preserving measures. To an extent it played the role of real parliament. The president of the assembly was elected at every new session by a majority of votes. The election of the president was usually made from among the small states, not represented in the council at the particular time. There was no clear-cut distinction between the functions of the Assembly and the Council. However, there were exclusive functions laid down by the covenant. Some of the functions were (as cited in Das, 1995):
   ◆ The right to admit new members
   ◆ Election of non-permanent members of the council
   ◆ Apportioning expenses of the League among the members
   ◆ Supervising the work of the council and others

2. The League council ... It was executive organ of the league, which consisted of the principal allied and associated powers plus a number of non-permanent numbers (5 great permanent) members & 4 lesser members (non-permanent). Originally the council permanent members proposal was

USA, British Empire, France, and Italy. But USA did not join the league. Later on the permanent seat was given to Germany and USSR in 1926 and 1934 in respectively. In the last days of the League there were 11 members (both permanent and non-permanent). The League Council reaches decisions on the basis of the vote of unanimity.

The authors of the covenant realizing that there were unprecedented institutions; the powers of the League were only loosely defined. In reality the council was regarded as the effective executive assembly, imitating its own policies and thus supervising those introduced by the Assembly in more general terms (as cited in Simons, 1994). The council was required to meet once in a year except in situation of emergency arising out war or threat of war. Every member of the council had only one vote. It is the duty of the council to deal with matters that affect international peace and security of the world. In addition, there were other functions (as cited in Das, 1995).

- Nomination of additional permanent members of the council
- To take necessary steps for the reduction of armaments
- Preserving the territorial integrity and political independence of the members of the League
- Issuing necessary directions to the secretariat and receive reports from the subsidiary organs of the League
- To recommend military sanctions against the reluctant states and expulsion of any member who had violated the provisions of the Covenant of the League

3. The secretariat ... It was a body of permanent civil service headed by the secretary General and a staff of 700 persons. The League of Nations had a permanent secretariat at Geneva headed by the Secretary General. The council appointed the Secretary General with the approval of majority of the Assembly. The function of the secretariat centered around co-ordination of the various activities of organs of the league, maintaining records of the league, providing relevant information, ... etc.

The first Secretary General of the league was Sir James Eric Drummond who had served for 20 years in the British Foreign Office.

There were other subsidiary institutions established to support the Assembly, the Council, and the Secretariat. These were

- The Permanent Court of International Justice (PCIJ), which functioned for a period of 20 years. It was the principal legal body. It tried 65 cases and handed down 32 judgments and27 advisory opinions and several 100 orders.
- Two commissions for military and disarmament affairs
- The Mandate commission and the Minorities committee.
- Main Social/ Economic bodies were the International labor organization, the Economic and Financial organization, the Organization for Communications and Transit, and the Health Organization.
- Committees of Humanitarian types
    - Committee of the Drug Traffic
    - Committee on the Traffic in Woman
    - Committee on the Protection of Children
    - Committee on Slavery
    - Committee on Intellectual Co-operation

The League of Nations legal document was the covenant. The League Covenant was an out come of the 1919 peace treaty (The Treaty of Versailles), which was concluded in the aftermath of World War I. The league covenant contains a comprehensive scheme for the pacific settlement of international disputes.

The membership of the league evolved over time. The original signatories to the Treaty of Versailles were necessarily included (since the League covenant was included in the Treaty). This was misleading view about the subsequent membership of the league. For example, president Woodrow Wilson (the then USA President) was a principal architect of the Versailles Peace but USA senate later blocked American membership of the League. Some states joined the league and later withdrew (for detailed see Annex 1)

The signatories of the Treaty of Versailles decided, following an invitation from the Swiss Government, that headquarters of the League should be situated at Geneva. A park district, the Parc de l' Ariana, was chosen for the permanent site of the League of Nations headquarters and plans were set to train for the design and erection of a Palace of Nations (Palais des Nations) as replacement for the temporary offices of the League delegates and support staff (as cited in Simons, 1994).

Causes for League of Nations

Although the League of Nations is international organization, it never became universal. It stayed to all intents and purposes a European centered institution. It was formally dissolved in April 1946.

The league failed to perform its main function the maintenance of international peace and security. It could not stop the Japanese aggression (1931), The Italian aggression (1935), destruction of the Spanish Republic (1938) and Hitler's Aggression (1939). The result was the Second World War, which sealed its fate (as cited in Chandra, 1995).

Causes of failures

The following factors are important causes for the failure of League of Nations.

1. Big power domination ... The then big powers France and Britain were manipulating the purpose and Political direction of the League of Nations.

2. Weak powers were let down---Example, China and Ethiopia. The purpose of the League of Nations was to promote co-operation among states and work for the maintenance of international peace and security. Article 10 states that all members of the league would respect and preserve territorial integrity, and existing political independence of all and in the event of any trouble, the council would suggest measures for this purpose. Article 11 brings notice to the Assembly or the council and Article 16 undertake measures of collective security.

But in reality Article 16 was not implemented. The real test of the League of Nations came in the 1930s in the event of the Manchurian crisis when Japan attacked Manchurian in 1931 to establish a puppet state "Manchukuo". The league could do nothing except refusing to recognize Manchukuo. Another case, where the principle of collective security put to severe test was the Italian invasion of the independent state of Ethiopia in 1935 following its capture. Similarly the League could not contain the aggressive moves of Germany. From the above events we can conclude that the League of Nations could never really develop a security arrangement in spite of Article 16 of the covenant. All this events witness the inability of the League of Nations to protect weak states against aggression.

3. Shifty and undependable membership of the league, ... Though USA was the architect of League of Nations, it was not member of the League and some big powers were not reliable members of the league. The Big powers also defected at will.

4. Hypocrisy of Big powers and their policy of Appeasement ... No great power of the period, Britain and France, made efforts to check the aggressive actions of Japan, Italy and Germany on account of the fact that it was against their national interest. Rather their appeasement was directed towards Italy and Germany for the destruction of communist Russia.

5. Aggressive Nationalism and the Imperialism of Germany, Japan, and Italy... These states were involved in aggressive and militarist steps surpassing national boundaries.

6. Rule of unanimity both in the Council and the Assembly... The league Council and Assembly made decisions through unanimous vote principle. No unanimity, no decisions.

7. Absence of International enforcement agency... The league lacked enforcing body. All decisions did not have binding effect.

8. The league was an integral part of the Treaty of Versailles ... The covenant, guiding document of the league, was an outcome of the Treaty of Versailles. The oppressive provisions of the Treaty of Versailles were reflected in the league covenant. In addition, the league failed because of the great depression, economic nationalism and exclusivism, the rise of expansionist ideologies, American isolationism and the breakdown of the international system.

The League of Nations and the Collective Security

Collective security is machinery for joint (or collective) action in order to prevent and/or counter any attack against an established international order. It aims to defend the interests of peace loving states by concentrating a pre-ponderance of power against the aggressor. One of the purposes of the League of Nations was to promote co-operation among states and work for the maintenance of international peace and security. Article 10 states all members of the League would respect and preserve as against aggression, territorial integrity, and existing political independence of all and in the event of any trouble, the council would suggest measures for this purpose. In the meantime, Article 11 brings notice to the Assembly or the Council and Article 16 undertakes measures of collective security. But these articles were never implemented. The case of Ethiopia and Manchuria were best examples for the failure of the League of Nations collective security.

Assessing the League

The final collapse should not camouflage the vital contribution of the League both in practice and propaganda. The 1920s and early 1930s were periods of the League's achievement and successful accomplishments--- in 1925 managed to organize peace between Greeks and Bulgars and it ended the 1934 Columbo - Peruvian war. The League was able to bring pressure on governments that might not have welcomed the exposure of unjust practices. Above all, the ideal of the pacific settlement of disputes was institutionalized for the first time in a body that enjoyed international recognition (as cited in Simons, 1994).

The League solved a number of international problems peacefully, though it is most clearly remembered for its failures. It fulfilled many humanitarian obligations, helping with the problem of post - war refugees and prisoners of war, organizing the effective repatriation of hundreds of thousands of displaced people. It exerted persistent pressure against the slave trade, human exploitation in other forms, and the international drug trade. It worked also in the fields of health and education, and pioneered the important idea of an international civil service (as cited in Vandana, 1998).

The very positive contribution of the league was hampered by the fact that many important states were outside of the league (for all or part of its existence). Germany, Italy, Japan, and USA were absent from the league for all or part of its history. The Soviet Union was not member of the League until 1934. Soviet Union was impelled (prompted) to membership by fear of Hitler, but was expelled from the League in 1939 because of its war on Finland. It is interesting to remember that the aggressions of Japan and Italy did not cause expulsions (as cited in Simons, 1994)

Another problem of the League, which the United Nations has still not solved, was that national sovereignties were left intact, with no practical machinery established to compel respect for the covenant. The embedding (implanting) of the covenant in the treaty of Versailles meant that the league was necessarily tarnished (stained) with the widespread vindictive (bitter) attitudes to Germany. Whatever the merits of the treaty, its necessarily anti German thrust (drive), was not helpful to an international body coming to shape a new world of peace and justice.

On 8 April 1946, the League Assembly met at in the Palais des Nations. A number of resolutions were passed whereby the powers and functions of the league would be handed over to the United Nations; the reserve funds were distributed away to the members who donated them; the Palace and the associated material possession (the league library and its archives) were transferred to the United Nations. The Assembly agreed that the League of Nations would cease to exist on 19 April 1946.

4.2.2 The United Nations System
Genesis & Development

The United Nations is the second universal type of international organization, which appeared after the collapse of the League of Nations. The Second World War was one of the impetus (momentum) that led to the establishment of universal type international organization, which is an effective instrument of collective security. The idea of reinstituting the League of Nations was not convincing because the league covenant was having lapses and deficiencies. It was also realized that no security organization would succeed unless great powers are members. Therefore, the United Nations was a result of this consciousness. There were various steps that facilitated the establishment of the United Nations (as cited in Das. 1995)

1. London Declaration ... The representatives of Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Exiled governments met and signed on June 12,1941. They agreed to work for enduring peace through co-operative work of all the people of the world.
2. Atlantic Charter... Leaders of USA (President Roosevelt) and Britain (Prime Minister Churchill) met on board of a ship over Atlantic Ocean and signed the Atlantic Charter in 1941. They denounced all sorts of aggression and discussed the concept of international organization.
3. United Nations' Declaration ... Representatives of 26 states met at Washington and signed the United Nations' Declaration on January 1, 1942. Participant states agreed to co-operate with each other in dealing with enemy and condemned unilateral armistice with enemy state.
4. The Moscow and Teheran Conferences ... (Moscow) The Foreign Ministers of USA, Britain, Russia and China met at Moscow. They signed a Declaration on November 1, 1943 and agreed to establish an international organization to keep peace and security in the world.
   (Teheran) - After two months (in December 1943) leader of USA (Roosevelt) and Russia (Stalin) Britain (Churchill) met in Teheran expressed their hope that the proposed international organization would secure enduring peace.
5. Dam Barton Oaks Conference ... Representatives of Britain, USA. Russia and China met at Dam Barton Oaks in Washington in September 1944. They vow to enforce the decisions of Atlantic Charter and Moscow and Teheran Declarations. On October 7, 1944, the first blue print of the United Nations Organization was published.
6. Yalta conference ... The big three state leaders (USA, Britain and Russia) met on February 11, 1945 and agreed the principles of Dam Barton only regarding the permanent

representation of the Big five in the security council, main organ of the United Nations. The leaders call for a conference in USA, San Francisco to set the charter of UN.

7. San Francisco conference ... Delegates of 50 states (amended as 51 states after the disintegration of East European States) met at San Francisco from April 25 - June 26, 1945. The participants set the Charter of the UN and the statute of the International Court Justice. The charter was signed on June 26, 1945 and came into effect on October 24, 1945. Thus October 24 is celebrated as United Nations Day.

The constitution of the United Nations

The Charter of the United Nations is not only the multilateral treaty which created the organization and outlined the rights and obligations of those states signing it, it is also the constitution of the United Nations, laying down its functions and prescribing its limitations. It contains more than 10,000 words, 111 Articles, 19 chapters and with 3 Amendments, which came into force in 1965,1968 and 1971respectively (as cited in Simons 1994). The United Nations arose as an attempt to remedy the defects of the League system. It grew out of a series of war - time declarations and conferences, culminating in the San Francisco conferences of 1945, which finally adopted the UN charter.

The purpose of the United Nations, as set out in Article 1 of the charter, is as follows (as cited in Shaw, 1995)

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to 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 of settlement of international disputes or situations which lead to the breach of peace;·

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2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self determination of peoples, and to take appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;
3. To achieve international co-operation 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 to race, sex, language, or religion; and
4. To be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these ends.

The charter established six principal (main) organs of the United Nations, which together define its broad structure and via which its purposes are to be realized.

1. The General Assembly
2. The Security council
3. The Secretariat, headed by the Secretary General
4. The International Court of Justice (ICJ)
5. The Economic & Social Council (ECOSOC)
6. The Trusteeship council

Membership

Membership to the United Nations is open to all peace-loving states that accept the obligation contained in the charter and are willing and capable to carry out these obligations. On the basis of the recommendation of the Security Council, if the General Assembly approves, a state can become a member of the United Nations. New admissions can be made by the concurring votes (vote of unanimity) of the permanent member of the Security Council (as cited in Das, 1995)

At San Francisco conference in 1945 around 50 states (amended as 51 states after the disintegration of East European states) signed the charter of the United Nations. By the mid 1960, there were 120 members. In April 1993 Macedonia became the 181st United Nations member. On 26 May 1993 the Security Council recommended to the General Assembly that Eritrea and Monaco be granted United Nations (UN) membership. On 28 May the Assembly approved the council recommendation, bringing 183 the total number of the United Nations members. Two months later on 28 July Andorra became the 184th United Nations member (as cited in Simons 1994). Generally, from 1990 - 1994 28 New nations (former USSR 14 states) 4 new nations in Africa and Asia (Eritrea, Namibia, North Korea & South Korea) 4 in western Europe (Andorra, Liechtenstein, Monaco and San Marino) two in the Pacific (the federated states of Micronesia and the Marshall Islands), the break-up of the former Yugoslavia added two new nations Bosnia Herzegovina and Croatia) and Czechoslovakia split into two nations (Czech and Slovakia) (as cited in Ranny 1996). Until 2002 members of the United Nations reached to 189 (which does not include the State of East Timor).

The General Assembly

The General Assembly is the only United Nation body that contains all member states. Although each state can find the maximum five delegates, it has only one vote. The power of the General Assembly is explained in the following functions (as listed in Das, 1995 and Ranny 1996).

1. Deliberative function - The General Assembly has the power to discuses matters within the scope of the charter. The deliberative function includes the power to obtain all facts pertaining to any particular issue, so as to make the necessary recommendations. The Assembly has no power to interfere in the domestic jurisdiction of the states and its

recommendations do not have binding effect. The assembly performs certain legislative function but it is not comparable with the functions of national legislatures.

2. Supervisory function - The Security Council, the Economic and Social council, the Trusteeship council, etc and other agencies are under the supervision of the General Assembly. The Assembly lays rules for the appointment of the staff and the Secretariat. The Economic and the Social Council need the approval of the General Assembly for convening international conferences. All organs of the UN are not permitted to seek advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice without prior approval of the General Assembly.

3. Financial functions - According to 17(1) of the charter, the General Assembly shall consider and approve budget of the organization. It is also responsible to apportion expenses among member of the UN. It has also the power to determine the criteria for apportioning expenses of the United Nations among its member states. The financial and budgetary provisions of the specialized agencies are also considered and approved by the General Assembly.

4. Elective functions - New members are admitted to the United Nations by a two-third-majority vote of the members of the Assembly. The Assembly admits new members on the recommendations of the Security Council. Likewise, a member is suspended by the Assembly upon the recommendations of the Security Council, for continuously violating the principles of the charter. The General Assembly elects 10 non-permanent members of the Security Council and one-third members (18) of the Economic and Social council are elected yearly for three years term. The General Assembly also appoints the Secretary General up on the

recommendation of the Security Council. The General Assembly and the Security Council elects judges of the International court of justice.

5. Constituent functions - The General Assembly has the power to amend the charter. As per the provisions of article 108, "amendments to the charter came into force when they are adopted by a vote of 2/3 rd of the members of the General Assembly and ratified in accordance with their constitutional process by 2/3^{rds} of the member of the UN including all the permanent members of the Security Council. With the concurrence of the Security Council, the General Assembly councils a general conference to review the provisions of the charter.

The General Assembly has seven main committees to perform its functions effectively. They are:

1. Political and Security Committee
2. Economic and Financial Committee
3. Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee
4. Trusteeship Committee
5. Administrative and Budgetary Committee
6. Legal Committee
7. Two procedural committees; the General Committee and the Credentials Committee.

The Uniting for Peace Resolution

In the UN, there were times of stalemate (deadlock) to pass a resolution in the Security Council. A need arises to take appropriate step in case of breach of peace or act of aggression. The Uniting for Peace Resolution adopted in 1950 expanded the General Assembly sphere of activity. As result of this resolution, if the Security Council fails to exercise its power for the maintenance of

international peace and security due to lack of unanimity among the permanent members, the General Assembly is empowered to consider the matter immediately and make appropriate recommendations for collective measures.

The 1956 Suez crisis was is an example for the application of the 1950 uniting for Peace Resolution. During the Suez crisis, when the British and French votes stood in the way of (against) the Security Council to take collective action the General Assembly performed the role to maintain international peace and security. The Soviet Union even endorsed the decision, which had earlier opposed the extension of power to the General Assembly (as cited in Das, 1995)

The Security Council
The main and primary responsibility of the Security Council is the maintenance of international peace and security. The Security Council, the most powerful body of UN, consists of 15 member states classified as permanent members and non-permanent members. The permanent members are five namely the United States, Britain, France, Russia and China. The Peoples Republic of China began to enjoy the permanent seat since 1971. Before 1971 the Republic of China (Taiwan) was having the status of permanent membership in the Security Council.

The Ten non-permanent members are elected for two years term by the General Assembly. According to the current practice non-permanent membership have regional quota----Five seats are filled by Afro-Asian states, Two by Latin American states, One by East European state, and Two by West European and other states (these latter being mainly the white members of the Common Wealth) (as cited in Simons, 1994). The voting procedure of the Security Council is defined in Article 27: Each member of the Security Council shall have one vote and decisions on procedural matters and shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members including the

concurring vote of the permanent members (a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting). Therefore, the permanent members enjoy double vote (which contains exercise of veto right) where as the non-permanent members enjoy single vote with concurrence of the permanent members. This "double vote" constitutes a formidable barrier but it is possible under the rules of procedure of the president of the Security Council to rule that a matter is procedural and if nine members support the ruling, the issue is resolved. Some importance is given to the non-permanent members as at least four votes of these members are required to produce the decision making majority of Nine. Thus it may be argued that the council is not exclusive instrument of great powers (as cited in Das, 1995). Procedural matters include chairmanship of the council, items on the agenda, dates and timings of the meeting. The question of how to distinguish procedural matters and substantive matters is highly controversial one.

Powers & Functions

The following are the main powers and functions of the Security Council

1. Deliberative functions - It has the power to investigate discuss and make necessary recommendations. When there is any dispute among member states, the Security Council calls upon the conflicting parties to decide their disputes amicably. If the dispute is likely to threaten international peace and security, the Security Council shall either recommend solution or decide the measures to be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42.

2. Enforcement functions - The Security Council is enforcement arm of the United Nations. When peaceful means is exhausted the Security Council takes measure to maintain

international peace and security. The Security Council does not recourse to armed force in its enforcement power. Initially recourse to partial or total interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, had other means of communication and severance of diplomatic relations. When all these fail, the Security Council can take military measure to maintain international peace and security. Although the charter provides individual or collective self defense to member states, they are not expected to exercises this power, until the Security Council authorizes for such action.

3. Elective functions - New members admission constitute the elective functions of the Security Council. New members are admitted to the United Nations by the decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendations of the Security Council. The Security Council also participates in the in the election of judges to the International Court of Justice. The unanimous recommendation of the Security Council is essential for the appointment of the Secretary General.

The Secretariat
Sir Eric Drummond, the 1st Secretary General of the League of Nations, had worked to establish an international civil service in Geneva. This body laid the basis for the secretariat of the United Nations. The Secretary General and the staff serve as chief administrative officer of the United Nations. The Secretary General presides in all meetings of the General Assembly, of the Security Council, of the ECOSOC and of the Trusteeship Council. This body shall not work by the instruction of any government.

Secretary Generals of the UN Since its inception

	Name	Citizenship	Office Term
1	Trygve lie	Norwegian	1946 - 1953
2	Dag Hammerskjold	Swedish	1953 - 1961
3	U Thant	Burmese	1962 - 1971
4	Kurt Waldheim	Austrian	1971 - 1981
5	Javier Perez de Cuellar	Peruvian	1982 - 1992
6	Boutros Boutros Ghali	Egyptian	1992 - 1997
7	Kofi Annan	Ghanaian	1997 -

Today the secretariat comprises an international staff of more than 16,000 men and women from some 150 countries with an increasing involvement in the framing and holding of multi-lateral treaties between states. It is also increasingly engaged in the adjustment of international relations between states.

The International Court of Justice
The International Court of Justice is an organ of the United Nations and its statute form an integral part of the United Nations charter. It is different from the Permanent Court of International Justice (PCIJ), which was not organ of the League of Nations. The statute of Permanent Court of International Justice constituted a separate international agreement and was different from the covenant. Nevertheless there was similarity between the statutes of PCIJ and ICJ (as cited in Das, 1995).

The International Court of Justice at The Hague, created at the 1945 San Francisco Conference, was a culmination of decades of development. The Hague Conference of 1899 had seen the establishment of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, a device for the

pacific settlement of international disputes. The League of Nations involved the creation of the Permanent Court of International Justice at Hague, (as cited in Simons, 1994).

The main task of ICJ is to decide inter-state disputes and serve as advisory body. Members of the UN are ipso facto parties to its statute and other non-members (according Article 93 (2) of the charter) are parties to the statute on conditions to be determined in each case by the General Assembly upon the recommendations of the Security Council. The question of the court's decisions of 'compulsory' Jurisdiction is not successful. Powerful states have ignored the court's decisions when they felt their interests are at stake. For example-when United States was condemned for violating international law in waging aggressive acts against Nicaragua the court ruling was. totally ignored. The court rulings are limited because it has no method of enforcement. This is also true for other United Nations agencies.

The court consists of 15 distinguished Jurists, with five elected every three years to hold office for a period of nine years. The ICJ 15 members are elected regardless of their nationality, from among persons of high moral character, who possesses the qualifications required in their respective countries for appointment to the highest judicial office or are Juris-consults of recognized competence in international law (as cited in Shaw, 1995).

Economic and Social Council

In the late summer of 1939, a few days before the start of the Second World War, a commission in charge delivered a report to the League of Nations, urging a creation of high-powered council to organize and expand the League's economic and social activities. The war prevented the establishment of such a League council but the idea survived until 1945 San Francisco conference where the ECOSOC was created as one of the principal organ of the United Nations (as cited in Simons, 1994).

The post-1945 global situation pressed the United Nations to create conditions of stability and well being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among the nations. The relations among the states must be based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of the people. To establish the foundations of such a society, there should be economic and social progress leading to higher standards of living and full employment of those who are interested to work. There should be co-operation among the states in the spheres of culture and education. Collective efforts should be made to solve international economic, social, health and related problems. There should be respect for fundamental human freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, and religion (as cited in Das, 1995).

The ECOSOC originally consisted of 18 members. After the 1965 Second amendment its number rose to 27 and later it was subsequently changed to 54. The members of the ECOSOC are elected by $2/3^{rd}$ majority of the General Assembly. One-third members (18) are elected yearly for three years term. The council serves as central forum for consideration of international economic, and social issues. It also initiates studies and makes recommendations; promotes human rights; calls conferences and drafts conventions; negotiates agreements with the specialized agencies and co-ordinates their activities; and performs a wide range of associated functions. The council has also subsidiary bodies like-functional, regional, and standing committees and a number of expert bodies on subjects as crime, development planning, international tax matters, trafficking of dangerous products (as cited in Simons, 1994).

The Trusteeship Council

The charter (Article 73) recognizes that some peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government ' and recognized that 'the interests of the inhabitants of those territories are paramount. It is also declared that the United Nations members accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost---the well being of these peoples (as cited in Simons, 1994). Chapter 22 for an international trusteeship system, which shall apply to the following categories of territories

1. Territories now held under mandate
2. Territories which may be detached from enemy states
3. Territories voluntarily placed under the system

The following were the basic objectives of the Trusteeship System

1. To further international peace and security
2. To promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories
3. To ensure their progressive development towards self-government or independence
4. To encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without any distinction as to race, sex, language or religion; and
5. To ensure equal treatment in social, economic and commercial matters for all members of the United Nations and their nationals

The Trusteeship Council consists of the permanent members of the Security Council members administering the trust territories and members of the United Nations elected by the General Assembly for a period of three years. (as cited in Das, 1995).

The broad aim of the Trusteeship Council was broadly fulfilled by the 1980s with the exception of one---the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, administered by the United States. Of the principal organs of the United Nations the Trusteeship Council is unique in that the bulk of its responsibilities have disappeared followed social and political change (as cited in Simons, 1994).

The Specialized Agencies

There are many agencies operating solely under the auspices of the General Assembly, main organ of the United Nations. In addition, there are a number of inter-governmental specialized Agencies. The specialized agencies have agreement with the United Nations based on separate and autonomous existence. Some agencies are older than the United Nations. For example

- International Telecommunication Union (ITU which was founded in 1865)
- The Universal Postal Union (UPU which was established in 1874)
- The International Labor Organization (ILO which was created in 1919 under the treaty of Versailles, as autonomous body associated with the League of Nations) ILO agreeing with the United Nations became the first specialized agency on 14 December 1946.

The Specialized agencies are broadly classified into four categories. The first category consists of those, which are concerned with technical work. They are

- The International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO, was created in April 1947;
- The World Meteorological Organization (WMO) with its origin in the International Meteorological Organization created in 1873 and subject to the convention that became effective on 23 March 1950;

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- The International Maritime Organization (IMO) formerly the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization established by a convention ratified by 21 states on 17 March 1958
- The Universal Postal Union (UPU)
- The International Telecommunication Union (ITU)
- The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) was established in 1957 under the aegis of the United Nations
- The World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), with origins in 1883 Paris Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property and the 1886 Berne Convention for the protection of Literary and Artistic works, created in 1967 and on 17 December 1974 became specialized United Nations agency.

The Second Category consists organizations engaged in social and humanitarian activities. These are
- The International Labor Organization (ILO)
- The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)---- Representatives of 44 states adopted the UNESCO constitution on 16 November 1945 in London.
- The World Health Organization (WHO) was established on July 1946. Around 61 states adopted the WHO constitution and ratifications took place on 7 April 1948 now known as World Health Day
- The United Nations International Children Emergency Fund (UNICEF) was created by the United Nations General Assembly on 11 December 1946

The Third category of Specialized Agencies was created to tackle international financial problems and concerned with economic development.

- The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) was created in December 1945
- The International Development Association (IDA)
- The International Monetary Fund (IMF) was created by Breton Woods Agreement came into existence on December 27, 1945
- The World Trade Organization which replaced GATT (General Agreement for Trade and Tariff) since 1996

The last category consists of Specialized Agencies, which deal with economic problems.

- The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) was formed in 1945
- The Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) established by the General Agreement in 1966
- The United nations Conference for Trade and Development (UNCTAD)

Collective Security and the United Nations

Article 1 of the United Nations charter refers to "effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression or the breaches of peace". The essence of Chapter 7 discusses form of "the collective measures" for armed assistance. Article 45 and 47 stipulates military assistance and advice.

The first experiment under the United Nations of collective security was made in 1950 with the outbreak of the Korean War. When the North Korea attacked South Korea on June 15 1950 the Security Council convened a meeting of its members. North Korea refused to withdraw to the 38th parallel line. The Korean experiment was the

first successful test case of the United Nations collective security arrangement. However, the success of this experiment was possible only due to the abstention of Russia from the meetings of the Permanent Five. However, to meet the contingency of the veto of the permanent members to stall any collective action, the United Nations established a 'Uniting for Pace Resolution' by the General Assembly. Before the introduction to of 'Uniting for Peace Resolution', the Security Council because of lack of unanimity was unable to settle the Russian-Iranian dispute (1946) and the Dutch-Indonesian dispute (1945-49).

The United Nations General Assembly passed a $2/3^{rd}$ majority decisions a plan to the General Assembly to implement collective security provision. The main features of this plan according to Morgenthau (1969) are

1. The General Assembly can meet within 24 hours if the Security Council is prevented by veto from exercising its primary responsibility
2. The General Assembly can make recommendations to member-states for collective measure including armed forces
3. A recommendations to each member state maintain national armed forces which can be made available for possible services as units of the United Nations
4. The establishment of a Peace Observation Commission (POC) to observe and report where tension exists
5. The creation of Collective Measures Committee (CMC) to study and report on the means to strengthen international peace and security

The Uniting for Peace Resolution marked the attempts to circumscribe (restrict) the veto provisions and to rebuild the United Nations into an effective collective measure of defense system. Thus, the collective security system based on Five Permanent Members unanimity as mentioned in the United Nations charter proved in

effective and the 'Uniting for Peace" system was followed by the United Nations Organization for the maintenance of international peace and security (as cited in Vandana, 1998).

Assessment of the United Nations since its Inception

Since the foundation of the United Nations to 1989, the basic fact of the international life was the cold war between the United States and its allies and the Soviet Union and its allies on the other. During this period, 1946-1989 the prerequisite for successful operation of the United Nations is unanimity among the permanent members of the Security Council. In practice, the exercise of veto by the USA and Soviet Union has greatly hampered the step to check aggression or breaches of peace. The United Nations in the 1990s is different from the organization created in the 1940s, and its changing nature has had a lot to do with considerable fluctuations in its importance as an agency for the maintaining peace and security. Its history has so far seen four main phases (as cited in Ranny, 1996).

Phase I------- Decline of the Security Council, Rise of the General Assembly (1946-1954)

In the first decades of its membership of the United Nations was little changed, and most of its proceedings were dominated by a coalition led by the United States. In the Security Council the Soviet Union often vetoed actions proposed by the United States, but in the General Assembly the United States led coalition could usually muster (rally) 39 of the 60 members, this majority enabled the United States to carry most of the resolutions. This was reflected in the 'Uniting for Peace Resolution' passed over Soviet opposition in 1950. This resolution provided that in instances in which this appeared to be acts of aggression that threatened peace and in which the Security Council, because of a veto by one of its permanent, failed to recommend action. Under Article 41 and 42, the General Assembly

would immediately consider the matter. If two-thirds of the members agreed, then the General Assembly would recommend that member nations use whatever measures including arms force, seemed appropriate to maintain international peace and security. Thus, in the 1950 the General Assembly assumed a good deal of power in the collective security area originally reserved for the Security Council, and that power was used several times after 1955.

Phase II----Third World Dominance (1955-1964)

The first two decades after World War II saw the break up of most of the pre-war colonial empires, particularly the British, French and Dutch. The result was a great expansion in the number of independent sovereign nations, almost all applied for membership in the United Nations.

- ◆ 1955-1956 ----20 new members were admitted in the United Nations
- ◆ Over the next 9 years, it added 34 more members
- ◆ By 1964 the United Nations had 113 members compared with the original 59 and the organization's politics changed radically

African and Asia called themselves "3rd World" because they claimed to be politically as well as geographically and economically separate from the Western and Communist bloc. These third world countries were having dominant voice in the General Assembly. Though France and Soviet Union denounced the orders, in 1964 the General Assembly passed a two-third resolution ordering the deployment of United Nations peacekeeping forces in Congo (Africa) and the Gaza strip (in Middle East). From 1955-1989, the third world nations regularly united on resolutions condemning Israel, South Africa, and United States action in Central America and on resolutions dealing with what is regarded as vestiges (remnants) of colonialism.

Phase III----Much Talk, Little Action (1965-1989)

By 1989 the African and Asian nations constituted nearly half of the entire membership, and third world nations together controlled well over 2/3rds of the votes in the General Assembly. But in reality the third world nations did not and do not vote together on all questions rather sometimes split into many caucuses: the African-Asian caucus, the African caucus, the Latin America caucus, the non-aligned nations' caucus, and so on.

The United Nations record in preventing and checking aggression and war was not impressive before 1989. The United Nations did play a minor role in monitoring and truce between Israel and Egypt after their war in 1973. Yet, the United Nations played no role of any significance in the wars between the United States and North Vietnam (1864-1973), India and Pakistan (1971), Israel and Syria in Lebanon (1978-1985), Ethiopia and Somalia (1977-1978), Libya and Chad (1979-1981), Great Britain and Argentina (1982), Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan (1979-1989) and the endless conflict in Latin America (since 1979).

Phase IV----Revival (1985-1994 and beyond)

The end of the cold war had had many consequences.

- The revival of the United Nations as a significant factor in world politics.
- The growing co-operation between USA and Republics of former USSR in their activities inside United Nations.

Since 1989 neither USA not former Soviet have made a move in the Security Council or General Assembly that was totally unacceptable to the other. Between 1945-1989 the veto was used 193 times. Each used its veto sparingly (carefully) ---Soviet Union used its veto 3(4) times and the United States did not use its veto at all. The then Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar and its successor Boutros

Boutros Ghali were able to take several initiatives during the cold war. For example

♦ Javier Perez De Cellar mediated the end of the long and bloody war between Iran and Iraq (1980-1988), over saw the independence of Namibia, helped to arrange the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and in 1991 he played a key role in securing the release of a number of American, British, French and the German hostages kidnapped by Pro-Iranian terrorist organizations in Lebanon.

♦ Boutros -Boutros Ghali successfully pressed for sending United Nations peacekeeping forces to Cambodia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Somalia.

The revival of the United Nations was further marked by the choice of USA to work through United Nations in building coalition to oppose Iraqi's invasion and occupation of Kuwait in 1990.

The United Nations and Africa

The United Nations has done much more peace keeping than peace making efforts (Peace Keeping means the deployment of military and /or police personnel either as interim measure to facilitate peace making; Peace Making means to help implement peace settlements which have been negotiated by the United Nations or others ----like multifunctional peace keeping. In Peace Keeping, the United Nations is professional and its record in Africa is good one despite significant failures in Rwanda and Somalia. Out of 30 peacekeeping operations (established since 1988), 14 (47%) have been in Africa. The end of the cold war opened-up many new opportunities for the United Nations in the prevention, management, and resolutions of conflicts.

Another innovations since the end of the cold war is the role, which the United Nations has played worldwide in the electoral field both in the context of peace settlements and in countries which have not been involve in conflicts.

- Observing elections in Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, Liberia, South Africa, Sierra Leone and East Timor
- Verifying the respect of international norms during electoral campaign, polling day and certifying free and fairness of the election
- Planning to conduct Referendum in Western Sahara

The humanitarian role is one of most often played by the United Nations in African conflicts (internal conflicts), the humanitarian activities in Rwanda, Burundi, Angola, Sierra Leone, and others is the efforts of the United Nations in post cold war era (as cited in the Horn Spectator, 2000). All these do not mean that the United Nations has moved closer to becoming world government. In legal theory and political fact the United Nations is still based on total acceptance of the state system. Its ability to get things done has been significantly increased by the end of the cold war but the United Nations still can take significant action only when its powerful member nations want to it. United Nations remains as part of the state system but not a world government.

Some observers say that the new tribalism has already replaced the old global cold war with many local hot wars and neither the one remaining super power, the United States nor the United Nations can prevent or contain these conflict types;

- Inter-tribal / clan conflicts ---Somalia, Burundi, Kosovo, ...etc.
- Inter-political groups conflict ---Sierra Leone (Revolutionary United Front vs. the Sierra Leone incumbent government) Angola (UNITA vs. the Party in power MPLA) ...etc.
- Intra-State conflicts ---Ethiopia vs. Eritrea, Eritrea vs. Yemen, India vs. Pakistan ...etc.

- ♦ Religious Motivated conflicts---Russian Government Vs the Chechen Muslims, Algerian Government Vs Muslim Fundamentalists

The United Nations since its inception has experienced ups and downs. There were significant efforts and under achievements through out its existence. The very global politics has positively and negatively influenced the operations of the United Nations. The United Nations is not suffering from extinction. The United Nations is pursuing double standards in its policy operation. The amount of assistance varies dramatically by region. Donors provided the equivalent of 59 U.S. cents per person per day for 3.5 million people in Kosovo and Southeastern Europe in 1999, compared with 13 cents per person per day for 12 million African victims (as cited in REFUGEE magazine Number 122, 2001). For similar causes and events different policy operations are exercised in the United Nations. Any way the United Nations is a mixed bag of achievements and failures.

The Future of the United Nations

The United Nations to maintain its success various scholars and even national governments are suggesting and voicing ways to democratize the system. It seems that democratization of the United Nations system is its heyday. Some of the discussions are:

Restructuring the Security Council

The composition of the Security Council permanent membership is one area of controversy in world politics. There were changes in the Security Council in its history of existence. The status of the Security Council founding members in 1950s and 1960s and after 1989 is quite different. This change of status becomes a prelude to an increased demand by states for permanent membership in the

Security Council. In recent times, Japan and Germany have emerged as great powers having vast resources and influence in the sphere of international relations. There is a belief that it is unrealistic not to include them as permanent members in the Security Council. The case of India demanding permanent membership is another example. There is also a demand for permanent membership on regional quota basis like the system in the non-permanent membership. In another reform debate, there is a view proposed to increase membership that is reflected in the make-up of the Security Council. There is support idea for moderate increase in the number of permanent and non-permanent members of the Council. Theses members should have the same rights and obligations. The enhancement of the number of permanent members of the Security Council would not only dilute the rigidity of the existing five big powers in exercising the veto power but also would inject an element of liberalism and broader perspective to the whole issue (as cited in Das, 1995).

Transparency and more democratic Working Methods
All member states of the United Nations should be able to influence opinion-forming process and share in decision-making process. As far as sovereign states are equal in the face of international law and the charter of the United Nations, distinction in all decision making process on different issues is not logical and acceptable. The volume of national wealth should not serve as yardstick to be influential or not. This reform idea and practice cannot be achieved within limited period. It requires concerted effort and struggle of states (particularly poor nations) to democratize the United Nations system.

4.3 Regional Institutions: The Case of Africa

The proliferation of regional institutions, linking together geographically and ideologically related states, since the close of 2nd WW, has been impressive. There were factors that facilitated the rise of regional institutions.

- The onset of cold war and the failure of the Security Council's enforcement procedures stimulated the growth of regional defense alliances and bloc politics - like NATO, Warsaw Pact, EEC... etc.
- The decolonization process resulted in independence of scores of states which most of them are eager to play a non-aligned role between East-West. These regional institutions reflect common interests (and some times common hostilities) in super-power world --like Arab league, organization of African Unity ... etc.

The African Experience

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) is both the symbol and embodiment of age-old Pan African yearnings that found remarkable expression in the 19th century epics of scattered African communities the world over. A movement of self-assertion in its early days, Pan Africanism evolved into an organized force with cultural and political claims, especially after WWII.

The movements from the first Pan-African gathering in Manchester (UK) in 1900 up to the first conference of independent African states in 1962 has pivotal part in founding the OAU. Numerous attempts were made at channeling African aspirations for freedom, equality, justice, and progress. The major landmarks on this road to continental soldiery were:

- The Ghana - Guinea Union (23 September, 1958) which was joined by Mali on 29 April 1961;
- The All-African peoples conference, Accra 1958;
- The Casablanca Group (7 January, 1961) composed of Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, the United Arab Republic (Egypt), and the Algerian Provisional Government.
- The Pan-African Movement for East, Central and the Southern Africa (PAFMESCA)
- The Monrovia Group (May 8 - 12, 1961) composed of Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire, Cameron, Senegal, Malagasy Republic, Togo, Benin, Chad, Niger, Burkina Faso, Congo Brazzaville, Central African Republic, Gabon, Ethiopia and Libya.

- Later due to alignment and realignment of forces, the Brazzaville Group (December 19, 1960) was composed of Cameron, Central African Republic, Congo, Brazzaville, Cote d'Ivoire, Benin, Gabon, Mauritania, Burkina Faso, Madagascar (Malagasy), Niger, Senegal, and Chad.

Finally, the different regional attempts gave birth to the creation of OAU on May 25, 1963 at Addis Ababa by 30 African Heads of State and Government (as cited in OAU publications, January, 1996).

The OAU has the following objectives

1. To promote the unity and solidarity of the African states;
2. To co-ordinate and intensify the co-operation and efforts to achieve a better life for the people of Africa;
3. To defend their sovereignty, the territorial integrity and independence;
4. To eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa; and
5. To promote international co-operation, having due regard to the charter of the UN and Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The OAU has seven fundamental principles to achieve its objectives

1. The sovereign equality of all member-states
2. Non-interference in the internal affairs of states
3. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each state and for the inalienable right to independent existence.
4. Peaceful settlement of dispute by Negotiation, mediation, conciliation, and arbitration.
5. Universal condemnation in all its forms, of political assassination as well as subversive activities on the part of neighboring states or any other state.
6. Absolute dedication to the total emancipation of the African territories, which are still dependent.
7. Affirmation of a policy of non-alignment with regard to all blocs.

In proclaiming OAU objectives and principles, the founding members of the OAU envisaged clearly a unity "that transcends ethnic and national differences" (as cited in OAU publication, August 1992).

The OAU is composed of 53 member African states, which excludes Morocco. Morocco with drew from the OAU in 1985 as a reaction to the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic representation in OAU. During OAU inception, some recognized liberation Movements were having observer status like:

- Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO)
- African Party for Independence of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC)
- The Peoples Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA)
- The National Liberation Front of Angola (FUNA)
- The South West African People's Organization (SWAPO)

- The Zimbabwe African People Union (ZAPU)
- The Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU)
- The National Front for the Liberation of Somali Coast ((FLCS)
- The Liberation Movement for the Liberation of the Comoro Islands (MOLINACO)
- The African National Congress of South Africa (ANC)
- The Pan African Congress of South Africa (PAC)
- The Djibouti Liberation Movement (LMD)

Major Organs of the OAU

The OAU has four major organs, which accomplish its purposes
1. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government--- It is the Legislative and Supreme organ of OAU. The main purposes of this organ are: discusses matters of common concern to Africa with a view to coordinating and harmonizing the general policy of the organization; reviews the structure, functions and acts of all the organs and any specialized agencies. The Assembly meets once in a year, at a request of any member state and on approval by a two-third majority of the member states, the Assembly meets in extraordinary session.
2. The Council of Ministers - It is executive organ of OAU and meets twice in a year. The Council of Ministers consists of Foreign Ministers or such other Ministers as are designated by the Governments of member states. The Council is responsible to the Assembly and is entrusted with the responsibility of preparing conferences of the assembly, implementing the decisions of the Assembly and co-ordinates inter - African cooperation.

3. General Secretariat --- It is the permanent OAU organ whose task is to service OAU meetings, implement decisions, and resolutions, keep OAU documents and archives, in general carryout the day to day activities of the organization. The Headquarter of the OAU General Secretariat is located at Africa Unity House, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
4. The Commission of Mediation, Conciliation, and Arbitration- --It is a body responsible in resolving inter-state disputes peacefully.

The Secretary General of OAU also serves as secretariat of the African Economic Community with five Deputies appointed by the Assembly for a 4-years term. Over 600 staff members of whom over 152 of the professional category from some 40 independent African countries work both at Headquarter and in the regional and sub regional office. The working languages of OAU are Arabic, English, French, and Portuguese. The OAU budget stands about 29/30 million US dollars from annual contribution of member states based on assessing the scale of their national income.

There were series of attempts to integrate Africa that is centered on the transformation of the OAU to the African Union (AU) with the foundation works of the New Partnership for African's Development (NEPAD). African Union is an instrument of long-term development of the continent and NEPAD is the foundation that serves as primary tool for carrying out the evolution. African Union is practically a product of legislation that has been primarily the creation of the secretariat but 'people centered approach' is the right road to succeed in African Union creation and implementation (as cited in The Reporter, Vol. 6 Num. 228 March 2002).

In July 2002 with cumulative efforts of the secretariat and member-states in the past years, the OAU gave birth to African Union (AU) in Johannesburg, South Africa. According to the source material constitutive Act of African Union (July 2001), the African Union has the following organs.

1. The Assembly of the Union
2. The Executive Council
3. The Pan-African Parliament
4. The Court of Justice
5. The Commission
6. The Permanent Representative Committee
7. The Specialized Technical Committee
8. The Economic, Social and Cultural Council
9. The Financial Institutions

The transformation of OAU to AU is an important milestone in the history of Africa. AU as political set-up is expected to serve as an instrument of long term African development. Nevertheless, the success of AU depends on how much the body is able to realize its objectives and principles despite proliferation of internal African conflicts and political instability.

CHAPTER IV

Multiple Choices: Read the following questions and choose the best answer out of the given alternatives

126. The 1414 spectacular international congress was
    a) The Roman Catholic Church
    b) The Hanseatic League
    c) The Council of Constance
    d) All of the above
127. The Treaty that ended the 30 years old religious conflict of Central Europe was
    a) The Congress of Vienna
    b) The Council of Europe
    c) The Holly Alliance
    d) The Peace of Westphalia
128. The central agency for enforcing the Vienna settlement of 1815 was
    a) The Hague conference
    b) The Quadruple Alliance
    c) The London Declaration
    d) The Versailles Treaty
129. The first universal type international organization was established in
    a) 1930
    b) 1945
    c) 1909
    d) 1920
130. Which of the following had feature of real parliament?
    a) The League Assembly
    b) The League Council
    c) The League Secretariat
    d) None of the above

131. The executive organ of league of Nation consisted in
    a) Allied powers
    b) Associated powers
    c) All states of the world
    d) A and B
132. The functions of the secretariat was centered on
    a) Co-ordination of the various activities of organs of the league
    b) Maintaining records of the league
    c) Providing relevant information
    d) All of the above
133. The First Secretary General of the League of Nations was
    a) Trygve lie
    b) U Thant
    c) Koffi Annan
    d) Sir James Eric Drummond
134. The legal body of the league of Nation was known as
    a) International Court of Justice
    b) Permanent Court of International Justice
    c) The Mandate Commission
    d) Disarmament Affairs
135. The principal architect of the Treaty of Versailles was
    a) Franklin Roosevelt
    b) Harry Truman
    c) Woodrow Wilson
    d) All of the above
136. The Head Quarter of the League of Nation was situated in
    a) Paris
    b) London
    c) New York
    d) Geneva

137. The League of Nations was formally dissolved in
    a) April 1946
    b) April 1945
    c) October 1945
    d) June 1946
138. The real test of the league of Nation in securing collective security was
    a) The 1931 Japanese invasion of Manchuria
    b) The 1935 Italian aggression of Ethiopia
    c) When Japan established a Puppet state known as " Manchukuo
    d) All of the above
139. Which of the following states pursued policy of appeasement during the inter war period and ?
    a) Germany and Japan
    b) USA and USSR
    c) German and France
    d) France and Britain
140. Identify a state that was not totally number of the League of Nations
    a) USSR
    b) Germany
    c) USA
    d) All of the above
141. The second universal type International Organization was
    a) League of Nations
    b) United Nations
    c) European Union
    d) Arab League

142. The Atlantic Charter participant states were
   a) USSR and USA
   b) China and USSR
   c) USA and Great Britain
   d) USA and China

143. The number of participant states during the Washington United Nations Declarations were
   a) 50
   b) 51
   c) 26
   d) 27

144. The United Nations day is celebrated on
   a) 24 Oct. 1945
   b) 26 June 1945
   c) 25 April 1945
   d) 19 April 1945

145. The constitution of the United Nation contains
   a) More than 10,000 words
   b) 111 Articles
   c) 19 Chapters
   d) All of the above

146. The 181st member of the United Nation was
   a) Angola
   b) Andorra
   c) Macedonian
   d) Monaco

147. The elective function of the United Nations refers to
   a) Discuss matters pertaining the charter
   b) Amend the charter
   c) Admit new members
   d) Supervise other organs of the United Nations

148. The executive body of the United Nations is
    a) The General Assembly
    b) The Secretariat
    c) The Trusteeship Council
    d) None of the above

149. The current member states of the ECOSOC are
    a) 54
    b) 27
    c) 18
    d) 15

150. The Security Council's power of putting in practices all the decisions of the General Assembly is called
    a) Deliberative function
    b) Enforcement function
    c) Elective function
    d) All of the above

151. The current (2002) Secretary General of United Nations is
    a) Amara Isse
    b) Boutros Boutros Ghali
    c) Koffi Annan
    d) Trygve lie

152. The main task of International Court Justice is
    a) To settle inter- state dispute
    b) To enforce sanctions
    c) To deploy peace keeping forces
    d) All of the above

153. As Trusteeship is to the United Nations_____ to League of Nations
    a) League secretariat
    b) Mandate Commission
    c) League council
    d) League Assembly

154. Which of the following is the oldest international organization classified as specialized Agency of the United Nations?
    a) International labor Organization
    b) Universal Postal Union
    c) Food and Agriculture Organization
    d) World Health

155. The Organization of African Union is
    a) The symbol embodiment of age old pan African yearnings
    b) An out come of a movement of self Assertion
    c) A result of Various Pan African gatherings
    d) All of the above

156. One of the following states was not member of Organization of African Union since 1985
    a) Algeria
    b) Libya
    c) Morocco
    d) Egypt

157. The legislative body of the Organization of African Union was the
    a) Council of Ministers
    b) Assembly of Heads of State and Government
    c) Secretariat
    d) Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration,

158. The Organization of African Union through long process evolved (developed) to the African Union in
    a) July 2001
    b) July 2002
    c) June 2001
    d) June 2002

True or False: Read the questions and decide either True or False

159. Treaties concluded during ancient period were considered as the first step towards international organization.
160. The grand design of Maximilien de Bethune, Due de sully was reflected in the charter of the United Nations.
161. The Quadruple Alliance later the Quintuple Alliance was the first examples of international government.
162. The establishment of international administrative institution did not have any part in laying the basis of contemporary international institutions.
163. The League Council as main organ consisted all members of the League of Nations.
164. The League Council was having the power to issue necessary direction to the secretariat.
165. The legal document of the League of Nations was known as the Charter.
166. The Treaty of Versailles was a treaty concluded between victorious and vanquished states of World War I.
167. On the basis of Article 16 of the Covenant, the League of Nations was able to protect weak nations from aggression
168 The final collapse of the League of Nations should not obscure (hide) the vital contribution of the organization's practice and propaganda.
169. During the Teheran conference, (of 1943) the first blue print of the United Nations was published.
170. The Charter of the United Nations came in to effect on June 26 1945.
171. All organs of the United Nations are permitted to seek advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice.

172. During amendment of the charter, 2/3 rd members of the General Assembly should ratify with the concurrent vote of the permanent members of the Security Council.
173. The 1956 Suez Canal crisis was an example of the application of the Uniting for Peace Resolution.
174. The members of the International Court of Justice are 20 distinguished Jurists
175. The first experiment of the United Nations collective security was made in 1950 with the out break of the Korean War.
176. The United Nations in the 1990s and in 1940s is similar organization in all its roles and contributions.
177. The United Nations during the period of 1965-1989 was recognized as too much talk, little action organization.
178. The United Nations in Africa has made much effort in peace keeping than pence making.
179. The United Nations is a mixed bag of achievements and failures.
180. The Organization of African union was composed of 53 independent African states until its transformation to African Union.
181. The transformation of Organization of African Union to African Union is an important historical milestone in the history of Africa.

Writing Question: Read the following and attempt to answer.

182. What was the international organization established during the Middle Ages?
183. Outline some of the schemes of international organization during the 17th and 18th centuries
184. Write down members of the 1818 Quintuple Alliance
185. What were the international administration agencies established during the 19th century.

186. State the factors that help in determining the character of the League of Nations.
187. Mention some of the functions of the league Assembly
188. Identify some of the subsidiary organs of the League of Nations
189. What is the main purpose of United Nations in adopting the Uniting for Peace Resolution in 1950?
190. Write the regional quota distribution to Security Council non-permanent membership seats.
191. Explain the difference between Permanent Membership and Non-Permanent Membership of the Security Council.
192. Briefly state about the various phases of the United Nations since its inception.
193. List down major Organ of Organization of African Union.
194. State some of the reasons of league of Nations inability to check aggression
195. What do you understand by rule of unanimity practice in the League of Nations?
196. Define collective Security.
197. Cite some of the important contributions of the League of Nations
198. List down the steps conducted to wards establishing the United Nations system
199. Identify the particular decision of participant states of the Yalta conferences (February 1945).
200. What is the difference between the peace making and peacekeeping?

Chapter V Introduction to Civil Society

5.1 Introduction: Conceptual Approach

Civil society has become one of the favorite buzzwords among the global chattering classes, touted (publicized) by presidents and political scientists as the key to political, economic, and societal success. The term "civil society" can be traced through the works of Cicero and other Romans to the ancient Greek philosophers, although the classical usage civil society was equated with the state (as cited in Deutschland, Oct/Nov. 2000). The original meaning of civil society was linked with the concept of 'civility'. Civil society emerged during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries at a time when earlier ties of blood, kinship, and religion were breaking down (as cited in Dunne, and Wheeler, ed. 1999). The modern idea of civil society emerged in the Scottish and Continental Enlightenment of the late 18th century (as cited in Deutschland Oct/Nov. 2000).

The different political theorists (from Thomas Paine to George Hegel) developed the idea of civil society, an institution parallel to but separate from the state. In the conception of the early civil society theorists de Tocqveville and Adam Ferguson "A key component of the concept civil society was the existence of a plurality of citizens' organizations through which the individual could express and make effective his own concerns and which consisted a countervailing pressure on the state (as cited in Dunne and Wheeler, ed. 1999). Civil society is a realm where citizens associate according to their area of interest and wishes. The notion of civil society reflected changing economic realities: the rise of private property, market competition, and the bourgeoisie and the mounting popular demand for liberty (as manifested in American and French Revolutions).

During the early period, no clear distinction was drawn between civil society and political society. Civil society required a state to guarantee rule of law and regulation of social behavior. The boundaries of civil society were those of the state. Hence, civil society was contrasted with the state of nature, which was supposed to exist in the international area, the jungle that was supposed to characterize relations between states, as well as societies without states and non-societies. The distinction between domestic and international, or internal and external corresponded to the distinction between civil society and violent anarchy, between civility and barbarism (as cited in Dunne and Wheeler, ed., 1999).

In the 19th century, the notion of civil society was disused as the turn of philosophers was to social and political consequences of the industrial revolution. After WW II, the notion of civil society bounced back through the writings of Antonio Gramsci. He revived the term to portray civil society as a special nucleus of independent activity, a crucial sphere of struggle against tyranny. In Gramsci's words "The coercive element of the state withers away by degree, as ever more conspicuous element of civil society make their appearance, (as cited in New Times, March/April 1990).

During the 20th century, especially after the 2nd World War the state emerged as a body that can reach all sorts of social life. The re-emergence and gradual development of civil society was taken as an opposite trend reaction to state barbarity. In the late 1980s when Eastern Europe became open to the outside world, it became impossible to live in closed autarchic societies. This resulted in the evolution of concept of transnational civil society, which was an outcome of an intense interaction between East-West opposition movements. The 1975 Helsinki Accord was a high point to the detente period between East–West. In the aftermath, new generations of transnational civil societies emerged in world political scene. The explosion of peace movements in Western Europe was reaction to

America's new generation of nuclear weapons. The peace movement was probably the highest transnational movement in history (as cited in Dunne and Wheeler 1999).

Suddenly in the 1990s, civil society became an every day language of statesmen, and scholars. The global move to democracy created a space for civil society and became a key element in post-cold war era (as cited Deutschland, Oct/Nov. 2000).

Some of the movements classified as transnational civil society were:
- The Inter – Church Peace Council in Netherlands
- The Greens in the former West Germany
- Human Right Activists – like Amnesty International, the different WATCHES (Africa Watch, Asia Watch...etc.).

What are civil societies? There are various conceptions about the essence of civil society.
- Civil society is a fascination with non-governmental organizations, especially advocacy groups devoted to public interest causes – the environment, human rights, women's issues, election monitoring, anti-corruption, and others. Nevertheless, it is a mistake to equate directly civil society with NGOs, but it is one dimension of the civil society.
- Civil society is a broader concept, encompassing all the organizations and associations that exist outside of the state (including political parties) and the market. It includes the gamut (extent) of organizations that political scientists traditionally label interest groups (not only NGOs but also chamber of commerce, ethnic associations---as welfare groups) and others. It also incorporates the many other associations that exist for purposes other than advancing specific social or political agenda such as religious organizations, student groups, cultural organizations,

- sports club, and informal community groups (as cited in Deutschland, Oct/Nov. 2002).
- Civil society meant respect for individual autonomy, based on security and trust among people who had perhaps never met. It required regularity of behavior, rules of conduct, respect for law and control of violence. Hence civil society was synonymous with polite society, a society in which strangers act in a civilized way towards each other, treating each other with mutual respect, tolerance, and confidence. The growth of states and the establishment of rule of law gradually eliminated private and often violent methods of settling disputes and created the conditions for these new forms of social interaction based on commonly accepted but impersonal means of communications e.g. exchanges of money, news papers, mail, … etc (as cited in Dunne, and Wheeler, ed., 1999).
- Civil society thus consists of groups; individuals and institutions, which are independent of the state and state boundaries, but at the same time, which are pre-occupied with public affairs. They are guarantors of civil behavior both by official institutions (states and international institutions) and in the world at large. Defined in this way, civil society does not encompass all groups or associations independent of the state. It does not include groups, which advocate violence, self organized groups and associations, which campaign exclusivist communitarian concepts, and self-interested private associations like those of criminals. A bank or a corporation is only part of civil society to the extent that it views itself, as man do, as public organization with a responsibility to society that takes precedence over profit making (as cited in Dunne, and Wheeler, ed., 1999).

5.2 What are Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)?

The hallmark of free society is the ability of individuals to associate with like minded individuals, express their views publicly, openly debate public policy and petition their government. "Civil society" is an accepted term, which best describes the non-governmental, not for profit, independent nature of this segment of society (as cited in website http://www.info.usaid.gor/democracy/civ.html).

Civil society as broader concept embodies NGOs as interest groups. NGOs are business, labor, professional, educational, environmental, gender, cultural or social groups and others which involve citizens and acts outside of government to accomplish societal task (as cited in Heartland International, 1993). NGOs can be established around a cause (to address a cause like NGOs established in Anti – AIDS program. Cause related NGOs are created to specifically address a specific problem or issue. For example in Chicago (as cited in Heartland International, 1993), there are 137 AIDS related organizations. A few of them are

- Chicago House, and Bonaventure House --- work in residence house provisions and supportive atmosphere for residents to share experience
- Stop AIDS Chicago, Test Positive Aware, Howard Memorial Clinic --- work in public education program.
- AIDS legal councils ---. Provide legal services to individuals infected with HIV/AIDS.
- The AIDS Foundations --- provide funds to those NGOs dedicated to fight AIDS.

There are common characteristics, which must be reflected by all NGOs. NGOs when established should be non profit organizations, voluntary associations, independent (work by its own plan and program) and Non-Governmental (functions outside of government structure and budget) (as cited in Heartland International, 1993).

The purposes of NGOs vary vastly depending on the type of NGO. Despite the differences that prevail among themselves, there are some common purposes
- Lobbying to influence legislation
- Organizing community members
- Empowering the public to make improvements in their own communities.
- Providing information and educating the public
- Providing a platform for public policy discussion
- Conducting research

In order to maintain the life of any NGO, there are additional tasks like:
- Raising funds to execute specific programs and events
- Developing and implementing policies and programs
- Recruiting and interviewing and staffing and promoting volunteers
- Developing and implementing public relation plans

NGOs beyond their main mission have significant role in uniting groups of people with common interests or backgrounds and bringing together cross-cultural groups, which want to learn from each other.

People (volunteer members) and funds are vital ingredients that keep the life and sustenance of the NGOs. The culture of volunteer works is a significant condition for the consolidation and development of NGOs. Besides, the availability of fund is an essential element for the smooth run of the NGOs mission. Some NGOs gain their income through grass-root fund raising efforts such as events or games for

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community members or by selling items such as baked goods or used books, manufactured goods, drinks (in the form of 'Bazaar', Exposition --- etc). NGOs obtain fund from membership dues and individuals attendance fees. They also get fund from private foundations, Government related agencies...etc.

NGOs Relations with Government

The relations between the two can be seen in two ways. Some NGOs have close contact while others have less or no contact. The two types are:

- Active (interactive) type --- some NGOs lobby government they attempt to influence legislation by telling legislators about the concern or interest of the NGOs members or the general public. They correspond with public representatives, participate in voting, referendum, petitions --- etc.
- Non – Interactive type --- Some social, Church, and Business organizations have no and less interactive relations with government. This does not mean that these organizations are operating outside of the country's rules and regulations.

How Do NGOs promote public awareness

NGOs function as agents of socialization (known as manifest socialization). NGOs also use discussions, seminars, and workshops as means of socialization (known as latent socialization). In addition to these socialization processes, there also other possibilities to faster public awareness about the NGO and other issues.

1. Paid Advertising means – Through TV, Radio, and Newspapers it is possible to advertise about the NGO and their issues.
2. Distributing public relation materials about the issue of the NGO.
3. Through communication Media (print and electronic media) --- It is important aspect to reach the public effectively in explaining or educating about issues of NGO. Through these media channels it is possible to target a certain age, gender or professional group

(specific audiences) or the general public (general audience). Cause – related NGOs find the media very useful in exposing corrupt practices, civil rights violations, or other forms of "wrong – doing" on the part of the individuals or institutions.

4. Letters, telephone calls or E-mails or access in web-sites --- This is possible on the level of the NGOs progress. It cannot be considered as only means of promoting awareness. If these accessible to the NGOs and the target population, they are selective.

5. Event promotion --- Events provide a vehicle for distributing literatures like brochures, pamphlets, fact sheets about the organization or issue. Event promotion is possible through sending invitations, posting or distributing flyers, posters, and other short descriptions.

5.3 National Experience: The case of Ethiopia

The Ethiopian indigenous civil society movement has a long history. Though, it is difficult to identify the milestone in the development of civil societies, these were (are community based institutions which have long period of existence. These traditional community based organization can be taken as local and indigenous associations. These are:

- Burial Associations ('Edir') --- They can serve as viable partners for community activities.
- Migrant Associations ('Debo') --- These associations can work for regional developing initiative.
- Saving Associations ('Ekub') --- They serve as credit interventions.
- Socio – Religious Associations ('Senebete' and 'Maheber') --- These associations play a role in relief work for their members and for destitute (as cited in, Ethiopian Herald, February, 1998).

The emergence of modern NGOs has recent history. Associational autonomy (the right to establish an independent organization) was

limited during the era of Emperor Hailesilassie and "Dergue". After 1991 the number NGOs began to show progress in relative terms. According to the Federal Ministry of Justice data release on 28 Dec 2001 (through Ethiopia Radio), the number of national and international NGOs is estimated to be 1240. Out of this 46% (570) of them are indigenous NGOs. The number of currently operating NGOs in Ethiopia is two small compared to other countries for example in Kenya there is 6,000, in Palestine 11,000 and in South Africa 54,000.

Pact – Ethiopia in its quarterly issue (Impact bulletin) has column known as NGO – FORUM. Based on PACT – Ethiopia source materials (Impact Quarterly Bulletin) some of the NGOs operating in Ethiopia are: -

No.	Name of the NGO	Founded
1	Alem Children Support organization (ACSO) ----	
2	Ethiopian Women Lawyers Association (EWLA) ----	January 1996
3	Ethiopian Muslim's Relief Development Association (EMRDA)	February 1994
4	Ogaden Welfare Society (OWS)	Early 1992
5	Guraghe People's self Help Development Organization (GPSDO)	June 1961
6	Rift Valley Children and Women Development Association (RCWDA)	September 1993
7	Integrated Family Service Organization (IFSO)	January 1995
8	Integrated Service for AIDS Prevention and Support Organization (ISAPSO)	Registered October 1997
9	Kambatta Women's Self Help Center – Ethiopia (KWSC)	

10	Action Professional Association for the People (APAP)	1993
11	Amhara Women's Development Association (AWDA)	
12	Mary Joy Aid Through Development (MJ – ATD)	1992
13	Adult and Non – Formal Education Association (ANFEA)	
14	Children Aid – Ethiopia (CHAD –.ET)	1995
15	Meserete–Kiristos Church Relief and Development Association (MKC–RDA)	1991
16	Dawn of Hope (Tesfa Goh)	
17	Basic Education Network (BEN)	1998
18	Ethiopian Environmental Non-Government Organization (EENGO)	1998 1993
19	Center for Local Capacity Building and Studies (CLCBS)	August 1997
20	National Committee on Traditional Practices of Ethiopia (NCTPE)	1987
21	Women & Children Development Organization (WCDO)	July 1995
22	Voluntary Council for the Handicapped (VCH)	1993
23	Ethiopian Rural Self-Help Association (ERSHA)	
24	Ethiopian Women Entrepreneurs Association (EWEA) * and others	Jan 30, 1992

* Source Material---Publication of EWEA, which contains the Charter of the Association.

Beside national active civil society movement, there is an increased trans national concern explained by different activities. The global civil society movement should not only be viewed as a political project, which crosses the global/local divide, but also has to embrace both institutions and independent citizens' groups. Unlike the cold war period, when Europe and North America were effectively insulated from poverty and violence the rest of the world, and when it was possible to describe the world as peaceful because wars did not take place in advanced industrial countries, the new incivility (vulgarity) is globalized. The wars, crimes, and other derogatory (offensive) practices in different parts of the world cannot be spatially contained. At the same time, those who are trying to exert constructive influence over local life in a globalized world can only succeed if they have outside support and access to those international organizations that can influence government and global regulatory processes. To be part of civil society implies a shared commitment to common values and, in this sense the concept of global civil society might be equated with the notion of global human rights culture (as cited in Dunne & Wheeler, ed., 1999).

Annex I

The Covenant of the League of Nations*

The High Contracting Parties

In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security

- by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war,
- by the prescription of open, just and honorable relations between nations,
- by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments,
- and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, Agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

Article 1

1. The original Members of the League of Nations shall be those of the Signatories which are named in the Annex to this Covenant and also such of those other States named in the Annex as sh accede without reservation to this Covenant. Such acces be effected by a Declaration deposited with the Sec

Council and may be decided by a majority of the Members of the League represented at the meeting.

3. The first meeting of the Assembly and the first meeting of the Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

Article 6

1. The permanent Secretariat shall be established at the Seat of the League. The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary -General and such secretaries and staff as may be required.

2. The first Secretary-General shall be the person named in the Annex; thereafter the Secretary-General shall be appointed by the Council with the approval of the majority of the Assembly.

3. The secretaries and staff of the Secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary-General with the approval of the Council.

4. The Secretary-General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the Assembly and of the Council.

5. The expenses of the League shall be borne by the Members of the League in the proportion decided by the Assembly.

Article 7

1. The Seat of the League is established at Geneva.

2. The Council may at any time decide that the Seat of the League shall be established elsewhere.

3. All positions under or in connection with the League, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.

4. Representatives of the Members of the League and officials of the League when engaged on the business of the League shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

5. The buildings and other property occupied by the League or its officials or by Representatives attending its meetings shall be inviolable.

Article 8

1. The Members of the League recognize that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

2. The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments.

3. Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years.

4. After these plans have been adopted by the several Governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council.

Council, and particularly such regulations as relate to their term of office and the conditions of re-eligibility.

3. The Council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at the Seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

4. The Council may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

5. Any Member of the League not represented on the Council shall be invited to send a Representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that Member of the League.

6. At meetings of the Council, each Member of the League represented on the Council shall have one vote, and may have not more than one Representative.

Article 5

1. Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant or by the terms of the present Treaty, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the Members of the League represented at the meeting.

2. All matters of procedure at meetings of the Assembly or of the Council, including the appointment of Committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the Assembly or by the

3. The Assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

4. At meetings of the Assembly, each Member of the League shall have one vote. and may have not more than three Representatives.

Article 4

1. The Council shall consist of Representatives of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, together with Representatives of four other Members of the League. These four Members of the League shall be selected by the Assembly from time to time in its discretion, Until the appointment of the Representatives of the four Members of the League first selected by the Assembly, Representatives of Belgium, Brazil, Spain and Greece shall be members of the Council.

2. With the approval of the majority of the Assembly, the Council may name additional Members of the League whose Representatives shall always be Members of the Council; the Council with like approval may increase the number of Members of the League to be selected by the Assembly for representation on the Council.

2. *bis. The Assembly shall fix by a two-thirds majority the rules dealing with the election of the non-permanent Members of the*

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5. The Members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those Members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

6. The Members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military, and naval and air programmes and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purposes.

Article 9

A permanent Commission shall be constituted to advise the Council on the execution of the provisions of Articles 1 and 8 and on military, naval and air questions generally.

Article 10

The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

report of the Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

Article 13

1. The Members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration *or judicial settlement,* and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject-matter to arbitration *or judicial settlement.*

2. Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration or judicial settlement.

3. For the consideration of any such dispute, the court to which the case is referred shall be the Permanent Court of International Justice, established in accordance with Article 14, or any tribunal agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any Convention existing between them.

4. The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award *or decision* that may be rendered, and that they will not resort to war against a Member of the League which

complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award *or decision,* the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

Article 14

The Council shall formulate and submit to the Members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. The Court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The Court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly.

Article 15

1. If there should arise between Members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration *or judicial settlement* in accordance with Article 13, the Members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary-General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof.

2. For this purpose, the parties to the dispute will communicate to the Secretary-General, as promptly as possible, statements of

their case with all the relevant facts and papers, and the Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

3. The Council shall endeavor to effect a settlement of the dispute, and if such efforts are successful, a statement shall be made public giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute and the terms of settlement thereof as the Council may deem appropriate.

4. If the dispute is not thus settled, the Council either unanimously or by a majority vote shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations, which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto.

5. Any Member of the League represented on the Council may make public a statement of the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the same.

6. If a report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.

7. If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League

reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

8. If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the Council, to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the Council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

9. The Council may in any case under this article refer the dispute to the Assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute provided that such request be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute to the Council.

10. In any case referred to the Assembly, all the provisions of this article and of Article 12 relating to the action and powers of the Council shall apply to the action and powers of the Assembly, provided that a report made by the Assembly, if concurred in by the Representatives of those Members of the League represented on the Council and of a majority of the other Members of the League, exclusive in each case of the Representatives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force as a report by the Council concurred in by all the members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute.

Article 16

1. Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13 or 15, it shall, *ipso facto*, be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby under-take immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the Covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of an financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the Covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not.

2. It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

3. The Members of the League agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this article, in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the Covenant-breaking State, and that they will take the necessary

steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the Members of the League which are co-operating to protect the covenants of the League.

4. Any member of the League which has violated any covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a Member of the League by a vote of the Council concurred in by the Representatives of all the other Members of the League represented thereon.

Article 17

1. In the event of a dispute between a Member of the League and a State which is not a member of the League or between States not members of the League, the State or States not members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Articles 1 2 to 1 6 inclusive shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the Council.

2. Upon such invitation being given, the Council shall immediately institute an enquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

3. If a State so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a Member of the League, the provisions of Article 16 shall be applicable as against the State taking such action.

4. If both parties to the dispute when so invited refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, the Council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

Article 18

Every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any Member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and shall, as soon as possible, be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

Article 19

The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

Article 20

1. The Members of the League severally agree that this Covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or undertakings *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

2. In case any Member of the League shall, before becoming a Member of the League, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this Covenant, it shall be the duty of such Member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

Article 21

Nothing i n t his C ovenant s hall b e d eemed t o a ffect t he v alidity o f international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.

Article 22

1. To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modem world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples

form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

2. The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who, by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

3. The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

4. Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.

5. Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the

maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other Members of the League.

6. There are territories, such as South West Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centers of civilization, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

7. In every case of mandate, the Mandatory shall render to the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

8. The degree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council.

9. A permanent Commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatories and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.

Article 23

Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international Conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the Members of the League:

(a) will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organizations;

(b) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control;

(c) will entrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children, and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs;

(d) will entrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest;

(e) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all Members of the League. In this connection, the

special necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918 shall be borne in mind;

(f) will endeavor to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

Article 24

1. There shall be placed under the direction of the League all international bureaux already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. All such international bureaux and all commissions for the regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the League.

2. In all matters of international interest which are regulated by general Conventions but which are not placed under the control of international bureaux or commissions, the Secretariat of the League shall, subject to the consent of the Council and if desired by the parties, collect and distribute all relevant information and shall render any other assistance which may be necessary or desirable.

3. The Council may include as part of the expenses of the Secretariat the expenses of any bureau or commission which is placed under the direction of the League.

Article 25

The Members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorized voluntary national Red Cross organizations having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

Article 26

1. Amendments to this Covenant will take effect when ratified by the Members of the League whose Representatives compose the Assembly.

2. No such amendments shall bind any Member of the League which signifies its dissent there from, but in that case it shall cease to be a Member of the League.

Annex II

The Charter of the United Nations

NOTE: The Charter of the United Nations was signed on 26 June 1945, in San Francisco, at the conclusion of the United Nations Conference on International Organization, and came into force on 24 October 1945. The Statute of the International Court of Justice is an integral part of the Charter.

Amendments to Articles 23, 27 and 61 of the Charter were adopted by the General Assembly on 17 December 1963 and came into force on 31 August 1965. A further amendment to Article 61 was adopted by the General Assembly on 20 December 1971, and came into force on 24 September 1973. An amendment to Article 109, adopted by the General Assembly on 20 December 1965, came into force on 12 June 1968.

The amendment to Article 23 enlarges the membership of the Security Council from 11 to 15. The amended Article 27 provides that decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members (formerly seven) and on all other matters by an affirmative vote of nine members

(formerly seven), including the concurring votes of the five permanent members of the Security Council.

The amendment to Article 61, which entered into force on 31 August 1965, enlarged the membership of the Economic and Social Council from 18 to 27. The subsequent amendment to that Article, which entered into force on 24 September 1973, further increased the membership of the Council from 27 to 54.

The amendment to Article 109, which relates to the first paragraph of that Article, provides that a General Conference of Member States for the purpose of reviewing the Charter may be held at a date and place to be fixed by a two-thirds vote of the members of the General Assembly and by a vote of any nine members (formerly seven) of the Security Council. Paragraph 3 of Article 109, which deals with the consideration of a possible review conference during the tenth regular session of the General Assembly. has been retained in its original form in its reference to a 'vote of any seven members of the Security Council', the paragraph having been acted upon in 1955 by the General Assembly, at its tenth regular session, and by the Security Council.

WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS DETERMINED

to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

AND FOR THESE ENDS

to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

HAVE RESOLVED TO COMBINE OUR EFFORTS TO ACCOMPLISH THESE AIMS Accordingly, our respective

Governments, through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good

and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.

Chapter I
PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES
Article 1
The Purposes of the United Nations are:

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

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

3. To achieve international co-operation 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 attain**ment of these common ends.

Article 2

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

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

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

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 o f a ny s tate, o r i n any o ther m anner i nconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.

5. All Members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action i t t akes i n a ccordance w ith t he p resent C harter, 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 1 January 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 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 principle organs of the United Nations: a General Assembly, a Security Council, an Economic and Social Council, a Trusteeship Council, an International Court of Justice, and a Secretariat.

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

Article 8

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

Chapter IV

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Composition

Article 9

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

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

Functions and powers
Article 10

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

Article 11

1. The General Assembly may consider the general principles of co-operation 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 to 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 general scope of Article 10.

Article 12

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

2. The Secretary-General, with the consent of the Security Council, y 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 id 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 h respect to matters mentioned in paragraph 1 (b) above are set forth in Chapters IX and X.

Article 14

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

Article 15

1. The General Assembly shall receive and consider annual and special reports from the Security Council; these reports shall include an account of the measures that the Security Council has

decided upon or taken to maintain international peace and security.

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

Article 16

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

Article 17

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

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

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

Voting

Article 18

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

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

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

Article 19

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

Member to vote if it is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member.

Procedure

Article 20

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

Article 21

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

Article 22

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

Chapter V

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Composition

Article 23

1. The Security Council shall consist of fifteen Members of the United Nations. The Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America shall be permanent members of the Security Council. The General

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

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

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

Functions and powers
Article 24

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

2. In discharging these duties the Security Council shall act in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the United

Nations. The specific powers granted to the Security Council for the discharge of these duties are laid down in Chapters VI, VII, VIII, and XII.

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

Article 25

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

Article 26

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

Voting

Article 27

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

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

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

Procedure

Article 28

1. The Security Council shall be so organized as to be able to function continuously. Each member of the Security Council shall for this purpose be represented at all times at the seat of the Organization.
2. The Security Council shall hold periodic meetings at which each of its members may, if it so desires, be represented by a member of the government or by some other specially designated representative.
3. The Security Council may hold meetings at such places other than the seat of the Organization as in its judgment will best facilitate its work.

Article 29

The Security Council may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary of 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.

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 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 Article 33 or of a situation of like nature, recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.

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

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

Article 37

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

2. If the Security Council deems that the continuance of the dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, it shall decide whether to take action under

Article 36 or to recommend such terms of settlement as it may consider appropriate.

Article 38

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

Chapter VII

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

Article 39

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

Article 40

In order to prevent an aggravation of the situation, the Security Council may, before making the recommendations or deciding upon the measures provided for in Article 39, call upon the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures, as it deems necessary or desirable. Such provisional measures shall be without prejudice to the rights, claims, or position of the parties concerned.

The Security Council shall duly take account of failure to comply with such provisional measures.

Article 41

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

Article 42

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

Article 43

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

necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

2. Such agreement or agreements shall govern the numbers and types of forces, their degree of readiness and general location, and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be provided.

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

Article 44

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

Article 45

In order to enable the United Nations to take urgent military measures, Members shall hold immediately available national air-force contingents for combined international enforcement action. The strength and degree of readiness of these contingents and plans

for their combined action shall be determined, within the limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to in Article 43, by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

Article 46

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

Article 47

1. There shall be established a Military Staff Committee to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, the regulation of armaments, and possible disarmament.

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

3. The Military Staff Committee shall be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces

placed at the disposal of the Security Council. Questions relating to the command of such forces shall be worked out subsequently.

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

Article 48

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

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

Article 49

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

Article 50

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

shall have the right to consult the Security Council with regard to a solution of those problems.

Article 51

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

Chapter VIII

REGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

Article 52

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

2. The Members of the United Nations entering into such arrangements or constituting such agencies shall make every effort to achieve 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 I of this Article applies to any state, which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory of the present Charter.

Article 54

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

Chapter IX

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CO-OPERATION

Article 55

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

(a) higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development;

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(b) solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems; and international cultural and educational co-operation; and

(c) universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

Article 56

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

Article 57

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

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

Article 58

The Organization shall make recommendations for the co-ordination 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 fifty-four Members of the United Nations elected by the General Assembly.

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

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

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

Functions and powers
Article 62

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

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

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

4. It may call, in accordance with 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 a ny o f t he a gencies r eferred t o i n A rticle 5 7, d efining t he terms on which the agency concerned shall be brought into relationship w ith t he U nited N ations. S uch a greements s hall b e subject to approval by the General Assembly.

2. It may co-ordinate 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 t he s teps t aken t o give effect to its own recommendations and to recommendations on matters failing within its competence made by the General Assembly.

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

Article 65

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

Article 66

1. The Economic and Social Council shall perform such functions as fall within its competence in connection with the carrying out of the 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 people 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 co-operate with one another and, when and where appropriate, with specialized international bodies with a view to the practical achievement of the social, economic, and scientific purposes set forth in this Article; and

e.) to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General for information purposes, subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in the territories for which they are respectively responsible other than those territories to which 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 there under 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 I of the present Charter, shall be:

(a) to further international peace and security;

(b) to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its people 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 there under by means of *trusteeship agreements:*

    (a) territories now held under mandate;

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

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

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

Article 78

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

Article 79

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

Article 80

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

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

Article 81

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

Article 82

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

Article 83

1. All functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendments, 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.

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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 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 m any o ther M embers e lected f or t hree-year t erms b y the General Assembly as may be necessary to ensure that the total number of members of the Trusteeship Council is equally divided between those Members of the United Nations which administer trust territories and those which do not.

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

Functions and powers
Article 87

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

(a) consider reports submitted by the administering authority;

(b) accept petitions and examine them in consultation with the administering authority;

(c) provide for periodic visits to the respective trust territories at times agreed upon with the administering authority; and

(d) take these and other actions in conformity with the terms of the trusteeship agreements.

Article 88

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

Voting
Article 89

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

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

Procedure

Article 90

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

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

Article 91

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

Chapter XIV

THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

Article 92

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

Article 93

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

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

Article 105

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

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

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

Chapter XVII

TRANSITIONAL SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS

Article 106

Pending the coming into force of such special agreements referred to in Article 43 as in the opinion of the Security Council enable it to begin the exercise of its responsibilities under Article 42, the parties to the Four-Nation Declaration, signed at Moscow, 30 October 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

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 I of this Article may invoke that treaty or agreement before any organ of the United Nations.

Article 103

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

Article 104

The Organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its Members such legal capacity as may be necessary for the exercise of its functions and the fulfillment of its purposes.

action on behalf of the Organization as may be necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

Article 107

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

Chapter XVIII

AMENDMENTS

Article 108

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

Article 109

1. A General Conference of the Members of the United Nations for the purpose of reviewing the present Charter may be held at a date and place to be fixed by a two-thirds vote of the members of the General Assembly and by a vote of any nine members of the

Security Council. Each Member of the United Nations shall have one vote in the conference.

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

3. If such a conference has not been held before the tenth annual session of the General Assembly following the coming into force of the present Charter, the proposal to call such a conference shall be placed on the agenda of that session of the General Assembly, and the conference shall be held if so decided by a majority vote of the members of the General Assembly and by a vote of any seven members of the Security Council.

Chapter XIX

RATIFICATION AND SIGNATURE

Article 110

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

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

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

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

Article 111

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

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

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

NOTES

1. Amended text of Article 23, which came into force on 31 August 1965. The text of Article 23 before it was amended read as follows:

   1. The Security Council shall consist of eleven Members of the United Nations. The Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, 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 nonpermanent members of the Security Council, due regard being specially paid, in the first instance to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution.

   2. The non-permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected for a term of two years. In the first election of 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.

2. Amended text of Article 27, which came into force on 31 August 1965. The text of Article 27 before it was amended read as follows:

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

3. Amended text of Article 61, which came into force on 24 September 1973. The text of Article 61 as previously amended on 31 August 1965 read as follows:

1. The Economic and Social Council shall consist of twenty-seven Members of the United Nations elected by the General Assembly.
2. Subject to the provisions of paragraph 3, nine members of the Economic and Social Council shall be elected each year for a

term of three years. A r etiring member shall be eligible for immediate action.

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

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

4. Amended text of Article 109, which came into force on 12 June 1968. The text of Article 109 before it was amended read as follows:

1. A General Conference of the Members of the United Nations for the purpose of reviewing the present Charter may he 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.

1. D	30. -	61. -	92. F
2. C	31. -	62. -	93. F
3. B	32. -	63. -	94. T
4. D	33. -	64. -	95. F
5. D	34. -	65. -	96. T
6. C	35. -	66. -	97. F
7. D	36. -	67. -	98. T
8. B	37. -	68. -	99. T
9. C	38. -	69. -	100. F
10. D	39. -	70. D	101. T
11. B	40. D	71. A	102. T
12. D	41. C	72. B	103. F
13. D	42. B	73. B	104. T
14. D	43. C	74. B	105. F
15. B	44. D	75. D	106.-125
16. F	45. C	76. D	
17. T	46. B	77. D	
18. F	47. D	78. C	
19. T	48. A	79. D	
20. F	49. D	80. C	
21. T	50. T	81. C	
22. T	51. F	82. B	
23. T	52. T	83. D	
24. F	53. F	84. B	
25. T	54. T	85. B	
26. T	55. F	86. D	
27. T	56. T	87. C	
28. F	57. F	88. C	
29. T	58. T	89. B	
	59. F	90. F	
	60. -		

126. C	140. C	153. B	171. F
127. D	141. B	154. B	172. T
128. B	142. C	155. D	173. T
129. D	143. C	156. C	174. F
130. A	144. A	157. B	175. T
131. D	145. D	158.B	176. F
132. D	146. B	159. T	177. T
133. D	147. C	160. F	178. T
134. B	148. D	161. T	179. T
136. D	149. A	162. F	180. T
137. A	150.B	163. F	181. T
138. D	151. C	164. T	182-200
139. D	152. D	165. F	
		166. T	
		167. F	
		168. T	
		169. F	
		170. F	

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