CHAPTER – IV

UNITED NATIONS IN MAINTAINING PEACE AND SECURITY

The United Nations Organization (UNO) or simply United Nations (UN) is an international organization whose stated aims are facilitating consensus for cooperation in regard to international law, international security, economic development, social progress, human rights, and the achieving of world peace.

The United Nations has been charged with vast responsibilities for the maintaining of peace and security. It is the symbol of hope for the mankind on this earth planet. This hope, as a former Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjold, said, “is the hope that peace is possible.” The United Nations is an organisation of 192 sovereign states (nearly every country in the world) and works toward maintaining international peace and security and finding solutions for global economic and humanitarian problems. The UN conducts its mission through six main organs, the Economic and Social Council, the General Assembly, the International Court of Justice, the Secretariat, the Security Council, and the Trusteeship Council.1 It was set up in 1945 to replace the ill-fated League of Nations. The Allies, who were fighting the Axis Powers in the Second World War to destroy dictatorship and secure the world for democracy, resolved to establish a new world organisation rather than revive the League of Nations due obviously to changed world scenario.

It was in the London Declaration of June 12, 1941 that all nations then fighting against Hitler's Germany announced their intention of working together, with other free peoples, to establish "a world in which, relieved of the menace of aggression, all may enjoy economic and social security."\textsuperscript{2}

Earlier, President Roosevelt of the United States, in a message to the Congress in January 1941, had spelt out four freedoms as being of universal importance. These were: (a) Freedom of speech and expression; (b) Freedom to worship God in one's own way; (c) Freedom from want; and (d) Freedom from fear. At that time, the United States was not at war. She was observing neutrality. As explained earlier, the United States joined the Second World War only in December 1941 when Japan bombarded Pearl Harbour. The Soviet Union had joined the Allies in June 1941 after Germany's attack. Thus, the Four Freedoms and the London Declaration were expressions of the desire of mankind to be free from 'war' and free from 'want'. On 14 August 1941, Roosevelt and Churchill issued the famous Atlantic Charter which spoke of the establishment of a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries," of freedom from fear and want, and the creation of "a wider and permanent system of general security."\textsuperscript{3} The principles spelt out in the Atlantic Charter and the London Declaration, were endorsed by the 26 countries who were then Allies, on January


1, 1942 in what came to be known as the United Nations Declaration. This declaration signed in Washington was mainly concerned with war, not peace. It was to emphasise cooperation in an all-out struggle against the Axis powers and to give an assurance to each other not to make peace individually.

The formal decision to establish a new international organisation was taken on October 30 1943 in the 'Moscow Declaration of four Nations on General Security.' These four Allies were Britain, China, the United States and the USSR. They announced "that they recognise the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organisation, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership to all such states, large or small, for the maintenance of international peace and security." Why was a new organization created and why was it named the United Nations? The then American Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, merely stated that it was decided to set up a new organisation. But, the obvious considerations were that the League had miserably failed to maintain peace and had been defamed; Soviet Union had been expelled by the League, and the United States had never joined it. As H.G. Nicholas says: "....by 1942, fairly or unfairly, the League reeked with the odour of failure; Russian pride had been mortally offended by the League’s condemnation and subsequent expulsion of her at the time of the Russo-Finnish war; and in the United States it was generally thought that it would be much better to try to enlist
public support for a new organisation than to risk reviving the stale and bitter controversy over American entry into the League."^4

The title "United Nations" was chosen to emphasise unity among the Allies against the common enemy. The term was coined by President Roosevelt and used in the Declaration of January 1, 1942 (mentioned above). Having decided to replace the League by the United Nations, the Allies convened a conference which was held at Dumbarton Oaks (Washington D.C.) in August-September 1944.\(^5\) The Conference was initially attended by Britain, United States and Soviet Union and later by China. This was done to underline USSR's neutrality in the Far East. The Charter of the United Nations was drafted at Dumbarton Oaks, but no agreement could be reached on certain issues, such as voting procedure in the Security Council and Soviet demand for membership of all its 16 Union Republics, besides itself. These issues were resolved at the Yalta Summit attended by Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin in February 1945. The Soviet leader was persuaded to give up his demand for separate membership of 16 Union Republics. It was agreed that, besides USSR, Ukraine and Bylo-Russia would also be members of the U.N. The draft was finally adopted at a conference at San Francisco (U.S.A.). China and France, along with the Big Three, became the sponsors of the Charter. The Charter was signed after two months of deliberations by 51

original members. Truman, the new U.S. President, had opened the conference on April 25, 1945 and he bade the delegates farewell on June 26, 1945. Unlike the League Covenant, the Charter was easily ratified by the U.S. Congress by 89 votes to 2. It was stipulated in Article 110 that the U.N. would be established after the Charter was ratified by the 5 Big Powers (U.K. U.S.A., USSR, France and China) and a majority of other signatory states. This having been achieved, the United Nations was formally established on October 24, 1945.

Meanwhile, efforts were initiated to put the organisation "on flesh and blood". This task was assigned to the Preparatory Commission which met in London later in 1945. Between August and November 1945, an executive committee drawn from fourteen countries made certain recommendations which were considered by the Preparatory Commission when it met in London on November 25, 1945. The Commission had to prepare for convening the first session of the General Assembly. A set of draft rules of procedures was drawn, which was later adopted by the General Assembly almost without any change. The draft rules for the Security Council were adopted by the Council with some modifications. After hectic activity in search of a suitable site for the UN headquarters, the present site in New York was chosen. The first General Assembly was convened in the Central Hall, Westminster, London on January 10, 1946. The Cold War reflected itself almost immediately in the choice and election of the President of the General Assembly. M. Sapaak, Foreign

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Minister of Belgium was elected by narrow margin of 28 votes to 23. He defeated Trygve Lie, Foreign Minister of Norway, whose name was proposed by Soviet delegate, Gromyko. Subsequently, as a member of hectic political activity, Mr. Trygve Lie was chosen as the first Secretary General to head the U.N. Secretariat. He was supported by a vast majority. He won by 46 votes to 3, defeating M. Simic, Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia. The U.N. began functioning in London, and later moved to its permanent site.

OBJECTIVES OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations is "sharing in the name of solidarity" Dag Hammerskjold used this phrase and said that "it is a necessity of mankind, it is not a matter of choice." The mankind's hope and involvement is reflected in the Preamble itself. It says: "We, the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our life time has brought untold sorrow to mankind ... do hereby establish an international organisation to be known as the United Nations." Thus, unlike the League of Nations, peoples of the world are source of power of the United Nations. Purposes, of the United Nations are stated in Article 1 of the Charter. Briefly, these purposes are: (a) to maintain international peace and security; and for that aim in view to take effective collective security measures, for prevention and removal of threats to peace; (b) to develop friendly relations among nations; (c) to achieve international cooperation in solving economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems; and (d) to be a centre for harmonising the actions of nations in
the attainment of these common ends. Thus, the United Nations is a necessity for maintenance of international peace, for protection of human rights, and for socio-economic development of the Member-States, not ignoring non-member states.

Article 2 of the Charter lays down seven principles for the guidance of the U.N. and its Members in pursuit of the above mentioned purposes. These are: (i) sovereign equality of all the Members of U.N.; (ii) all Members shall fulfil in good faith the obligation assumed by them in accordance with the Charter; (iii) peaceful settlement of international disputes so that international peace and security, and justice, are not threatened; (iv) all Members will refrain from threat, or use of force against the territorial integrity of other states; (v) all Members will give all possible assistance to the United Nations, and will not give any help to a country against whom the U.N. is taking action; (vi) the U.N. will try to ensure that even non-Members act in accordance with the principles of the Charter; and (vii) the United Nations shall not intervene in matters which are essentially within domestic jurisdiction of the states. These principles sum up the objectives for which the U.N. was established. Thus, sovereignty of nations is to be honoured, their integrity protected, disputes are to be peacefully resolved, use of force to be avoided, and no action is to be taken by the U.N. in matters falling within the domestic jurisdiction of the states. All the provisions of the Charter revolve around the above mentioned purposes and principles. Non-intervention in domestic jurisdiction of states is indicative of emphasis on members' sovereignty, and consequently a (self-imposed)
restriction on the United Nations. The effectiveness of the UN in maintaining global security has rested to a large extent on the superpowers being in agreement. UN peacekeeping activities proliferated at times of relaxation during the Cold War, and after 1989, but were rarer when the two main powers were trading vetoes with each other in the 1950s or the 1980s. The UN was able to intervene in the Korean War because the USSR at the time was boycotting the Security Council. British soldiers have played a part in UN peacekeeping activities, notably in Cyprus and in Bosnia. But UN authority was weakened by strong disagreements in 2003 over policy towards Iraq.

**SOCIAL AND HUMANITARIAN WORK OF THE SPECIALISED AGENCIES OF THE UNO**

The Charter of the UNO provided for certain specialised agencies which are engaged in social, economic, cultural, scientific, educational and humanitarian activities. All the specialised agencies have a secretariat, a deliberative body and an executive council. Some of the most well-known agencies are the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), the World Bank, the World Health Organization (WHO), International Labour Organisation (ILO) and International Court of Justice.

It is through these agencies that the UN performs most of its humanitarian work. Examples include mass vaccination programmes (through the WHO), the avoidance of famine and malnutrition (through the work of the WFP) and the protection
of vulnerable and displaced people (for example, by the HCR).

The United Nations Charter stipulates that each primary organ of the UN can establish various specialized agencies to fulfill its duties.

### Specialized agencies of the United Nations

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Flag</th>
<th>Agency</th>
<th>Headquarters</th>
<th>Head</th>
<th>Established</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>FAO</td>
<td>🇮🇹</td>
<td>Food and Agriculture Organization</td>
<td>Rome, Italy</td>
<td>Jacques Diouf</td>
<td>1945</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>IAEA</td>
<td>🇦🇹</td>
<td>International Atomic Energy Agency</td>
<td>Vienna, Austria</td>
<td>Yukiya Amano</td>
<td>1957</td>
</tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>ICAO</td>
<td>🇨🇦</td>
<td>International Civil Aviation Organization</td>
<td>Montreal, Canada</td>
<td>Raymond Benamin</td>
<td>1947</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>IFAD</td>
<td>🇮🇹</td>
<td>International Fund for Agricultural Development</td>
<td>Rome, Italy</td>
<td>Kanayo F. Nwanze</td>
<td>1977</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>ILO</td>
<td>🇨🇭</td>
<td>International Labour Organization</td>
<td>Geneva, Switzerland</td>
<td>Juan Somavia</td>
<td>1946 (1919)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>IMO</td>
<td>🇬🇧</td>
<td>International Maritime Organization</td>
<td>London, United Kingdom</td>
<td>E. Fthimios</td>
<td>1948</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>🇺🇸</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
<td>Washington, D.C., USA</td>
<td>Dominique Strauss-Kahn</td>
<td>1945 (1944)</td>
</tr>
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<td>8</td>
<td>ITU</td>
<td>🇨🇭</td>
<td>International Telecommunication Union</td>
<td>Geneva, Switzerland</td>
<td>Irina Bokova</td>
<td>1947</td>
</tr>
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<td>10</td>
<td>UNIDO</td>
<td>🇦🇹</td>
<td>United Nations Industrial Development Organization</td>
<td>Vienna, Austria</td>
<td>Kandeh Yumkella</td>
<td>1967</td>
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International Labour Organisation (ILO)

In ILO each country sends four representatives, two of the government, one of labour and one representing the employers. Representatives from the same country may or may not agree on an issue and they can cast votes according to their free choice. Thus votes from the same country may be divided. The ILO had been established in 1919 and it has been inherited by the UN from the League of Nations. The annual conferences of ILO accept conventions to protect the interests of the labour class. Since 1919, it has promoted about hundred such conventions. The ILO also submits reports on different matters concerning labour problems. In 1959-60, an institute of labour was established at Geneva. ILO experts have been working in various countries in such fields as productivity, management development, social security, vocational guidance, vocational
training, training for the blind, teaching techniques, workers, education, apprenticeship, industrial relations, industrial hygiene, mines safety, occupational classification, consumer cooperatives and industrial engineering and other labour welfare projects.

*International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)*

This bank came into existence as a result of the discussions at Bretton Woods Conference of 1944. Its shares are held by member states of the UNO in proportion to their wealth and trade. It is an international lending agency and its main role is to encourage productive investment. The bank is insufficiently financed. Its activities are influenced by political considerations. It is also adversely affected by cold war. In granting credit facilities to the developing nations it discriminates against communist countries with the exception of Yugoslavia which was granted loan after her break with the Soviet Union. Another financial body which came into existence as a result of discussions at Bretton Wood Conference of 1944 is the International Monetary Fund. It has a similar structure as the World Bank and is financed by the member states of the UNO. Members of IMF are also members of World Bank.

*International Telecommunication Union (ITU)*

The I.T.U. is carrying forward the work started by International Telegraph Union established in 1805. A
conference of all member states of the UN meets every five years and it elects the Administrative Council of twenty-five members. This council approves the budget, appoints its Secretary General, allocates radio frequencies and circulates necessary information.

*Universal Postal Union (UPU)*

It grew out of the General Postal Union which was established in 1874. It meets every five years and elects an executive committee. Its main role is to fix maximum rates for mail. The international postal services include parcel, money orders, subscription to newspapers and magazines. Its headquarters is situated in Berne.

*International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO)*

Its chief aim is to promote safety and progress in aviation. It has helped the coordination for international air transport. It arbitrates over air rights and when in 1952 Pakistan refused to accept India’s right to have air communication with Afghanistan, the matter was reported to ICAO for arbitration. ICAO decided in favour of India, and Pakistan had to allow Indian planes to pass over its territories.

*Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO)*

It holds its own conference after every two years and elects its own governing body. It is affiliated to the UN through an agreement with Economic and Social Council. The special
problem of the FAO is 'hunger'. It provides technical assistance to different countries to grow more food, to control pests, to increase the yield of farms, fisheries and forests. It makes contribution to promote food production specially in the developing countries. The activities of FAO have brought the United Nations in active contact with millions of people.

**World Health Organisation (WHO)**

The WHO was created by a conference called in New York in July 1946. This conference was attended by sixty one nations. The success of the health services of the League of Nations promoted the creation of this organisation. Its budget is approved by its General Body which also elects its executive council consisting of twenty four members. The General Body appoints its Director General on the nomination of the executive council. The WHO has launched world wide campaign against diseases such as T.B., malaria, small pox, syphilis and cancer. WHO has also aided the victims of earthquakes. For instance, it helped the people of Morocco in 1960 when Agadir, the town of Morocco was rocked by earthquake.

**World Meteorological Organisation (WMO)**

This specialised agency was created with the sole purpose of establishing a net-work of weather stations and expeditious exchange of weather information. It has succeeded in standardizing weather observation and reporting.
International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)

It was established in July 1957 with considerable membership. Its main purpose is to conduct research in peaceful application of nuclear energy.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation: (UNESCO)

The UNESCO came into being as a result of the deliberations in conference of the Allied governments in London in April 1944. The UNESCO earns its revenue from the direct contribution of its members. The General Conference meets once every two years. The actual day-to-day work is carried on by an Executive Board of twenty-four members. The preamble of the UNESCO constitution reads thus "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that defences of peace must be constructed". The UNESCO has too many projects and too little funds to materialise them. The major task before UNESCO includes education, natural sciences, spread of social sciences, cultural activities, exchange of experts, mass communication, relief services, and technical aid to developing countries. As early as 1957, the UNESCO implemented three major projects such as; (1) Extension of primary education throughout Latin America; (2) Research on the use of desert land; and (3) the promotion of understanding between Eastern and Western cultures. In the field of natural science, the UNESCO has promoted exchange of views, meetings and conferences. The most famous first World Congress of Ocean Scientists was held in New York under the joint auspices of the (UNESCGO) and Committee of Oceanic
Research of International Council of Scientific Union. The manifold activities of the UNESCO reflect multifaceted life of human race. Commenting on the achievements of the UNESCO, John Foster Dulles, US Secretary of State had remarked thus "The advancement by UNESCO of human welfare through education, science, and culture promotes international understanding which contributes to peace". In 1986, the United States withdrew from the UNESCO and Britain followed suit. Thus, this organisation is facing immense financial difficulties.

*United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)*

The establishment of the UNCTAD as a forum for international consultations was a major step forward. The UNCTAD came into being in 1964 out of a Conference of trade and development held in Geneva. The purpose of this organisation is to narrow the gap between the rich and the poor nations. The rich nations have been adding 60 dollars to their per capita income annually whereas the corresponding figure for poor nations is only two dollars. The per capita income of the rich nations has gone up from 100 dollars to 1100 dollars while that of the poor nations from 100 dollars to only 120 dollars between 1850 and 1960. The backward countries have become dependent on advanced countries and are themselves suppliers of raw materials. Enlightened self-interest of the rich nations demands that they should share their income with the poor nations. This widening economic gap and growing political tension in a world divided between ‘haves’ and ‘have-nots’ would disturb world peace. The Algiers Charter of 77 nations, therefore, demanded that the international trade should be
based on terms of equality and no strings should be attached to economic aid. The second UNCTAD conference was held in New Delhi for some weeks (February, 1968). However, it produced modest results. India took advantage of the conference and concluded treaties of trade and mutual co-operation with Yugoslavia and UAR. In the subsequent UNCTAD conferences, the developed nations have not conceded favourable trade terms to the developing nations. On the contrary, the rich countries have erected tariff walls to protect their industries. The rich European countries have monopolised trade through European Economic Community (now called European Community) and this has resulted in the restrictions on the exports of the developing nations due to an economic block of 16 European countries with common currency, one Central Bank and common trade policy.

United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF)

United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund was created on December 11, 1946. With the hope of the World's future resting on coming generations, it was recognised that relief and rehabilitation of the children was an international responsibility. The main task of UNICEF is to provide food, milk, blankets and clothing to protect the lives of children in underdeveloped countries. UNICEF's mandate emphasised from the outset that its assistance would be given on the basis of one criterion i.e., need-regardless of race, creed, nationality, status or political belief. By early 1950, the organisation had secured relief supplies from 60 nations for 6 million children in 12 countries. Even though UNICEF's immediate task was relief and
rehabilitation, it clearly recognised with conviction that its objective extended to strengthen permanent child health and welfare programmes by enhancing the capacities of national governments. Over the years, UNICEF's involvement in health care, emergency supplies and disease control earned for it the reputation of "Get it Done" agency.

The Noble Peace Prize awarded to UNICEF in 1965 for "promotion of brotherhood among nations also recognised that the children's well-being is inseparable from world peace." But these were only milestones in a continuing quest. The year 1979, the International Year of the Child, gave further impetus to the improvement of the child's total well-being through accelerated concern and action globally. Today, UNICEF's co-operation reaches 120 countries. Funded entirely by voluntary contributions from states, it works in close partnership with national governments to integrate children's needs with the goals of national development. But as 40,000 children continued to die each day of easily preventable causes in the developing world alone, there was need for a quantum jump in effectiveness. This imperative led to the launch of a child survival and development revolution in 1982. The goal was dramatic improvement in the health and well-being of children within a decade. The UNICEF has launched a movement by adopting four simple proven and low cost techniques for the survival of children. These techniques are: (1) Nutritional monitoring; (2) Oral rehydration therapy against diarrhoea dehydration; (3) Better infant feeding practices; and (4) Immunisation of all infants and pregnant women against deadly diseases. Today, the emerging results and
trends speak for themselves. Over 40 countries were moving towards UN goal of universal immunisation by 1990. Much ground needs to be covered, though, since 1985, the demand for vaccines has trebled. Thus, UNICEF has done pioneering work for the last four-decades without considering any politics.

POLITICO-SOCIO-ECONOMIC ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE MAINTENANCE OF THE WORLD PEACE AND SECURITY

The UN charter eschews the use of force under all circumstances except in pursuance of the purposes of the charter. The peaceful settlement of international disputes and the establishment of collective security are taken by the charter as the basis for world peace and security. The role of the UNO in the maintenance of world peace is commendable though it has not succeeded in settling a number of international disputes. According to Article I of the Charter, it is expected "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 lawful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace." The procedures available for the discharge of these stupendous obligations are laid down in the Charter in elaborate detail, particularly in Articles 33-51. The chief responsibility rests with the Security Council, but the General Assembly has played an increasingly significant role in this field.
The UN also has great responsibilities in dealing with what are called "security problems." These relate not to one state's charges of aggression or other misconduct against another state but to the UN's obligation to promote conditions of general security so that breaches of the peace by any state will become less likely, and so that effective sanctions can be invoked if breaches do occur. More particularly, its responsibilities pertain to the performances of three specifically signed security duties: (1) the placing of military forces at its disposal, (2) the regulation of armaments, and (3) the international control of atomic energy. Here, we shall discuss the UN's record in the handling of politico-socio-economic security problems.

**Political Issues**

The most difficult task of the United Nations has been the adjustment of political issues and bringing about peaceful settlement of disputes. In evaluating its work in this field, certain broad considerations should be borne in mind. In the first place, it should be recalled that the Charter imposes primary responsibility on the Security Council but that under certain conditions, the General Assembly may take an initiative or intervene. We shall observe this in a number of instances. Second, it should be remembered that the Security Council is bound no specific procedure; it is authorized to use any or all of several indicated ways of reaching a settlement, or it may devise ways of its own. Its preference is to induce the disputing parties to settle their differences by direct negotiation. Third, the distinction between
political disputes and legal disputes should be kept in mind, but it should not be over-emphasized. Generally speaking, political disputes go to the Security Council and/or the General Assembly and legal disputes to the International Court of Justice, but any attempt to divide all disputes into these two categories would lead to confusion. States in dispute twist matters to present them as political and vindictive acts.

The so-called peacekeeping operations have been perhaps the most dramatic and the most highly publicized of the multifarious activities of the United Nations. The operations undertaken to date can be classified into four categories, although these are by no means clearly delineated: (1) observer groups to supervise cease-fires and truce lines. (2) military forces interposed between armies and used to patrol frontiers, (3) military forces with a mandate to curtail military conflict by all necessary means, and to assist in maintaining internal order, and (4) a military presence to prevent the expansion of a communal conflict. Examples of the first type include operations undertaken in the Balkans (1946-47); Indonesia (1947—49); Palestine (1947—64); Kashmir (1948—64); Lebanon (1958); West Iran (1962-63); and Yemen (1963-64). UNEF [the patrol on the Israeli border] is an example of the

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second; ONUC [the operation in the Congo] of the third; and UNFICYP [the Cyprus force] of the fourth."

The record of the United Nations in dealing with the large number of political disputes brought before it has been varied. While no spectacular successes have been scored, the UN, as we shall see, has contributed, directly or indirectly, to the settlement of several controversies which might otherwise have become serious threats to world peace.

A detailed analysis of almost any one of the disputes would require several volumes. Here we can only summarize a few of them, after first pointing out the distinctive and interesting features of the "cases" to be reviewed.

*Problem of Evacuation of Soviet Troops from Iran*

On January 19, 1946, two days after the Security Council met for the first time, and before it could agree on matters of organization and procedure, Iran formally charged the Soviet Union with interference in her internal affairs and asked the Council to investigate and attempt to effect a settlement.

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8 More detailed accounts of these disputes may be found in the official records of the Security Council and the General Assembly. Excellent summaries are given in the annual Yearbook of the United Nations; in the pertinent issues of the United Nations Bulletin (until July, 1954), the United Nations Review (July, 1954 to May, 1964), and the United Nations Chronicle (since May, 1964); and in the annual reports of the President to the Congress on the activities of the United Nations and the participation of the United States therein (pursuant to the United Nations Participation Act of 1945). Also see International Organization, published quarterly by the World Peace Foundation.
Differences involved the continued presence of Russian troops in Iran, the alleged support by the Soviet Union of a revolt in the Iranian province of Azerbaijan, and on top of it all the Russian demand for oil concessions in Iran. During the Second World War, the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain, occupied Iran. When the war came to an end in 1945, Iran requested for the withdrawal of Allied troops. In September 1945, the Allies agreed to withdraw their troops by 2nd March 1946. By the agreed date, the British and American troops were withdrawn. But there was continued military presence of the Soviet Union in Iran. The Russians refused to allow Iranian troops to enter the Russian occupied northern Iranian province to re-establish Iranian control. On 19th January, 1945 Iran complained to Security Council against Soviet military presence in the country and insisted that all the Soviet troops should be withdrawn.

Although the U.S.S.R. "categorically opposed" any discussion of the charges whatsoever, the Council the next day voted to ask the two governments to settle their differences by direct negotiations and to report to the Council on the progress of their discussions. On March 19, the Iranian government declared that the Soviet Union was "continuing to interfere in the internal affairs of Iran through the medium of Soviet agents, officials, and armed forces," and was maintaining troops in Iran beyond the period stipulated in the Tripartite Treaty of 1942, under which Allied troops had been stationed in Iran during World War II. When, on March 27, 1946, the Council voted down a Soviet motion to postpone consideration
until April 10, Andrei Gromyko walked out of the Council
chamber.

After examining Iranian and Soviet statements on the
facts of the case, the Council on April 4 decided to defer
further consideration of the Iranian appeal until May 6.

Ultimately the Soviet troops were withdrawn in May
1946. The consideration of Iran's problem in the Security
Council helped Iranian government to resist the Russian
pressure. If the question had not been referred to
Security Council, the Soviet troops might not have been
withdrawn.

In spite of these developments, the Council decided to
keep the question alive on its agenda for an indefinite period, but
it has taken no further action regarding it.

Indonesia

After the liberation of Indonesia from Japanese troops, the
Indonesian nationalists set-up a republic and declared
independence. Negotiations between the Netherlands
government and Indonesian leaders, begun in 1945, led to the
Linggadjati Agreement, formally signed on March 25, 1947, for
the establishment of a United States of Indonesia within the
framework of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Each side soon
charged that the other had violated this agreement, and on
July 20, 1947, Dutch troops began military action against the so
called Indonesian Republic. The matter was brought before
the Security Council by the Indian representative and a
ceasefire was arranged. Both the Dutch government and Indonesia accepted good offices of committee of Australia and Belgium. Australia on behalf of Indonesia and Belgium on behalf of the Dutch carried on negotiations for peace. In January 1948, an eighteen point settlement programme called Renville agreement was accepted but this was violated by the parties and there was further clash. The Security Council called for cease-fire and established UN committee to settle the issue, but, for weeks, the Dutch government refused to comply with these resolutions, even re-enforced. Their military position in Indonesia despite political pressure of world public opinion, official remonstrances from several nations, and the resolutions of an Asian conference convened in New Delhi by the then Indian Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru.

The United Nations Commission for Indonesia, which had replaced the Committee of Good Offices, was finally able to effect an agreement under which Dutch troops evacuated Jogjakarta, leaders of the Indonesian Republic were released from their confinement, and hostilities were brought to a halt. In July, 1949, the Indonesian government returned to Jogjakarta, and on the twenty-third of that month Republican and Federalist leaders announced that they had reached an agreement on the creation of a United States of Indonesia. A round-table conference at The Hague, held shortly afterwards and attended by representatives of the Dutch government, Indonesian Republicans and Federalists, and the UN Commission for Indonesia, confirmed the general terms of the understanding and outlined the steps by which the transfer of sovereignty should be effected. Both the Dutch and
the Indonesians, encouraged by the UN Commission, implemented these far-reaching agreements in good faith. As a result, a new state — the Republic of Indonesia — was born.

The Dutch government was asked by the Security Council to recognize the Independence of Indonesia which she did on 27th December 1949.

Question of Withdrawal of Foreign Troops from Syria and Lebanon

In February 1946, Syria and Lebanon lodged complaint with Security Council regarding the continued presence of the British and French troops in these two countries. The USA proposed a resolution expressing hope that Britain would withdraw her troops as soon as possible. The proposal was vetoed by the Soviet Union but its moral effect was not lost. The French evacuated Syria within two months whereas a few months later, Britain also withdrew her troops from Lebanon.

Hyderabad

After Independence, Hyderabad (Deccan), India, unlike other princely states refused to join either India or Pakistan. On 21st August 1949, Hyderabad complained to Security Council about an imminent invasion by India. Hyderabad was supported by Pakistan. On September 9, India undertook police action against the state and the matter was taken up by the Security Council. India told the
Council that since Hyderabad was not an independent state, it had no right (*locus standi*) to bring the case before the Security Council. Pakistan pleaded the case of Hyderabad in the Security Council which took no further action.

*Egypt*

In late October and early November, 1956, the United Nations became involved in two major world crises that erupted almost simultaneously in Hungary and Egypt. Although the height of the Suez crisis (Egypt) almost coincided with that of the tragic events in Hungary, the former began months earlier and involved the United Nations at an earlier stage. On July 26, 1956, apparently in response to the public withdrawal of American and British support for the proposed High Dam at Aswan, President Nasser announced in retaliation that his government would nationalize the Suez Canal Company of the British. This dramatic announcement led to a month of bitter protests by the British and French governments which had commercial interests in the Suez Canal and owned and controlled it, frenzied diplomatic activity, meetings in London of twenty-two of the major users of the Suez Canal, the establishment of a Suez Canal Users Association by eighteen of the participants in the London deliberations, tensions between the United States and its two major allies, and warnings of the deterioration of the situation along the Jordan-Israel armistice demarcation line.

From late September, when the British and French governments asked it to take up the Suez question, the
Security Council of the UN held several meetings, some closed sessions, and the Secretary-General conferred with the British, the French, and Egyptian representatives in an effort to find areas of agreement so that negotiations, among these three powers could be held. The Council also considered complaints by Jordan and Israel of alleged violations of the Arab-Israel Armistice Agreements of 1949. When Israeli forces launched an attack across the Sinai Peninsula on October 29, a United States resolution calling for the immediate cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of Israeli forces was defeated in the Security Council by the negative votes of Britain and France. Following the British-French air attack on Egypt, begun on October 31, the Council adopted a Yugoslav proposal to call an emergency special session of the General Assembly, under the Uniting for Peace Resolution of 1950. "Thus by an irony of fate the resolution designed by the West as a barrier against Communist aggression was first invoked by Yugoslavia with the support of the USSR, against two Western powers."9

The first emergency special session, which was convened on November 1, adopted a United States resolution calling for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of all foreign troops from Egyptian soil. On November 4, it endorsed recommendations of the Secretary-General for the creation of "an emergency international force." In the next a few days, plans for a United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) were quickly worked out, and on November 15, the first contingent of the force arrived in Egypt. By that time, a general cease-fire was in effect (as of mid-

night of November 6-7), and the Suez question had been transferred from the emergency special session to the regular session of the General Assembly. In the next a few weeks, the Secretary-General made vigorous efforts to build up the UNEF, and the Assembly pressed the British, French, and Israeli authorities to withdraw their troops from Egypt. The British and French promptly complied — the last of their forces left Egypt on December 22 — but Israel delayed for over two months in an effort to get satisfactory assurance regarding freedom of navigation in the Strait of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba.

In the early weeks of 1957, salvage and clearance operation under the general direction of the United Nations, were undertaken with dispatch and success. By April 24, the Canal was fully reopened. The Security Council and the Secretary-General were helpful in furthering efforts to reach some agreement with Egypt over the future regime of the canal. In accordance with an Egyptian declaration of April 24, individual users of canal worked out arrangements with the Egyptian government, which, however persisted in its ban on vessels to and from Israel.

The UNEF patrolled the armistice demarcation line - on the Egyptian side only, for Israel steadfastly refused to permit it to operate on the Israeli side — until 1967. It was financed by voluntary contributions, loans and special assessments. Since several members of the UN refused to pay these assessments and since the expenses ran to $20,000,000 a year, the UNEF operation was a major reason, second only to the UN's Congo role, for the mounting financial crises which has
threatened the financial solvency and even the future of the world organization. In May, 1967, at the insistence of President Nasser, UNEF’s operations were suddenly terminated.

In 1947, Egypt brought a complaint before the Security Council about the presence of the British troops in her territory. According to Anglo-Egyptian treaty (1936) Britain had right to maintain her troops in the Suez canal area. But the government of Egypt contended that the UN Charter had made the agreement invalid and the military presence of Britain on the soil of Egypt constituted a threat to peace. No resolution on this issue could get the required seven votes and the Council took no further action. The Anglo-Egyptian relations continued to deteriorate and nationalisation of Suez canal in 1956 led to the opening of hostilities between the two countries.

**Hungary**

Hungary, like most of the other states of Eastern Europe, was profoundly affected by process of de-Stalinization which began sweep through the Communist world after the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU in the spring of 1956. Inspired by the success of the Poles in resisting Soviet pressure, Hungarian students and intellectuals in Budapest organized demonstrations of sympathy for the Poles, and of protest against Soviet domination of their own country and against repressive domestic policies. They demanded the appointment of Nagy, who had been premier from 1953 to 1955 and who was regarded as a champion of more liberal policies, as premier and a variety of other concessions and reforms. Instead,
on October 23, the state security police opened fire on a crowd of demonstrators, killing many of them. As a Special Committee of the UN General Assembly reported a few weeks later, "In so far as any one moment can be selected as the turning point which changed a peaceful demonstration into a violent uprising, it would be this moment."10 Within a few hours Soviet tanks appeared in the streets of Budapest, and fighting spread throughout the country and soon developed into a struggle between the majority of the Hungarian people and Soviet troops. On October 24, Imre Nagy was appointed premier, but on the following day, this action was balanced by the appointment of Soviet-dominated Janos Kadar as First Secretary of the Communist Party.

The Hungarian case was first brought before the Security Council by France, the United Kingdom, and the United States on October 28. At that meeting, the case was debated for nearly six hours, but no specific action was taken, or even proposed. When it was next discussed, on November 2, several events had made the issue more urgent and more confusing. Israeli, French, and British forces had invaded Egypt, the Soviet Union had offered "to enter into appropriate negotiations ... on the question of the presence of Soviet troops on the territory of Hungary," and Premier Nagy had appealed for the support of the Security Council in obtaining the withdrawal of Soviet troops. Two days of inconclusive discussion in the Security Council preceded an all-out attack by Soviet forces,

the flight of Nagy to the Yugoslav Embassy, and the assumption of power by Kadar. These dramatic events led to more positive action in the UN. When a resolution calling on the Soviet Union "to withdraw all of its forces without delay from Hungarian territory" was defeated by a Soviet veto, the Council promptly voted to call an emergency special session of the General Assembly under the Uniting for Peace Resolution.

During this emergency special session and the eleventh regular session which followed, while resistance to the Soviet-backed Kadar regime in Hungary was being ruthlessly and systematically crushed, the General Assembly discussed the Hungarian question at great length, although with great caution, and adopted no fewer than ten resolutions on this question. The Soviet Union paid no attention to any of these resolutions, and the Kadar regime refused to permit UN observers, or even the Secretary-General himself, to visit Hungary to investigate the conditions at first hand. A Special Committee appointed by the Assembly on January 10, 1957, composed of representatives of Australia, Ceylon, Denmark, Tunisia, and Uruguay, was also denied access to Hungary; but it studied all available documents and other materials and interviewed over one hundred witnesses. Its scathing report,11 made public on June 20, was described by a Pakistani newspaper as "a massive indictment of the Soviet Union's action in brutally suppressing by armed forces a national movement for freedom."12

After considering the report of the Special Committee, the

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12 Morning News (Karachi), June 26, 1957.
Eleventh Session of the General Assembly, on September 14, 1957, passed a resolution, by a vote of 60 to 10, with 10 abstentions, condemning the Soviet actions in Hungary and the continued defiance of the Assembly. The resolution empowered the president of the Assembly, Prince Wan of Thailand, to take such steps as he thought appropriate, as the Special Representative of the Assembly on the Hungarian question, toward implementing the Assembly resolution on Hungary. At the Twelfth Session, Prince Wan was obliged to report that his efforts had been unproductive.

Indignation against the Soviet Union and the Kadar regime was heightened by the news that on June 16, 1958, Imre Nagy and other members of his former government who had been arrested by Soviet authorities and interned in Rumania in the previous November, after they had left the Yugoslav Embassy under a promise of safe conduct, had been executed. Upon the receipt of the news, the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary held an emergency meeting, condemned the executions, and in mid-July issued a Special Report.13

The Fourteenth Session of the Assembly appointed Sir Leslie Munro of New Zealand as Special Representative, and deplored "the continued disregard" by the Soviet Union and the Hungarian Government of the General Assembly resolutions. To subsequent sessions of the Assembly, Sir Leslie reported that he had received no cooperation from the Hungarian or Soviet authorities, and he urged the Assembly to maintain its vigilant

13 Ibid.
interest in developments in Hungary. The Hungarian question remains on the Assembly's agenda and on the conscience of many of its members, but no effective action has been possible. The case illustrates the weakness of the United Nations, and the limitations of UN efforts, in the fact of opposition and noncooperation by the member states most directly involved, especially if one of them is a major power.

**Greece**

Cases involving the political independence and territorial integrity of Greece were on the agenda of the Security Council almost continuously from 1946 to 1951. In January 1946, the Soviet Union charged that the presence of British troops in Greece constituted a threat to peace and were supporting the conservative provisional government. After some debate the Council adopted a resolution saying that it had heard the statements in the matter and considered the incident closed.

The Soviet Union challenged the presence of British forces and contended that Britain was interfering in the internal affairs of Greece and the military presence of Britain was threat to peace. The matter was referred to the Security Council which simply took notice of the views expressed. The Greek question became serious when the neighbouring countries helped the guerillas against the Greek government. The Security Council appointed a commission of investigation. On May 27, 1947, eight of the eleven members of the commission reported to the Security Council that "Yugoslavia, and to a lesser extent, Albania, and Bulgaria" had
"supported the guerrilla warfare in Greece." With only the Soviet and Polish members dissenting, the commission proposed the establishment of a new "watchdog" commission. With the Council's approval, the commission thereupon appointed a Subsidiary Group to keep the Council informed of activities along the Greek border.

From June 27 to August 29, 1947, the Security Council discussed the report of the Commission of Investigation. The debates were filled with bitter attacks by the Soviet Union on Greece, and all attempts of the Council to act in defense of Greece were frustrated, several times by Soviet vetoes. On September 15, by a vote of 9 to 2, the Council removed the Greek question from its agenda in order that it might be placed before the General Assembly.

At the Second Session of the Assembly, the case was discussed at length. On October 21, by a vote of 40 to 6, with 11 abstentions, the Assembly made a number of recommendations to Greece and her neighbors, and established an eleven-nation Special Committee on the Balkans (UNSCOB). Poland and the U.S.S.R., named as members of the committee, declined to participate in its work, and Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia consistently refused to allow it access to their territories or even to recognize its existence; but in spite of this non-cooperation UNSCOB persisted in its work. Through personal observation groups along Greece's northern frontier, from testimony obtained from scores of interviews, and from other sources, it accumulated overwhelming evidence of large-scale aid to
Greek guerrillas from Greece's northern neighbours. In 1948 it submitted reports to the General Assembly.

During the Third Session of the Assembly, in the fall of 1948, the First Committee spent more time on the Greek problem than on any other, but the spirited opposition of the Soviet bloc prolonged the debate and confused the issues. The year 1949, brought considerable improvement in the situation, due in large measure to the fact that Yugoslavia's aid to the Greek guerrillas had practically ceased after the Tito "split" and Yugoslavia's expulsion from the Communist bloc. A further improvement was signified by the restoration of diplomatic relations between Greece and Yugoslavia on November 28, 1950.

On December 1, 1950, after hearing UNSCOB's report, the General Assembly adopted three resolutions pertaining to Greece. Two dealt with old questions of the repatriation of members of the Greek armed forces and Greek children. In a further move to bring about repatriation, the Assembly established a standing committee and urged the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies to continue their efforts to return Greek nationals.

In 1951, UNSCOB asked the General Assembly to take note of the changed but continuing threat to Greece, [and to] consider the advisability of maintaining United Nations vigilance of the Balkans in the light of the present nature of the threat to Greece in that area."
On the Greek question, the UK and the United States were on one side whereas the Soviet Union was on the other side. It was observed that the Security Council could be paralysed in the exercise of security functions by the veto. However, the Greek case could not be regarded as a triumph for the UNO but it set a precedent for increased reliance on the General Assembly in future disputes in case Security Council is paralysed by exercise of veto power.

Issue of the Blockade of Berlin

The dispute between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers over the Berlin blockade was referred to the Security Council in September 1948. The Soviet Union vetoed the draft resolution. The General Assembly called upon the United States, Britain and France and the Soviet Union to settle the dispute by resort to negotiations. Subsequently, the President of the Security Council received intimation from the USA, UK and France that restrictions on West Berlin were removed and the Council of Foreign Ministers of USA, UK, France and USSR would meet to consider all outstanding issues about Germany.

Issue of Merger of Trieste

According to the Italian peace treaty after the end of the Second World War, Trieste was internationalised and the Security Council accepted responsibility for its government. In the meanwhile, Trieste was occupied by joint Anglo-American and French troops in Zone ‘A’ whereas the forces of Yugoslavia had occupied the Zone B of Trieste. In 1948, the USA and the
UK expressed their desire to revise the treaty and hand over the territory to Italy. In 1953, an Anglo-American plan to hand over Zone A to Italy, was announced. Marshall Tito, the head of Yugoslavia government threatened to march into Trieste. In the meanwhile, Italy and Yugoslavia reached an amicable solution by which Italy occupied Zone ‘A’ and Yugoslavia occupied Zone ‘B’ of the disputed territory.

**Issue of Unilateral Declaration of Independence by Rhodesia**

The policy of apartheid induced the white settlers of the British colony of Rhodesia in South Africa to make unilateral declaration of independence on 11th November 1965. The UN Trusteeship Council adopted a resolution urging Great Britain to “employ all necessary measures including military force to make Rhodesia observe standards of civilised behaviour in international relations”. After an abortive meeting between the British Prime Minister, Harold Wilson and Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith, the Security Council voted mandatory economic sanctions against Rhodesia on December 16; 1966. In May 1968, the United Nations imposed economic boycott on Rhodesia and the UN Security Council deplored the actions of Portugal and the Union of South Africa which had been rendering support to the rebel white regime of Ian Smith. The Africans criticised the resolution as weak. A second Wilson-Smith meeting aboard in the British warship in Gibraltar Harbour proved to be as fruitless as the first one. Britain was against military intervention in Rhodesia. Thus, no effective measure could be taken against the rebel regime of Ian Smith.
Kashmir Issue

Kashmir was one of the more than five hundred princely states whose status was left undecided when the Dominions of India and Pakistan came officially into existence on August 15, 1947. Shortly afterwards, fighting broke out in Kashmir (officially, the state of Jammu and Kashmir), a predominantly Muslim state ruled by a Hindu Maharaja. The maharaja asked the Government of India to send troops into Kashmir to assist him in re-establishing his authority, and announced that the state would accede to the Union of India. The Indian Government accepted the accession, dispatched troops to Kashmir, and pledged that "as soon as law and order was restored in Kashmir and its soil cleared of the invader, the question of the state's accession should be settled by a reference to the people (Plebiscite)."

Shortly after independence, Kashmir was invaded by armed tribesmen aided by regular Pakistani troops. Kashmir had by then acceded to India. On January 1, 1948, India filed a complaint with the Security Council of the United Nations, charging that the Government of Pakistan was providing assistance to raiders who were attacking the state of Kashmir. Pakistan denied these charges and brought a number of counter-allegations against India. The Security Council voted to establish a United Nations Commission on India and Pakistan (UNCIP). After weeks of investigation, UNCIP, on August 13, 1948, presented to the Governments of India and Pakistan a resolution calling for a cease-fire and truce agreement, withdrawal from Kashmir of Pakistani and Indian troops,
and a plebiscite to determine the future status of the state. On December 11, it submitted more specific proposals to the two governments for a plebiscite to be supervised by an administrator nominated by the Secretary-General of the United Nations. India and Pakistan agreed to these proposals and to a cease-fire and truce arrangement, effective January 1, 1949.\(^{14}\) Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, of the United States was appointed by Trygve Lie as plebiscite administrator, a choice approved by all parties concerned. Admiral Nimitz spent several weeks in India and Pakistan, but was unable to secure agreement on the conditions under which the plebiscite should be held.

Though UNCIP agreement was reached on the demarcation of a permanent cease-fire line in July, 1949, but no progress was made in arrangements for the withdrawal of armed forces or for a plebiscite. After its proposal of arbitration had been rejected by India, the commission recommended that the Security Council name an individual to replace the five-member commission and through him continue the efforts to bring the two governments together on the unresolved issues.

On March 14, 1950, the Council asked both parties to prepare and carry out within a five-month period a program

\(^{14}\) A United Nations Military Observers' Group, headed until his death in January, 1966, by General Nimmo, an Australian, has been in Kashmir since 1949. It is charged with ensuring the observance of the cease-fire and truce agreement, and its presence in that beautiful but hotly contested area has been a powerful deterrent to violence.
of demilitarization. Sir Owen Dixon of Australia was appointed to assist in reaching this objective. In September, however, Dixon reported that he had been unable to make any progress toward demilitarization or arrangements for a plebiscite and requested that he be relieved of his assignment.

In February, 1951, the Council again brought up the question of Kashmir, and in March, it appointed Dr. Frank Graham of the United States to the position left vacant by Dixon. During months of patient investigations, Dr. Graham made a variety of specific proposals regarding demilitarization, and the Security Council discussed the issue at length; but all these efforts led to no basic agreement. The question of a plebiscite was not even discussed. Neither India nor Pakistan replied officially to Dr. Graham's fifth report, submitted in 1953.

The "India-Pakistan question" remained largely dormant on the agenda of the Security Council until 1957, when at the insistence of Pakistan, the Council spent 28 unproductive meetings on the matter. Krishna Menon the leader of Indian delegation told the Council that India had no intention of consenting to a plebiscite as in February 1954, the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir had finally ratified its accession to the Indian Union. On 24th January 1957, the Security Council reiterated its appeal for a plebiscite and called upon the parties to maintain the status quo. The Indian government ignored this appeal and declared Kashmir an integral part of India. The Jarring mission appointed in 1957 by the Security Council was sent to find ways and means for an
amicable solution. Pakistan's suggestion of temporary UN force for Kashmir backed by Western bloc was vetoed by the Soviet Union. The Jarring Mission failed to give any new proposal acceptable to both the parties. Throughout the dispute, the UN, under the influence of the Western bloc, has refused to accept the legal position of India's claim to Kashmir. This attitude has influenced the UN proceedings throughout.

The question was revived again in 1962 — the number of Council meetings devoted to Kashmir passed the hundred mark — and in 1964, extensive talks between India and Pakistan had broken down and had left Indo-Pakistan relations at an even lower ebb than usual. The consideration by the Council consisted largely of lengthy statements by representatives of India and Pakistan and abortive efforts by Council members to persuade the two countries to reach an amicable agreement on Kashmir.

In the first week of August 1965, Pakistan sent organised groups of infiltrators across the cease-fire line and in the same month mounted large-scale attack in the Chhamb Jaurian area violating the international border in an effort to cut-off India's link with Kashmir. Indian army went into action in Kashmir and in Lahore-Sialkot sector to foil Pakistan's designs.

Prospects for agreement on Kashmir seemed more remote than ever when Indo-Pakistan confrontations in 1965 — first in the Rann of Kutch and then, in August and September, in Kashmir itself — led to a three-week war between India and Pakistan. After some military maneuvering, the controversy over
the Rann of Kutch was referred to an arbitral tribunal, consisting of one representative nominated by India, one by Pakistan, and one, who served as chairman, by the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The Kashmir problem proved more intractable. During August, the Security Council held several meetings to consider the question, and it followed the developments in that area closely, aided by remarkably revealing reports by General Robert H. Nimmo, Chief Military Observer of the UN Military Observers’ Group for India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP). On September 1, the Secretary-General appealed to the heads of both governments to respect the cease-fire agreement, which had been in effect for more than 16 years. But by this time, the mounting tensions had led to open warfare, and the efforts of the UN were directed to a cessation of hostilities. The Security Council issued several calls for an immediate cease-fire and a withdrawal of armed forces. In the second week of September, the Secretary-General went to South Asia to confer with President Ayub Khan and Prime Minister Shastri. On September 20, the Security Council "demanded" a cease-fire and a withdrawal of armed forces to positions held prior to August 5, 1965, to take effect on September 22. Both India and Pakistan — with some reluctance, especially in the case of Pakistan — acceded to this "demand".

After the termination of hostilities, a strengthened UNMOGIP observed the ceasefire line in Kashmir, and a second group, known as the UN India-Pakistan Observation Mission, performed a similar function along the 1000-mile stretch of
frontier between India and West Pakistan where fighting had also taken place. On November 25, the Secretary-General announced the appointment of Brigadier General Tulio Marambio of Chile as his military representative in India and Pakistan.

Both India and Pakistan submitted frequent complaints of violations of the ceasefire to the Security Council. The Kashmir question, of course, remained on the Council’s agenda. While the Council, the Secretary-General, and other UN agencies and representatives were helpful in bringing about a cease-fire and in preventing a renewal of hostilities, they could not persuade India and Pakistan to resolve the issues, notably the Kashmir question, which had bedeviled their relations since independence and which, on two occasions, had led them to war. In this dispute, the Soviet Union has shown solidarity with India and she regards Kashmir as an integral part of India.

Issue of Congo

In June 1960, Belgium granted independence to Congo. But immediately after independence, a secessionist movement under Moise Tshombe was launched and as a result of this, Katanga, a rich province of Congo seceded from Congo. The Prime Minister of Congo, Patrice Lumumba, opposed the secessionist movement and opposed Moise Tshombe who became the self-styled head of the government of Katanga. This state of affairs triggered a civil war and there was every possibility of foreign military intervention. Congo was engulfed
in throes of disorder and her Prime Minister, Patrice Lumumba was assassinated in cold blood. In order to bring about the unification of Congo, UN military force was sent there. A large number of Indian troops participated in the peace keeping operations of the UN military force in Congo. The UN Secretary General, Dag Hammarskjold; was killed in air crash while he was flying to Ndola in North Rhodesia for peace talks in September 1961. He was succeeded by U Thant. The UN forces, had to face considerable difficulty in effecting the unification of Congo by ending the secession of Katanga. However, under the direction of U-Thant, the Secretary General, Katanga, the breakaway province, was incorporated into Congo through UN military action. Mr. Tshombe became the Prime Minister of Congo subsequently. The Soviet Union accused the USA and UK of complicity in the plot to saddle Mr. Tshombe to power and refused to bear the expenses incurred on the peace keeping operations of UN military force in Congo. However, after the elapse of a short time, Mr. Tshombe was ousted and General Mobutu became the Head of government of Congo in 1966.

Problem of Racial Discrimination in South Africa

In the first session of the General Assembly, India complained that the government of the Union of South Africa had enacted certain discriminatory laws to the disadvantage of the people of Indian origin there. For example Asiatic Land Tenure and Representation Act of 1946 placed the people of Indian origin in a disadvantageous position. India requested the General Assembly to recommend that the government of South Africa should abandon the policy of apartheid and enact
legislation in conformity with the principles of UN Charter. South Africa contended that the matter lay within her domestic jurisdiction. This view was rejected by the Assembly which called upon the parties to settle the matter peacefully. But the disputants failed to reach an agreement. On May 14, 1949 the General Assembly asked India, Pakistan and the Union of South Africa to hold a round table conference and explore the ways and means to settle the issue. But the differences continued to persist. The parliament of South Africa passed yet another stringent measure known as Group Areas Act. The sixth session of the General Assembly provided for the establishment of commission to help the disputants in solving the long standing controversy. The Assembly also called on the South African government to suspend the implementation of the Group Areas Act since it was based on the doctrine of racial discrimination. The seventh session of the UN General Assembly commenced in 1952 and it setup UN Good Offices Commission to arrange negotiations between India, Pakistan and the Union of South Africa but the commission did not succeed in its mission because the South African government insisted that the commission had no jurisdiction in the matter. In June 1955 the UN Secretary General designated ambassador Louis de Faro of Brazil to assist the parties. India and Pakistan agreed to co-operate but the South African Government declined to collaborate. In December 1955, and in November 1956, the General Assembly appealed to the parties to negotiate but the Union of South Africa refused to respond to the appeal. The Assembly recommended later the economic and trade boycott of South Africa. Unfortunately, Britain and the United States have
adopted partisan approach to question of imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions on the racist white regime of South Africa which has audacity to flout the world public opinion. However, the UNO has failed to force South Africa to dismantle the edifice of apartheid because of support of Western Powers to the White regime.

The Korean Crisis

The Early Korean Problem. The failure of the United States and the U.S.S.R. to agree on steps to implement the wartime promise of independence for Korea "in due course" led the United States, on September 17, 1947, to submit the Korean question to the General Assembly. That body, over the protests of the Soviet bloc, voted to establish a United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea, with authority to observe elections for a national assembly, which in turn would establish a national movement for Korea. The commission was welcomed in the American zone, but was denied all access to North Korea, which was under Soviet control. It observed the elections of May 10, 1948, in South Korea and reported that they were "a valid expression of the free will of the electorate in those parts of Korea which were accessible to the Commission." On August 15, the "National Government of Korea" was proclaimed, with Syngman Rhee as president, and the United States military government was declared to be terminated.

On December 12, 1948, the Assembly adopted a resolution providing for a new commission of seven members to
continue to function in Korea. On the same day, it recognized the Republic of Korea as the only legal government in the entire country. The United States extended recognition on January 1, 1949, and thirty-one other states followed suit. The Soviet Union withheld and employed the veto to prevent new republic from becoming a member of the United Nations. Instead, she sponsored the "Democratic People's Republic of Korea" in North Korea, proclaimed in September, 1948. This government also claimed to be the only legal one in Korea.

The General Assembly in its December resolution had recommended that the occupying powers "withdraw, their occupation forces from Korea as early as practicable." The United States, announced the complete withdrawal of her forces on June 29, 1949. The United Nations Commission on Korea verified this in its report of July 28, 1949, but it had not been allowed access to North Korea and so was in no position to substantiate the Soviet claim of withdrawal as of December, 1948.

At the Fourth Session of the General Assembly, the Korean Commission was continued with a more comprehensive mandate to observe and report on developments which might result in armed conflict, as well as to more steps towards representative government and to seek to facilitate the removal of barriers to economic, social, and other friendly intercourse caused by the division of Korea.

Invasion and Early UN Action: On the morning of Sunday, June 25, 1950, armed forces from North Korea
began an assault in great force across the 38th parallel upon the Republic of Korea. This action precipitated the greatest international crisis since the end of World War II.

United States Ambassador, John J. Muccio, who was in Seoul, reported the attack to the Department of State, where it was received on Saturday, June 24 at 9:26 p.m. Eastern Daylight Time. The United States Government at once contacted the United Nations and at 3:00 A.M. on June 25, it requested an immediate meeting of the Security Council. When the Council met at 2:00 p.m. of the same day, it already had before it the report of the United Nations Commission on Korea, which confirmed the attack. The commission’s cable to Secretary-General Lie stated that the situation was "assuming character of full-scale war."

At its meeting on June 25, the Security Council passed by a 9 to 0 vote (Yugoslavia abstained and the Soviet Union was absent) a United States resolution which noted "with grave concern the armed attack upon the Republic of Korea," stated that the Security Council "determines that this action constitutes a breach of the peace," called for the immediate cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of North Korean forces to the 38th parallel, and requested "all members to render every assistance to the United Nations in the execution of this resolution and to refrain from giving assistance to the North Korean authorities."15

On June 27, the Security Council took a momentous step

— it adopted a more specific United States-sponsored resolution recommending assistance to the Republic of Korea from all member nations. Fifty-three states pledged their moral support, and a smaller number promised direct assistance. On July 7, the Council set up a Unified Command under the UN flag, with General MacArthur of the United States as supreme commander.

It should be noted that the Security Council could take this action only because of a unique combination of circumstances. First, the Soviet Union had been boycotting the Council since January because it had voted against a U.S.S.R. proposal to exclude the representatives of Nationalist China and seat those of the Chinese Communist regime. Consequently, there was no Soviet veto. Second, American occupation forces in Japan and other bases were readily available.

On June 25, 1950, the allegedly Russian trained troops of North Korea crossed the 38th parallel and attacked Republic of South Korea. The United States immediately brought the issue to the attention of the Security Council. On the same day, the Security Council adopted a resolution noting "with grave concern the armed attack upon the Republic of Korea by forces from North Korea". The resolution stated that this action constituted a breach of the peace. The Council called for cessation of hostilities and urged North Korea to withdraw her armed forces to the 38th parallel. The Council appealed to all the member states to render every assistance to the UN in the execution of the resolution and to refrain from giving
assistance to North Korea. This resolution had no effect upon North Korea and the hostilities commenced on a large scale. Between June 25 and July 7, 1950 the Security Council, adopted three resolutions and provided the framework for military sanctions. Under these resolutions, the Council appealed to the member states of the UN to furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and security in the area. Under the third resolution adopted on July 7, 1950, the Security Council established a unified command under the USA authorising the US President to designate the supreme commander of the UN forces. This resolution requested the USA to report to the Council on the course of action taken under the unified command. Under the authority of these resolutions, a UN force of more than 35000 men from 15 countries and South Korea was created and was placed under the command of General Mac Arthur. The collective effort gained great momentum and by the end of 1950, the UN forces were well entrenched in North Korea and the resistance by North Korean forces was on the verge of collapse. China came forward to support North Korea which managed to offer resistance to the UN forces. However, the war continued for about three years and on July 27, 1953 an armistice was signed. Thus, peace was restored in the country. Korea continued to be divided across the 38th parallel.

**Issue of Palestine**

Around the historic land of Palestine, "a centre of international rivalry intermittently since the beginning of human
history," some of the thorniest problems to confront the United Nations have gathered. The rival claims of Jews and Arabs "have created a dilemma of infinite complexity. Few issues of modern times have taxed statesmanship so heavily; few have offered a greater challenge to an international organization."16

The Palestine question was first brought before the United Nations by Great Britain on April 2, 1947, in a letter requesting the Secretary-General to call a special session of the General Assembly to create and instruct a special committee to prepare recommendations for the future government of Palestine. Some action was necessary, as Britain had announced her intention to terminate the mandate that she had assumed at the close of World War I. Accordingly, the first special session convened on April 28, 1947. After lengthy debates in the First Committee, the Assembly, over the violent opposition of the Arab states, appointed a committee of eleven members, not including mw of the permanent members of the Security Council, gave it "the widest powers to ascertain and record facts, and to investigate any questions and issues relevant to the problem of Palestine," and instructed it "to submit such proposals as it may consider appropriate for the solution of the problem of Palestine."

The United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) held its first meeting at Lake Success on May 26, spent six weeks in Palestine, and concluded its report in Geneva

on August 31. Its report to the General Assembly contained eleven general principles unanimously agreed upon by the committee, a majority plan for the partition of Palestine, with economic union, and a minority plan for feudal state. On November 29, in a tense plenary session, the General Assembly adopted by the required two-thirds vote the plan for the partition of Palestine, with economic union, and an international area for Jerusalem. It then named a commission to implement the recommendations.

For once, the United States and Russia had agreed on a major political issue. Both supported the partition plan, and the United States was largely responsible for its adoption by the General Assembly. Jewish leaders hailed the action of the Assembly as a great victory; but Arab spokesmen warned that such a plan would never be accepted, and the increasing tempo of violence in the Holy Land gave weight to their warnings. The Palestine Commission soon reported to the Security Council that it could not "discharge its responsibilities on the termination of the Mandate" unless assisted by armed force. Until early March, 1948, the United States continued its firm support for the partition proposal; then, on March 19, Warren R. Austin, the American representative in the Security Council, without previous warning to the British or any other government, formally proposed that the Security Council instruct the Palestine Commission to suspend its efforts to implement the partition plan. He urged, instead, that a temporary trusteeship for Palestine under the Trusteeship Council of the UN be established and that a special session of the General Assembly
be called to consider this new proposal.

Although Secretary-General Trygve Lie pointed out that a trusteeship for Palestine might be even more difficult to implement peacefully than the partition plan, he issued a call for a special session of the General Assembly, to meet on April 16. On April 17 the Security Council requested all groups in Palestine to desist from acts of violence, and on April 23 it established a Truce Commission. The special session of the Assembly — the second special session to consider the Palestine problem — showed little enthusiasm for the "Draft Trusteeship Agreement for Palestine" which the United States submitted on April 20. Instead, it passed an innocuous resolution, instructed UNSCOP to terminate its activities, established the office of United Nations Mediator for Palestine, and appointed Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden to that office.

At midnight on May 14, 1948, at the expiration of the British mandate, the new state of Israel was proclaimed. This action, plus other developments of April and May, led to renewed hostilities in Palestine and to attempted invasion of the Holy Land by Egyptian troops. A cease-fire order of the Security Council, issued on May 29 and vigilantly supervised by Count Bernadotte and military observers from Belgium, France, and the United States, produced a truce of four weeks. Thereafter, fighting resumed, with the armed forces of Israel quickly gaining the advantage over the combined Arab armies. In mid-July, a stronger cease-fire order of the Security Council was generally observed, except in the Jerusalem area, until well into October, when serious fighting broke out in Negev in southern...
Palestine. On September 16, Count Bernadotte finished his last and most definite plan for a settlement in Palestine. Two days later, he was murdered in Jerusalem. Dr. Ralph Bunche, an American who had been Count Bernadotte's chief assistant, was named acting mediator. His efforts, reinforced by two strong resolutions of the Security Council in November, met with only partial success throughout the remainder of 1948, but in early 1949, Egypt and Israel agreed to suspend hostilities and to undertake armistice negotiations.

On December 11, 1948, the General Assembly voted to establish a Conciliation Commission to assume the functions of the mediator and the Truce Commission. At the second part of the Third Session, held in the spring of 1949, Israel was admitted to the United Nations as the fifty-ninth member, in spite of the bitter opposition of the Arab states. Lengthy negotiations between Israel and the Arab states, conducted by Dr. Bunche, mostly on the island of Rhodes, resulted in four general armistice agreements being signed between February 24 and July 20, 1949. On August 11, the Council declared that these superseded the truce directed by the Council on July 15, 1948, and it relieved the mediator of further responsibility to the Council. Later negotiations at Lausanne failed to bring agreement on final terms of peace. Twice in succeeding years, the uneasy truce forged by UN efforts dissolved into warfare.

Arabs-Israel

In 1947, the UN General Assembly, at the request of the British government, took up the issue of Palestine which was
the former mandated territory given to Britain. The Assembly decided to divide Palestine between Arabs and Jews with an international control over Jerusalem. The Assembly adopted a resolution to end the British mandate by August 1948. On May 20, 1948 Count Folke Bernadott was appointed as UN mediator in Palestine. By May 15th, the British troops were withdrawn and the state of Israel came into being. But the neighbouring Arab states marched into Israel. The Security Council issued cease-fire order on 22nd May which was effected by the mediator. But the fighting again broke out and Mr. Bernadott, the mediator of the UN, was killed. He was replaced by Dr. Ralph Bunch. However, the clash between the Arabs and the Jews continued upto the end of the year 1948. In January 1949, a truce between them was established. The General Assembly directed the Trusteeship Council in December 1949 to take up the administration of Jerusalem, but unfortunately both the Arabs and the Jews refused to vacate the part of the city in their occupation. Thus, Arab-Israel tension still continues with no sign of early abatement.

Arabs-Israel War (1967)

On May 23, 1967, President Abdel Gamal Nasser of Egypt ordered the blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba. This resulted in the closure of the straits of Tiran for Israeli shipping. This step was taken in retaliation to Israel's aggressive designs on the Arabs. The situation in the area became very tense. On 31st May, the United States initiated a resolution in the Security Council urging Israel and Arab states to comply with Secretary General, U-Thant's appeal for restraint. On 5th June 1967,
Israel's war planes made a surprise attack on Arab countries and started a full scale war on four fronts. (1) Gaza, (2) Sinai, (3) Jordan and (4) Syria. The UN Security Council unanimously approved a Soviet resolution demanding cease-fire and the same was accepted by Israel and Arab countries by June 9, 1967. In General Assembly, two proposals were introduced to bring peace in West Asia. The first proposal was sponsored by 18 non-aligned countries including India and it called for unconditional withdrawal of Israeli-troops from occupied Arabs' territories such as Sinai peninsula, the gulf of Aqaba and Golan heights. The second proposal was initiated by 21 Latin American and Caribbean countries. It demanded that the Arabs should end their belligerency against Israel. Both the resolutions could not be adopted as they failed to get required 2/3 majority in the Assembly. Ultimately on 22nd November 1967, a compromise resolution sponsored by Britain was adopted by the Security Council which asked Israel to withdraw her forces from occupied Arab territories. The resolution also called for end of belligerency. Mr. Garner Jarring was appointed as UN mediator. But his mission to achieve durable peace and restoration of Arab territories failed. All that he could achieve was to arrange for an exchange of prisoners of war. On 21st March 1968, Israel attacked Jordan and in December 1968, Israel air force destroyed a number of airliners in Beirut airport. On both the occasions, the Security Council simply condemned the acts of aggression.

*Arab Israel War (1973)*

UAR and Syria, in a bid to recover from Israel the territories lost during the previous war in 1967, launched a military offensive
against Israel's armed forces stationed in Sinai in October 1973. As a result of this fresh flare up in the Middle East, the Security Council, at its emergency meeting on 22nd October, 1973, called upon "the parties to the present fighting to cease all firing" not later than 12 hours. The Security Council also appealed to the parties to accept its previous resolution under which both the parties should end belligerency and Israel should vacate occupied Arab territories. The Security Council also stressed the need for durable peace. But unfortunately the hostilities between Arab states and Israel have been continuing unabated. It has become increasingly clear that there could be no military solution of Arab-Israel conflict. Israel does not recognize the right of Palestine Arabs for a separate homeland and she does not want to withdraw her forces from occupied Arab territories.

Suez Crisis

On July 26, 1956, Suez canal was nationalised by Col. Nasser, President of Egypt. Britain and France brought the issue before the Security Council. In the meanwhile, on 29th, October 1956, Israel attacked Egypt. Britain and France also decided to impose a military solution and attacked Egypt. The UN General Assembly met in an emergency session. It immediately ordered a cease-fire. In order to give effect to its resolution demanding cease-fire, the Assembly created UN Emergency Force out of the contribution of ten nations including India. Peace was, however, restored with the help of UNEF. The UN influence and the Soviet threat of military intervention precluded the possibility of a major war on this issue.
Civil War in Cyprus

Cyprus is an Island republic in eastern Mediterranean with a population of about 6 lakhs constituting 77% Greeks and 18% Turks. The trouble started in Cyprus with the demand raised by Greek Cypriots for union with Greece. The Arab nationals were opposed to this plan and so both the communities clashed in 1965. The UN General Assembly adopted a resolution calling upon all the states to refrain from interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus. The situation in Cyprus deteriorated again in November 1967. Ultimately, three peace makers representing the USA, the UNO and NATO brought about an agreement in Cyprus. This agreement provided for withdrawal of Greek and Turkish expeditionary force from Cyprus, UN guarantee of territorial integrity and sovereignty of Cyprus and disarmament of all armed forces in Cyprus except for a 5000 strong police force. On July 16, 1974 President Makarios of Cyprus fled when a coup was staged against him. Turkey now intervened in favour of the Turkish Cypriots and landed her troops in Cyprus. The UN General Assembly adopted resolution asking for the withdrawal of all foreign troops. UN emergency force was stationed in Cyprus and Indian military officers participated in peace keeping operations there. President Makarios was able to regain his authority and refugees returned to their homes. In 1977, the Greeks and Turkish Cypriots agreed to set up a federation in Cyprus.

Indo-Pak War (1971)

In Bangla Desh, previously East Pakistan, Awami League contested elections in 1971 and won thumping majority but its
leader, Sheikh Mujib Rehman was not invited to form the government. On the contrary the government of Pakistan tried to suppress the liberation movement in East Pakistan with an iron hand. The Pakistani troops perpetrated untold atrocities on the people of Bangla Desh and thousands of the people migrated to neighbouring India. The government of India insisted on the return of the refugees and release of Sheikh Mujib Rehman who was put under house arrest. On December 3, 1971 Pakistan attacked India. On 5th December, the United States introduced a resolution in Security Council demanding cease-fire and withdrawal of Indian troops. The Soviet Union vetoed this resolution and so the matter was referred to the General Assembly which called for cease-fire and withdrawal of Indian troops on 8th December 1971. Pakistani troops in Bangladesh surrendered on 16th December 1971 and India declared unilateral cease-fire. The Sovereign Republic of Bangladesh emerged on the political map and became a member of the UNO in 1972.

Economic and Social Issues

Overshadowing the political and security activities of the United Nations, in scope, achievement, and perhaps in ultimate significance, are its operations in economic and social fields. As stated in Article 1 of the Charter, the third major purpose of the UN is the achievement of "international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms." The UN is thus concerned not only with the maintenance of peace but also with promoting the conditions
under which genuine peace will be possible. "In the long run, United Nations leadership in the struggle for world welfare holds the chief promise of creating the underlying conditions of social stability and human satisfaction essential to a lasting peace."17

The Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, the Council's commissions and specialized agencies, the Trusteeship Council, and the Secretariat are primarily concerned with work in these fields: (1) economic questions; (2) social and cultural questions; (3) human rights and fundamental freedoms; and (4) problems of dependent peoples. Having completed our examination of the functioning of the UN vis-à-vis peace and security, we shall now note some of the criticisms that have been made of the UN structure and operation, and review actions taken and proposals made to strengthen the organization.

Social and Economic Development

Table 4.2

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<th>Millennium Development Goals</th>
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<td>1. eradicate extreme poverty and hunger;</td>
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<td>2. achieve universal primary education;</td>
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<td>3. promote gender equality and empower women;</td>
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<td>4. reduce child mortality;</td>
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<td>5. improve maternal health;</td>
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<td>6. combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases;</td>
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<td>7. ensure environmental sustainability; and</td>
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<td>8. develop a global partnership for development.</td>
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The above table shows the millennium development goals for socio-economic development

Economic Issues

The Charter of the United Nations specifically states that the UN shall promote "higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development," and shall "employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples." General responsibility for implementing these ambitious goals rests with the General Assembly, and especially, under the General Assembly's overall direction, with the Economic and Social Council. Almost all of the functional and regional commissions, specialized agencies, and special committees associated with ECOSOC are engaged in various ways to carry out the mandate of the Charter in economic and social fields.

General Factual Studies: The paucity of reliable statistics and other vital information on conditions in most of the countries of the world has been one of the greatest handicaps to intelligent and integrated planning and action. The UN is now engaged in helping to supply this information. Especially noteworthy are its general economic surveys. In January, 1948, it issued a report entitled Salient Features of the World Economic Situation, 1945-47, the first comprehensive world economic report to be published since 1930s. Since 1949, the UN has been putting out an annual report on world economic conditions and, in addition, annual economic
surveys of Europe, Asia and the Far East, and Latin America. Many agencies and commissions of the UN have also issued reports of important studies. The Secretariat and the specialized agencies have published a number of studies in the field of technical assistance and economic development, and others are under preparation.

Finance and Trade: "A change of political dimension," declared the Secretary-General of the United Nations in July, 1964, "has taken place in the awareness of the need for a more organized international co-operation in the economic and financial field." Evidence of this change may be found in the growing interest on the question of international liquidity, in the "strategic confrontation of commercial policies" in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in 1964.

All countries must pay particular attention to their gold reserves and their holdings in major world currencies, notably American dollars and British pounds. The continuing strength of the dollar and the pound is a matter of concern to many nations, and especially to the United States and the United Kingdom. The United Kingdom has on several occasions exercised her drawing rights on the International Monetary Fund for currencies from the main trading countries, and in late 1964 she received emergency short-term credits of $3 billion from the central banks of eleven leading financial

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nations ($1 billion from American sources). Emergency measures failed to solve the plight of the pound; in 1967, England announced a 14.3 per cent devaluation of its currency (standing Pound). Confidence in the dollar, somewhat shaken by American balance of payments difficulties despite some success in efforts to reduce the deficit, was challenged by the British devaluation and the temporary wave of gold-buying by those who expected the dollar to follow the pound. The governments of most major nations rallied to support the US dollar. Clearly, however, the international monetary system was faced with a continuing crisis of major proportions.

Efforts to reduce trade barriers through multilateral negotiations under the auspices of GATT have been affected greatly by the United States Trade Expansion Act of 1962, which led to the "Kennedy round" of negotiations; General de Gaulle’s veto of Great Britain’s application for membership in the European Economic Community (EEC); differences between the United States and EEC, especially over prices of grain and other agricultural products; and the pressure of the developing countries for more favourable treatment and consideration. The response to the complaints of the developing countries has taken many forms. In 1963, a Programme of Action was adopted, and an Action Committee was appointed. In the following year, a GATT International Trade Centre was

19 In August, 1961, she was authorized to draw upon the Fund for credits equivalent to $1.5 billion, the largest single drawing the Fund has ever authorized. In late November, 1964, she arranged to draw $1 billion from the Fund, in addition to the credits by the United States and ten other nations.
opened. The developing countries welcomed these and other steps by GATT to give greater recognition to their needs, but they still regard GATT as an association weighted in favour of the developed economics. They place greater reliance on the new machinery created by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD).

Technical Assistance and Economic Development: In 1948, the General Assembly requested the Economic and Social Council and the specialized agencies of the UN to give particular attention to the problems of technical assistance and economic development in the underdeveloped countries. It expressed hope that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), popularly known as World Bank would make loans for such purposes. The Assembly made available to the Secretary-General a sum of $288,000 for the year 1949; this was intended to finance pioneering work in preparation for the operational program. The grants have risen substantially in more recent years.

1. TAB, TAC, and TAA: In a sense, the Economic and Social Council was forced into the assumption of leadership in this area. The fact was that the specialized agencies of the UN had already undertaken so many independent overlapping activities. Serious gaps, and cross-purposes were beginning to appear in those programmes. While these agencies were especially well qualified to do their particular jobs, some coordination had to be effected to avoid wastage or over emphasis on certain activities. Further impetus to the establishment of coordinating machinery came from President
Truman's announcement of the Point Four Program in January, 1949. Consequently, the UN, in 1949, created two new bodies: the Technical Assistance Board (TAB), consisting of the executive heads of the UN and of the specialized agencies; and the Technical Assistance Committee (TAC), composed of delegates from states with representation on ECOSOC. The General Assembly also established a Technical Assistance Administration (TAA) as a separate branch of the Secretariat for overseeing the programmes, projects and activities for review of policy thrust.

2. Financing the Programs: For its regular programs, the UN has two main sources of funds for technical assistance: a relatively small item in its regular budget, and larger voluntary contributions to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), which came into existence in November 1965, as a result of the merger of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance (EPTA) and the Special Fund. The annual budget of EPTA grew from $20 million in 1950 to $50 million in 1964. Major fields of its activity have been in agriculture, health services, education, resource surveys, and administrative improvement. The Special Fund, in the first five years of its existence (1959-64) contributed approximately $374 million to 421 approved projects in many countries, chiefly for pre-investment and feasibility surveys, technical education and training institutes, and applied research in the developing countries.

The problem of financing the economic development of underdeveloped countries, and not simply of giving them
technical assistance, is difficult under any conditions. The United States has been discovering this position. The UN also cannot handle financing satisfactorily as the UN does not command sizable amounts of investible capital. The only organizations in the UN system which have the resources are the International Bank for reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and its affiliate, the International Development Association (IDA). The Bank makes loans only at commercial rates and with ironclad guarantees. Most of its loans, have been for projects related to economic development.

In 1957, another World Bank affiliate, the International Finance Corporation (IFC), was created to further economic development by investing in productive private enterprises in developing countries in association with private investors. Thus far, however, investments and underwriting operations have involved an expenditure of only a few million dollars. The Capital Development Fund which began operations in 1968, has also not been able to raise substantial financial resources.

The decade of the 1960's has been proclaimed by the UN as the "Decade of Development." In 1960, the General Assembly stressed that international assistance to underdeveloped countries be increased "so as to reach as soon as possible approximately 1 per cent of the combined national incomes of the economically advanced countries." This seems to be a modest goal which would hardly meet the capital needs of developing countries. Some countries, notably France, already contribute more than one per cent of their national income to foreign assistance programs of UN; but the total contributions of
developed countries, including the United States, in foreign assistance still fall much short of one per cent.

3. *Studies on Financing and Related Problems:* While the UN is neither prepared nor possesses the means to assist substantially in the financing of economic development, it has been helpful in making studies having bearing on the subject. In 1949 the Secretary-General issued a report, prepared by the Secretariat with the assistance of experts from all parts of the world, entitled *Methods of Increasing Domestic Savings.* Other related studies made have dealt with international capital movements, relative prices of exports and imports in underdeveloped countries, conditions governing private investments in certain countries, the domestic financing of economic development, the formulation and execution of development projects, and the effects of price fluctuations and the rise in raw-material prices upon underdeveloped countries. Of particular importance and thought provoking was a 1951 report, *Measures for the Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries,*\(^2^0\) which analyzed scenario and discussed at considerable length the capital requirements for increasing national income per capita by two per cent annually. It also recommended an International Development Authority in the UN, with power to make grants to underdeveloped countries.

4. *Technical Assistance Programs:* The methods of technical assistance vary from simple, short-range ones, like the introduction of new seed strains, to infinitely complex ones, like the support of an operating mission authorized to

\(^{20}\) UN Pub. 1951. II. B. 2.
reorganize the civil service system of a requesting government. At times single experts may conduct a study in a particular country, but more frequently teams of two or more are sent. These "expert missions" are of three kinds: the survey mission, the advisory mission, and the operating mission.

Labour

For some fifty years the International Labour Organization (ILO) has been working for the improvement of labour standards and conditions throughout the world. Within the UN system, it now has special jurisdiction in this field, but many other agencies, notably the Economic and Social Council, the Council's Population Commission and its Economic and Employment Commission (until it was abolished in 1951), and the economic divisions of the Secretariat also have taken interest in labour questions. While it functioned, the International Refugee Organization, too, gave help on labour and employment problems in connection with its work with displaced persons. This work involved assistance in migration and re-settlement, problems with which other agencies of the UN also deeply concerned.

ILO has drafted scores of conventions and recommendations, collectively designated the International Labour Code, which cover such questions as employment and un-employment, conditions of employment, employment of

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women and children, vocational training, industrial health and safety, social defense, industrial relations, maritime labor, immigration, freedom of association, and trade union rights. It is active in the field of providing experts, organizing training centres for Workers’ Education, seminars, and courses, exchanging technical information, and granting fellowships. Upon request by member states, ILO sends commissions of inquiry to look into particular problems. It investigates allegations of forced labour and violations of freedom of association. It is not permitted to operate in Communist countries, where these violations are most likely to bound. It collects and makes available its publications such as the *International Labor Review* and the *Yearbook of Labor Statistics* containing a vast amount of information from all over the world. Its many tripartite committees, composed of representatives of governments, employers, and workers, work on matters of major concern to parent organizations.

**Social Issues: General**

In the Charter, the UN is charged with responsibility for promoting “solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems” and “international cultural and educational” aspects and problems. Thus the UN is vitally concerned with furtherance of human welfare, social justice, and the aspirations of men for a better lot in life.

*Social Welfare and Social Defense*

The Department of Social Affairs of the UN Secretariat,
and especially its Division of Social Welfare, ECOSOC and its Social Commission, and a number of the specialized agencies are interested in such aspects of the social field as technical assistance for social development, social conditions and levels of living, social services, housing, town and country planning, community organization and development, family, youth, and child welfare, social defense and juvenile delinquency, rehabilitation of the handicapped, population, migration, and refugee questions, and social policy and development. The UN budget provides for advisory social welfare services, including, "technical assistance in such special aspects as public welfare administration, social insurance, child welfare, and vocational rehabilitation." Aid to physically handicapped persons in several countries has been an especially popular phase of this work. Social defense, which is of particular concern to the Social Commission as well as to the Social Welfare Division of the Secretariat, includes programs for the prevention of crime, the treatment of offenders, the suppression of prostitution, probation, the reduction of juvenile delinquency, and related questions.

In 1950, the Secretary-General issued a comprehensive report, at the request of ECOSOC, on housing and town and country planning. The Social Welfare Division now issues a regular bulletin on these subjects, and is doing a great deal of work in this field. The General Assembly authorized a tropical housing mission, which in 1950 visited the countries of Southeast Asia to investigate "technical questions relating to
housing for low-income groups in the humid tropics."

Community organization and development, to which housing and town and country planning are related, is regarded by the Secretary-General as "one of the most promising activities of the United Nation’s family of agencies." These activities are described in detail in a series of country monographs and reports of regional survey missions which were inaugurated jointly in 1952 by the Department of Social Affairs and the Technical Assistance Administration.

The UN has taken an active interest in continuing and extending the good work done by the erstwhile League of Nations for suppressing traffic in women and children.

**Health problems:**

With the establishment of WHO, health programme in all related aspects, in a systematic effort to improve conditions throughout the world, was launched.

**DIFFICULTIES IN THE WAY OF THE FUNCTIONING OF THE UNO AND ITS DRAWBACKS**

The very name United Nations has become a misnomer and a mockery for what should more appropriately be called the disunited nations. The planners of the United Nations Organisation thought of it as a successor to the League of Nations. Although the UN has localised many conflicts and has done pioneering work in social, cultural, scientific, economic and humanitarian fields yet the organisation has not been very successful in many institutions affecting peace and security. It supports from certain weaknesses
and difficulties. These may be summarised as follows:

**Misuse of Veto Power**

The veto is of course only a symptom of Great Power disagreement. The veto was introduced because the idea was that the Great Powers could shoulder the responsibility of enforcing peace and for that roles there should be unanimity among the Great Powers on any issue affecting world peace. The United States was the first to propose the introduction of veto in the Security Council. There is great possibility of veto being misused by the permanent members of Security Council. The entire UN machinery is paralysed if any permanent member of Security Council exercises veto against any resolution. In case, a resolution is defeated in the Security Council due to exercise of veto, there is remote possibility of its being adopted by 2/3rds majority of the members of the General Assembly because of the manoeuvres of the Great Powers threatening or actually exercising veto. On certain occasions, the permanent members of the Security Council have tried to pursue their national interests and exercised the veto power to achieve them. Under President Truman, the American government had announced that it would veto all candidates for the post of Secretary General except Trygve Tylie, President Eisenhower also announced that the United-States would use the veto to prevent the admission of People’s Republic of China into the United Nations. By the end of 1960, out of the total number of 99 vetoes which had been cast the Soviet Union exercised veto 92 times. On certain occasions, the Great Powers have adopted partisan approach. For instance, in the case of Kashmir issue, the United States, Britain and France had unduly supported
Pakistan's position and failed to realise the legality of India's stand on Kashmir. Similarly, these Western countries have not exercised veto on various proposals demanding imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the government of Union of South Africa which is practising the policy of apartheid to the detriment of the coloured people constituting even majority. If any of the five permanent members is an aggressor or decides to favour or help an aggressor state, no action can be taken by the United Nations obviously due to exercise of veto. Commenting on the privileged position of the permanent members of the Security Council, Lord Winster has aptly remarked thus “This organisation will be one for keeping small boys in order by pressure who are themselves exempt from the rules they administer.” Commenting on the hegemony of Great Powers in the World body, Dr. Murray has said; “I strongly suspect that the first real strain on the new league will come when it attempts to give orders to some nation accustomed to freedom. It is a new provision that the Security Council should have the power to issue orders, while the fact that the Great Powers need not obey such order will greatly weaken such moral authority as they might have had.

The UNO not a Super State

The UNO is certainly not a super state or a world government. Every member state retains its sovereignty and consequently is not bound by the decisions taken by the United Nations. In 1986 the World Court gave ruling to the effect that the American aid to the rebels of the government of Nicaragua is against the UN Charter. The government of the United States
under President Ronald Reagan declared that it was not bound to abide by the verdict of the world court. Similarly, the Soviet Union suppressed an uprising in Hungary by military force in 1956 in clear defiance of the UN Charter. On 21 August 1968, the Soviet troops together with the Allied troops of Warsaw pact countries entered the territory of Czechoslovakia and occupied the capital Prague in order to prevent the liberal leader of the Czech communist party, Mr. Dubcek, the Secretary and Mr. Cernik, the Prime Minister, from carrying out a programme of liberalization which the Soviet Union deemed to be a challenge to the fundamental principles of communism. On August 23, the Soviet veto killed in Security Council a Western sponsored resolution condemning Soviet Union for her armed intervention in Czechoslovakia and calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops in that country. These instances indicate that the great powers are immune from the clear implications of the charter which they can violate if their national interests so demand. Since 1980, Iran and Iraq have been waging war though the United Nations has appealed for a peaceful and negotiated settlement. Thus, great and small powers can thwart the appeals of the General Assembly or Security Council. In other words, the UNO exercises a degree of influence and not a real power over the sovereign states and the Great Powers are placed in privileged position due to the veto power.

Polarization of the World into Two Hostile Power Blocs

There is not much of harmony in the working of the United Nations because of the polarization of the world into two hostile power blocs viz. the Soviet bloc and American bloc. The result is that the problems before the United Nations are not
discussed on their merits. For instance, the Western countries adopted partisan approach in case of Kashmir problem and supported Pakistan's stand on Kashmir because Pakistan was a member of SEATO. The UNO has degenerated into a forum where wordy duels occur among the member states of these two blocs. The voting pattern of the member states of these blocs is influenced not by the principles and purposes of the UN charter but by the paramount consideration of the solidarity of the bloc. Thus, the world body has become cockpit of contending parties which hurl polemics against each other.

*Lack of Coercive Power*

The UNO does not possess any coercive power to punish any aggressor state. Without the consent of powerful nations, the UN cannot conduct any military operations against the aggressor state. If a Super Power is interested in any issue, the UN machinery may be used for conduct of military operations. For instance, UN military force took action against North Korea because the United States did not like that South Korea might be taken over by the communists. In case of Korean crisis, the motive behind the UN military action was prevention of spread of communism. However, in case of Pakistan's aggression on Kashmir, the UN never contemplated such a military action. The United Nations has no military forces of its own to come to help of any nation which becomes a victim of aggression.

In the words of Dr. Murray, "The security clauses providing the new organisation with teeth of enormous size
and instantaneous action have been generally applauded as putting the new charter on quite a different level of practical efficiency than the old Covenant and so it might well seem on its first reading. But the reflection raises doubts and even suspicions. The only Powers which are likely to possess enormous forces to put the peace of the world in peril have armed themselves to the full and insist that the great Peace Organisation shall have no authority over them. They make certain general promises of good behaviour but remain free to do as they like. Meanwhile, we are expected to congratulate ourselves that the new League has teeth”.

Lack of Adequate Representation of Various Regions of the World

There is no proper representation of the various regions of the world in various organs and specialised agencies of the UNO although Article 23 of the charter contains the formula of "equitable geographical distribution", as a means of ensuring adequate representation of various countries. No state of African continent is represented as a permanent member of Security Council. No African diplomat has yet been elevated to the post of the Secretary General of the United Nations. There is great representation of the member states of Western bloc in various organs and specialised agencies of the United Nations.

Certain Defects in the Charter

There has been a lot of criticism of article 2 (7) which deals with the domestic jurisdiction which has not been properly
defined by the framers of the UN charter. On the other hand, the provisions in the charter with regard to pacific settlement of disputes are unsatisfactory. The appointment of the Secretary General is the result of political manoeuvres. There was prolonged deadlock after the retirement of Trygve Lie as Secretary General. The Soviet Union was prepared to leave the UNO without a Secretary General instead of agreeing to a candidate supported by other nations. In the case of appointment of Secretary General, Article 23 of the charter which lays stress on equitable geographical distribution has been violated. Mostly, the diplomats from European countries have been elevated to this high office.

Financial Difficulties of the World Body

In 1986, the United States reduced her contribution to the budget of the United Nations and this has created a financial crisis for the organisation. The USA now finds the UN with its vastly increased membership rather difficult to get on with, since the two-third majority required for important decisions by the General Assembly is difficult to get now for the proposals put forward. In 159 member General Assembly, the voice of 101 non-aligned countries prevails. The United States and Great Britain have also withdrawn from the UNESCO. This unwelcome development has caused financial difficulties for this specialised agency of the UN.

Change in Techniques of Diplomacy
It has been observed that the General Assembly and the Security Council have been used by the protagonists of the two blocs more for propaganda and denunciation than for constructive action.

In conclusion, it can be said that it is not the UN that can be held responsible for all its failures as an international organisation. The nations, particularly the super-powers and other big powers deserve to be blamed for the failures of the UN. Time alone will show whether it will be fully successful or not. The new era of international relations with freedom from cold war and alliance politics has been a source of a renewed and more vigorous faith in the United Nations. The future of the United Nations now appears to be brighter due to changing environment. However, for making it a really global actor there is every need to expand the number of permanent members of the UN Security Council by adding two or three more members from Asia, an equal number from Africa and Latin America and Australia-Newzealand.

Failures of United Nations (U.N.) is visible in regard to resolve issues between countries through diplomacy before countries resort to military force and before conflicts escalate. Unfortunately, the UN has consistently failed in this goal and will continue being useless on this account.

First, the United Nations is primarily a forum for debate. As a result, the U.N. is an international organization where countries send representatives to argue for or against issues. These representatives are typically just spokesmen for their
country's agendas and are relatively powerless in their own country. Furthermore, countries governed by non-peaceful dictators and regimes inimical to peace typically use these debates to delay and obfuscate issues in their favour. Over the past several years that the United States has existed, these debates alone have not resolved a single issue. Direct military actions, back room negotiations, and threats, that were not sponsored by the United Nations, have had the only real positive effects for change.

For instance, Iraq was under U.N.-backed economic trade sanctions for over a decade. As a result, Iraqi people suffered greatly during Saddam Hussein's continuous games played with United Nations by only periodically allowing inspections for weapons of mass destruction, inconsistent disarmament of known searching weapons, and illegally finding ways around the oil for food agreements that the U.N. imposed. As a result, economic sanctions were an abysmal failure. Only United States of America had the courage of breaking this stalemate that had the Iraqi people caught in the middle. Yet again, the United States is considering this same "solution" that has never worked to be used against North Korea for its nuclear weapons program and testing. And Iran is keeping a close eye on what the world does to North Korea, since Iran has similar nuclear ambitions for their apparent non-peaceful agenda, too.

Second, the United Nations is unable to take direct and independent actions without support from its members. In other words, the U. N. is completely powerless and pacifistic. In
a world filled with the war-mongering dictators and suppressing regimes that know the U. N. lacks any real power, regimes are almost completely free to do whatever they want. For example, North Korea has tested nuclear weapons and threatens to do so again, with the United Nations considering only sanctions.

Third, the United Nations has five nations that can veto any resolution in Security Council even if the majority of the U.N. members agreed upon a measure or action. The countries with this veto power are China, France, Russia (formerly the Soviet Union), the United Kingdom, and the United States of America. These countries have this power because they were the founding countries of the United Nations that wrote the rules for the U. N. after World War II. Unfortunately, this non-democratic feature fails for several reasons. First, only a true democracy among nations is unbiased and fair. Thus, the complete structure of U.N. needs a major overhaul. This too is not likely to happen, since the countries with vetoing power are unlikely to unanimously agree to give up this right for fairness sake.

Additionally, since number of the countries in the United Nations are not for peace; these nations have very questionable voting practices. The only possible solution is to deny voting rights for non-peace loving nations. This includes any non-free and non-democratic country which would be biased towards dictators and regimes. The U.N. is not capable of allowing free countries only the right to vote. This is contradictory to the purpose of the United Nations. Nations would debate in the
forum of the United Nations on the matter if they can vote or not in General Assembly or Security Council of the U. N. Similarly, the United Nations prides itself as an international humanitarian group, yet allows members with non-humanitarian policy and attitude such as China to continue having voting rights on Humanitarian issues, even though these countries greatly suppress and ignore the humanitarian rights of even their own people. This ground for exclusion would further reduce the number of members capable of voting. Again, this is not likely to happen.

The fourth and final reason why the United Nations is useless is on the rise of terrorism. The UN does not formally recognize any country as a terrorist state. Furthermore, terrorists are not interested in the politics of debating in a public forum, such as the United Nations, to discuss and work out solution to their issues. Therefore, the U.N. does not get involved in politics with terrorist groups. As a result, the United Nations is completely blind to terrorist groups, has no plans of addressing terrorism, and has no intention of changing its policy. The fact that the United Nations, as the largest international organization that promotes peace, is completely unable to address terrorism is further proof that the U.N. is ineffective.

The United Nations has proven itself as a failure during its entire history and will continue being useless. Maybe if peaceful countries withdraw their membership and stop participating in the United Nations in protest, the solution will force the United Nations to abandon its old methods of dealing with non-peaceful and non-humanitarian nations.