



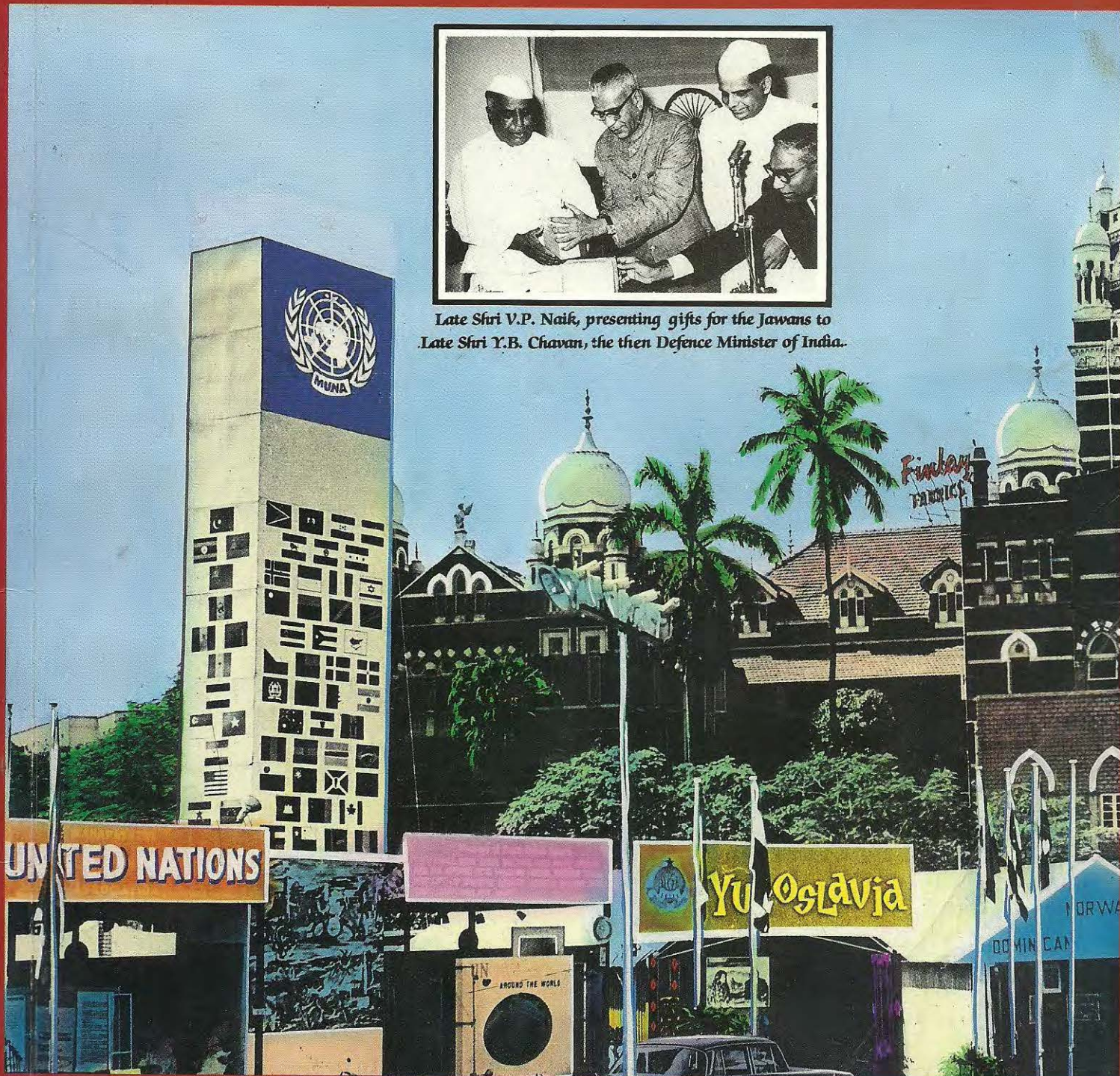
*Silver Jubilee Year-1990*

**MAHARASHTRA UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION**

**UN DAY**



*Late Shri V.P. Naik, presenting gifts for the Jawans to  
Late Shri Y.B. Chavan, the then Defence Minister of India.*



**MUNA Pavillion at the International Tourist Fair 1967  
inaugurated by Late Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi.**

With a pen

S. H. Pawar

S. H. Pawar

**This Souvenir is dedicated  
to  
Hon'ble Mr. Sharad Pawar  
Chief Minister, Maharashtra State  
and  
former President,  
Maharashtra United Nations Association  
for his patronage  
to the promotion of ideals of peace by us**



**Hon'ble Mr. Sharad Pawar, Chief Minister of Maharashtra**

**Hon'ble Mr. Sharad Pawar**  
*Chief Minister of Maharashtra*

He was born on December 12, 1940. At the age of 20 years he directed Youth Movement of the State Congress. At 22 he led the work of the Youth Defence Committee when the Chinese invaded India's territory. At UNESCO's invitation he studied the youth movement in Japan, U.S.A. Canada, U.K. and Germany and took part in the international Youth Congress in Tokyo and Cairo.

He has led the Maharashtra Youth Congress Organisation with active association in labour, education and co-operative movement besides being a journalist. He took lead in implementing the minor lift-irrigation schemes.

He has held various offices in sports, arts and social service organisations, and has been a President of the Maharashtra United

Nations Association. He was offered the post of a High Court Judge twice but declined when he resigned to join Congress (Indira) having been Advocate General earlier in 1973,

He has several ministerial posts such as Minister for Irrigation, Social Welfare, Tribal Welfare, Law and Judiciary, Finance, Urban Development, Industry, Public Health and was Deputy Chief Minister of Maharashtra State.

He is widely travelled and has various hobbies, sports being one. His range of interests include economics and irrigation. He is an enthusiastic political organiser and social activist.

Affable, unassuming and considerate, Mr. Pawar is the Leader of the Maharashtra State.

# MESSAGES

# Message of the Secretary-General of the United Nations

## United Nations Day 24 October, 1990

United Nations Day comes this year after possibly the most historic 12-month period in the life of our organization. It has been a period of solid accomplishment.

The success of the complex operations in Namibia and Central America have shown the ability of the United Nations to manage transitions from conditions of conflict and upheaval to those of peace. At the same time, the notable advances made in the settlement of several other major international disputes have brought home sterling lessons about the crucial role of the United Nations. It can, and does, deliver on its promises.

This series of positive developments has had as its backdrop the termination of the cold war and the end of the paralysis that had seized peace-making over four decades, with the lucidity thus regained, the value of multi-lateral effort can no longer be in question. We are entitled to a measure of pride that, through the difficult and daunting years of the recent past, we did not let our conviction be weakened that the procedures of our organization are eminently practical and there is no substitute for them.

It is, however, the very nature of our vocation that we can never be permitted to rest on our laurels. A restless, rapidly chang-

ing world situation permits no complacent simplifications. Then, again the persistence of some old conflicts that gravely threaten peace and the eruption of the crisis resulting from the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, with its incalculable consequences, subject the Organization to a severe test. What is being tested is nothing less than the Organization's capacity to establish the Rule of Law in international relations and its consistence in applying its principles.

Moreover, we cannot forget that while the Iron curtain has been brought down, the poverty curtain still separates two parts of the world community. A new global dispensation will remain more a hope than a reality as long as the anxieties and strains caused by the disparity between the rich and the poor societies remains unremedied. Nor is such an order compatible with frequent and often massive violations of human rights.

What we have to bear in mind is that the more the United Nations is moved to the centre of the stage in the conduct of world affairs, the higher is the level of our responsibility and the more exacting will be the tasks laid on us. Given the dedication of all who work for the United Nations, I have no doubt that this thought will act as a spur rather than a bridle on our efforts.

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## Message by William H. Draper III Administrator, United Nations Development Programme on the occasion of UNDP's 40th Anniversary

There can be no Development without Peace, and no lasting Peace without Development. The two go hand in hand, as we have seen throughout the history of the United Nations. UN Day 1990 finds us observing 40 years of Multilateral Technical Co-operation for Development, and the 40th Anniversary of the United Nations Development Programme. Those 40 years have proven that development works especially when it is focussed on people and accompanied by Peace.

In the 1990s, we must pursue a policy of Human Development. This means keeping people at the forefront of all decisions, choos-

ing books and medicine over guns. It translates economic growth into nutrition, health and shelter for the members of society. It means gaining lives for people in a way that leaves a polluted planet and generous resources for their children. It means nurturing in freedom for people to pursue their individual and social goals. Only through Human Development can we hope that the next 40 years will see people in all countries enjoying creative and healthy lives. Only Human Development can assure a lasting peace assured.

### On the occasion of the 45th Anniversary of the Founding of the United Nations, I greet the Government and people of India through the Columns of the Esteemed Daily "The Economic Times"

This has been one of the most eventful years in the history of United Nations. The momentous changes in the countries of Eastern Europe have brought about the reunification of West Germany and East Germany through a peaceful process. The United Nations is confident that the re-united Germany will be a strong force for peace in Europe and the world and bring to bear her undoubted economic strength to advance world economic growth and cooperation. There have been other important peace initiatives in Asia and Latin America. The United Nations has reacted to the Gulf crisis firmly, rapidly and unitedly. It is our sincere hope that the international community will further succeed in re-establishing the International Law and ensure full adherence to the provisions of the U.N. Charter on the sovereignty and inviolability of Independence of all nations, big and small in the Gulf Region.

A most satisfactory achievement of U.N. this year was the adoption of the Declaration on the Right of the Child after more than a

decade of deliberations and discussions. I think we all can be proud of this achievement.

This year marks the 40th anniversary of the UNDP Multilateral Technical Co-operation Programme. In implementing this programme, UNDP also performs the vital function of a nodal agency for a very large number of Specialised Agencies and Regional Commissions of the U.N. system.

India has been an important partner as well as a contributor to the UN Assistance Programme. In addition to other agencies of the U.N. System, the World Food Programme, U.N. Development Fund, UNICEF, WHO, UNIDO and ILO provided valuable support to social and economic development efforts in India. In the evolution of strategies and programmes in the area of development has been an international one. Indian contributions scores the U.N. view that for the Economic Cooperation to succeed it is a two way traffic.

**Minister**



**Maharashtra State**

**MINISTER FOR  
Finance and Planning  
GOVERNMENT OF MAHARASHTRA  
Mantralaya, Bombay-400 032.**

October 17, 1990.

I am glad to know that the Maharashtra United Nations Association (MUNA) and the Directorate General of Information and Public Relations, Bombay, have arranged U. N. Day Celebrations on October 24, 1990.

The United Nations Organisation has played a very important role in maintaining world peace and solving conflicts among the nations by mediation. The World situation today cannot be considered as peaceful in view of the present Gulf Crisis. But every democratic nation hopes that the crisis could be overcome by meaningful dialogue between the countries concerned. I am glad that the MUNA has been highlighting the United Nations Organisations constructive activities to achieve human progress.

I wish the U. N. Day celebrations all success.

**Ramrao Adik**



# OUR UN CONNECTIONS

# WORLD FEDERATION OF UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATIONS

On 2 August 1946, WFUNA was founded in Luxembourg following a special resolution passed by the UN General Assembly to create a people's movement to educate people on the work of the United Nations and to increase support for the UN by arousing public opinion in favour of the UN.

WFUNA enjoys Consultative status (category 1) with the UN Economic and Social Council and has consultative and/or working relationship with UNESCO, UNICEF, WMO, FAO, ILO and WHO.

## ABOUT WORLD FEDERATION OF UN ASSOCIATIONS

In recognition of the work done by UNAs and WFUNA, the UN General Assembly at its 41st session took an unprecedented action by adopting a Special Resolution commending WFUNA's achievements.

Considerable efforts have been undertaken to promote the Federation's aims world-wide.

## HEADQUARTERS

Postal Address: WFUNA/FMANU, PALIS DES NATIONS, 1221 GENEVA 10, SWITZERLAND.

Telephone : Geneva 988400 or 985850  
Cables : WORFEDUNA GENEVA

Street Address : Pavillons du Petit — Saconnex, 16 Avenue Jean Trembly, Geneva, Switzerland.

## ADDRESSES OF WFUNA OFFICES

### OFFICE AT U.N. HEADQUARTERS

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Telephone : (212) 7545610/11.  
Cables : WFUNA UNATIONS NEW YORK.

With UNAs in more than 64 countries spread over in all the five continents, the diversity has made WFUNA a very unique international non-governmental organisation. The United Nations Associations (UNAs) have throughout these years elaborated a constructive pattern of dialogue, which enabled them to approach complex world issues in a positive and balanced manner.

### OFFICE IN VIENNA

Room E-1383, Vienna International Centre, P.O. Box 500 1400 Vienna, Austria.  
Telephone : (222)2631 ext. 4287,  
Cables : WFUNA UNATIONS VIENNA.

### OFFICE AT UNESCO

NGO Room (S 388/Box 40), UNESCO, 7 Place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris, France.

### REGIONAL OFFICE FOR AFRICA

Asamoah (Kwame Nkrumah Conference Centre),  
P.O. Box 2329 Accra, Ghana,  
Telephone : Accra 65461 ext. 480.  
Cables : GUNA ACCRA.

### REGIONAL OFFICE FOR ASIA & PACIFIC

Tower House, 2A, Chowringhee Square, Calcutta-700 069. Telephone: 28-2856/28-3789.  
Cable : HIGHCIRCLE.

## MEMBER UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATIONS

AFGHANISTAN  
AUSTRIA  
BOLIVIA  
CANADA  
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DENMARK  
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TANZANIA  
ZAMBIA

ARGENTINA  
BANGLADESH  
BULGARIA  
CHINA  
CYPRUS  
EGYPT  
REPUBLIC OF GERMANY  
GUATEMALA  
ICELAND  
IRELAND  
ITALY  
KENYA  
MALI  
MONGOLIA  
NEW ZEALAND  
PAKISTAN  
POLAND  
SENEGAL  
SPAIN  
SWEDEN  
TUNISIA  
UNION OF SOVIET  
SOCIALIST REPUBLICS  
YUGOSLAVIA  
ZIMBABWE

AUSTRALIA  
BARBADOS  
BURKINA FASO  
CONGO  
CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
FINLAND  
GHANA  
HONG KONG  
INDIA  
ISLE OF MAN  
JAMAICA  
LUXEMBOURG  
MAURITIUS  
NEPAL  
NIGERIA  
PERU  
REPUBLIC OF KOREA  
SIERRA LEONE  
SRI LANKA  
SWITZERLAND  
TURKEY  
UNITED KINGDOM  
UNITED STATES OF  
AMERICA

## HONORARY PRESIDENTS

Professor Dr. Roberto Ago, Italy  
Mr. Hilary G. Barratt-Brown, Spain  
Professor Remigiusz Bierzanek, Poland  
Ms. Angie Brooks Randolph, Liberia  
Ms. P. H. Graamans, Netherlands  
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Netherlands  
Amb. Aly Khalil, Egypt  
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Mr. Nelson Mandela, South Africa  
Ms. Winnie Mandela, South Africa  
Mr. Ram Niwas Mirdha, M.P., India  
Professor Dr. Grigory Morozov, U.S.S.R.  
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Mr. S. D. Pandey, India  
Mr. L. H. Horace Perera, Switzerland  
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S. E. M. Leopold Sedar Senghor, Senegal.  
Academician Professor Dr. Mihaly Simai,  
Hungary  
Mr. Francis H. H. Strasser-King, Sierra Leone  
The Honourable Mr. Chief Justice Michael A.  
Tryantafylides, Cyprus  
Mr. Sidney H. Willner, U.S.A.

## OFFICERS OF THE FEDERATION

### President

Mr. Maurice F. Strong, Canada

### Vice-President

Chief Olu Fadairo, M.O.N., Nigeria  
Mr. Syed Ahmad Hossain, Bangladesh  
Professor Dr. Klaus Hufner, Germany  
Mr. Jose Sotelo Marban, Mexico  
Ms. Felicitas Richter, German Democratic  
Republic  
Mme Marie-Jeanne Tsonga, Congo

### Treasurer

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### Chairman of the Executive Committee

Mr. Bi Jilong, China

### Vice-Chairman of the Executive Committee

Mr. Malcolm C. Harper, United Kingdom  
Mr. Gregory Kovrizhenko, U.S.S.R.

### Secretary-General

Dr. Marek Hagnmajer, Poland

## MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Mr. O. P. Ahuja, India  
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Mr. Haluk Gerger, Turkey  
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Mr. Mike Awua-Asamoah, Ghana  
Ms. Andree Y. Piaget,  
Ms. Annabelle Wiener, U.S.A.  
Mr. Sitaram Sharma, India  
Mr. Ricardo Dominice,

# Indian Federation of United Nations Associations (IFUNA) A Mini U. N. in India

BY

S. D. PANDEY

Secretary-General, IFUNA

The late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru visualised a vital role the people can play in imbibing United Nations ideals in their lives. He was the man of conviction that the people, if given confidence, can manage themselves better than the politicians sitting in ivory towers.

He inaugurated the Indian Federation of United Nations Associations, and in those days when money was scarce, he sanctioned a sum of Rs. 60,000 to hold World Plenary Assembly of WFUNA, which was held at Vigyan Bhawan, New Delhi in January 1965.

Unfortunately he died in 1964 but to the world it is his contribution to the Conference which was attended by more than two hundred delegates from more than sixty countries which attributed to his foresight to bring together people of all creed and colour.

As a matter of fact, in 1962, an Asian Seminar was organised under Shri Nehru's patronage with late Shri C.D. Deshmukh and Smt. Rajan Nehru as Director and President respectively.

India has today a network of Branches spread over almost all States like Maharashtra, West Bengal, Gujarat, Tamil Nadu, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Kerala, Chandigarh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Karnataka, Bihar and Orissa, and perhaps amongst seventy National UNAs in the world, India is the leader.

India is the only country which has attended all the World Meets held by WFUNA in different parts of the world.

India is again the only country which runs the Institute of United Nations Studies which caters to the needs of the teachers, students, businessmen and people from all walks of life to understand and participate in the work of the United Nations and Specialised Agencies. Late Dr. Nagendra Singh, Judge at the International Court of Justice, The Hague, as the Executive Chairman of the Institute, built it up as a prestigious faculty.

IFUNA has had men of distinction as Patron Presidents and Presidents such as Shri

Ram Niwas Mirdha, late Dr. P. S. Lokanathan, Smt. Rajan Nehru, late Smt. Savitri Nigam.

WFUNA has had effective participation by India and among the galaxy of notable personalities from different parts of the world, Shri Ram Niwas Mirdha and Shri S.D. Pandey have been elected as the Honorary Presidents of WFUNA (Geneva).

The Branches all the year round organise symposiums and seminars on subjects relevant to the United Nations, international relations, avoidance of wars, maintenance of peace and take a critical view of the United Nations' role in the life of people and nations.

IFUNA proposes to hold a World Conference 'Building Understanding And Respect between people of Diverse Religious or Beliefs'.

WFUNA has now a regional office in Asia and the Pacific at Calcutta with Shri Sitaram Sharma as its Director. WFUNA recently organised a Conference of Asia and the Pacific in Mongolia. The Secretary-General of the United Nations designated IFUNA as a Peace Messenger.

Volumes can be filled in describing the achievements of IFUNA but now we have to plan a strategy to eliminate environmental pollution, and to involve the students and youth in promoting a healthier approach to life.

It is a tragedy that we do not have a man of wisdom of the late Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. We have not lost our hopes that the present Ministry of External Affairs shall realise the importance of IFUNA in the same spirit and understanding which late Panditji did and that it is the people who can build bridges of understanding amongst the peoples of the World.

We look forward to the support to IFUNA by the Government of India in an appropriate manner. All the same, the people, by and large, support the aims, activities and objectives of the Federation and during 1990 itself a National Convention will be held which will adopt a more comprehensive revised Constitution.

# Indian Federation of UN Associations (IFUNA)

*President*      *Executive Chairman*      *Deputy Executive Chairman*      *Secretary-General*  
**Ram Niwas Mirdha**      **M. M. Agarwal**      **S. D. Pandey**      **O. P. Ahuja**

Address : 12, Janpath Lane Barracks, New Delhi-110001.

## List of U. N. Associations affiliated to IFUNA

### MR. NIRMAL SINGH

Secretary-General  
Assam UN Association  
North-East Body Builders,  
Lokhra Charali By Pass (NH-37),  
P. O. Saukuchi, Gawahati-780 018.

### MR. P. M. PARVATIYAR

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South Gandhi Maidan  
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Phone : 21851.

### MR. K. B. SINGH

Secretary-General  
Chandigarh UN Association,  
1169/21-B, Chandigarh,  
Ph. Residence-22394

### MR. SATYAM K. PATEL

Secretary-General  
Gujarat UN Association,  
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Ahmedabad-380 009.  
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### MR. A. R. CHAUHAN

Secretary-General  
Himachal Pradesh U.N.  
Association.  
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Shimla-171 005.  
Phone : 3673

### MR. S. K. GHOSH

Secretary-General  
Kanpur UN Association,  
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Ph. Residence-61645

### MR. TALLAM N. RATHNAM

President  
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### MR. S. B. SAXENA

Secretary-General  
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Phone : 495-1785

### MR. ROBERT KAIZANANG

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Manipur UN Association,  
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Imphal-795 001

### MR. V. N. KAK

President  
Rajasthan UN Association,  
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### MR. J. VAIDYANATHAN

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### MR. HARDEV BAKSHI

Secretary-General  
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### MRS. USHA KRIS

President  
Kerala Federation  
UNESCO Associat  
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New Delhi-11.

### MR. SITA RAM S

Secretary-General  
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Phone : 282856/28

### MR. SUDIP SEN

President  
Orissa Federation  
U.N. Associations  
Business Centre,  
United Bank Build  
Cuttack-753 001

### MR. A. S. TALWA

Secretary-General  
National Federati  
Associations in I  
C-2/27, East of K  
New Delhi-65.

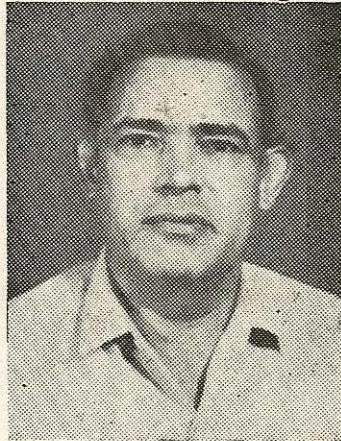
### MR. SURESH SE

President  
United Nations C  
Indian Youth,  
C-194, Vivek Vi  
Delhi-110032.

### MR. S. MITRA

Secretary-General  
Madhya Pradesh  
UN Associations  
E-1/34, Arora Co  
, Bhopal 462016

## Our Chief Guest



### **Hon'ble Professor Javed Iqbal Khan**

*Minister for Housing, Slum Improvement, House Repairs and Construction, Special Assistance and Aukaf*

Born on October 1, 1943 in U. P. After passing M.Sc., B.Ed. he served as Professor and Head, Department of Mathematics and Statistics, Maharashtra College of Arts, Science and Commerce. He has been an active member in his college and university days and has been a member of the Faculties of Arts, Science and Commerce, University of Bombay.

During his political carrier, he has been Joint Secretary of Bombay Regional Congress (I) Committee Chairman, Minority Cell, BRCC (I), Convenor, Teachers' Cell and In-charge, Bombay

Pradesh Youth Congress. He has also been a member of Haj Committee. Professor Javed Khan is a linguist knowing Urdu, Hindi, English, Marathi and Arabic languages.

He was first elected MLA in 1985 and again in 1990. He has held various ministerial post handling different portfolios.

Professor Javed Khan has a humane approach towards various problems. He is unassuming and helpful to all irrespective of class to which they belong. His simplicity is proverbial.

## Presiding



**Hon'ble Nana M. Chudasama**

*Sheriff of Bombay*

Born on June 17, Nana has only one commandment 'Commitment is an act, not a word.'

He was instrumental in bringing the concept of Jaycees to Bombay and organised the movement throughout the country. He was awarded the Most Outstanding Young Man of India Award of the Indian Jaycees in 1963.

Championing freedom from want he pioneered an India-based Service Organisation, Giants International. As the World Chairman, Nana has brought to his office an air of great distinction. He has been able to put across the poor and common man's case on various issues with eloquence. He was actively connected with Indo-American Society.

He is the Past President of W.I.A.A. He has been the President of the OPUL (Organisation for Public Life). He is the founder and President of Common Man's Forum. He is the Vice-Chairman of the Kidney Foundation and is connected with the Federation of Bombay Blood Banks. He is the President of the ICL Education Society. He is the Vice-President of the J. K. Sports Foundation. He is also the founder and President of Beautify Bombay organisation and is the author of the catchy and popular banners which appear regularly above the Talk of the Town Restaurant, at Marine Drive. He has been the Sheriff for two consecutive years, the only one to hold office twice.



# OUR GUEST SPEAKERS

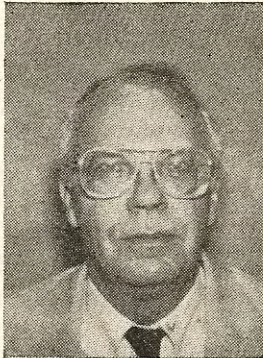


## **Dr. Victor N. Egorov, Consul General for USSR and Dean of the Consular Corps**

Born in 1943 in a provincial town of Central Russia

- 1966 - graduated from Moscow State University, Institute of Oriental Languages
- 1966 - 1971 - worked as a Radio - Journalist
- 1971 - 1974 - researcher, Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of the USSR
- 1975 - joined Diplomatic Service
- 1975 - 1981 - on assignment in Embassy of the USSR in India
- 1981 - 1986 - Counsellor, Head of India Desk in South Asian Dept., Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR
- Consul General of the USSR in Bombay from January 10, 1987
- Ph. D. Degree (History) received from the Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of the USSR, in 1974

Married, two children, wife in Bombay



## **CHARLES A. MAST**

### **Consul General, United States of America, Bombay**

Charles (Chuck) Mast has been Consul General in Bombay since August 30, 1990.

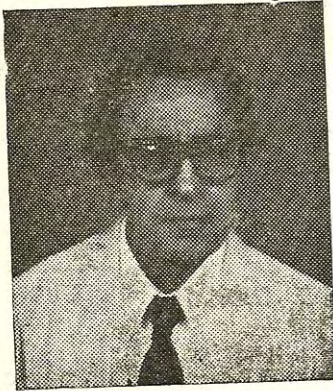
Chuck joined the Foreign Service in 1967. He has served as a Consular Officer in Curacao ( 1967 - 69 ), Commercial Officer in Tehran ( 1970-72 ), American Consul in Tabriz (1972-74), Economic Officer in Ankara (1974 - 77), Financial and Development Officer in Jakarta (1981-84), Economic Counselor in Kuala Lumpur (1984-87), Economic Counselor in Dhaka (1987 - 88) and Deputy Chief of Mission in Dhaka (1988-90)

Washington assignments have been ten months of Farsi language training, the 26-week economics course and 1978-1981 in EB/OT/GCP working on developing country trade policy issues.

Born and raised in South Dakota, Chuck graduated from Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Michigan in 1963. He (and his wife, who also graduated from Calvin) served as Peace Corps volunteers in Turkey from 1963 - 1965. Chuck received an M.A. in American History from the University of Maryland in 1967.

Chuck is married to Margaret (Mugs) Kalsbeek from South Dakota. Mugs is an elementary school teacher and has taught in Jakarta, Silver Spring, Maryland, Ankara, Tehran and Curacao. The Masts have two daughters: Anya, 22, a senior at Calvin college, and Mikal, 20, a junior at Calvin College.

## Mr. JUSTICE B. LENTIN



- Born : Bombay, 25th July, 1927
- Education : St. Mary's School, Bombay  
St. Xavier's High School, Bombay  
St. Xavier's College, Bombay  
Government Law College, Bombay  
Middle Temple, London
- Legal Practice : January, 1950/ March 1965
- Judiciary : (i) Judge, City Civil and  
Sessions Court (March 1965)
- (ii) Principal Judge, City  
Civil and Sessions Court  
(December 1972/ March 1973)
- (iii) Judge, High Court, Bombay  
(March 1973 - 24th July 1978)

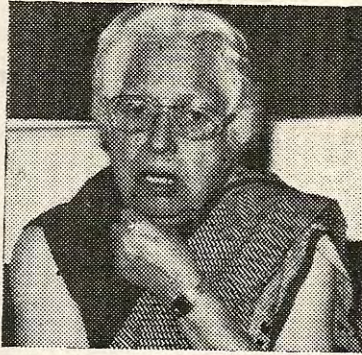


**Ms. Alka Bhatnagar**

Alka Bhatnagar is an Arts Graduate with additional Degree in Music. She obtained a number of awards in musical competitions and is a musician of an all-India repute. She is both a classical and pop singer with imaginative and creative faculty with her own style of singing. She was invited to Singapore and a cassette of devotional songs has also been released. She is making all out efforts to project traditions of Indian music to people of different countries through varied forms of renderings.

# **MUNA IN BRIEF**

## Founder Office-Bearers



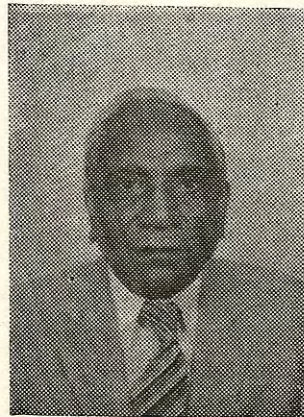
H. E. Vijayalakshmi Pandit  
(the then Governor)



Late M. S. Kannamwar  
(the then Chief Minister)



Late H. H. Ismail  
(the then Consul General for  
Dominican Republic)



S. B. Saxena

## Governing Council (1989-1990)

### President

D. D. Sathe ICS (Retd.)

### Vice-President

T. K. Tope

### Executive Vice-Chairmen

A. A. Premji

R. W. L. Callaghan

Commodore Om Prakash, I.N. (Retd.)

### Secretary-General

S. B. Saxena

### Additional Secretary-General

Judge S. B. Sonar

### Treasurer

K. D. Mehta

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Ms. H. M. Hingorani

Ms. M. R. Mukherjee

V. Kumar

### Joint Secretary

A. A. Syed

### Members

G. L Dhandhania

Abbas Lehry

Francis D'Souza

Ms. Harita Agarwal

Commodore R.P.Rai, I.N. (Retd.)

D. J. Madan, I.A.S. (Retd.)

D. K. Bhatnagar

Dr. A. C. Johari

Ram Jethmalani, M.P.

Dr. B. S. Johri

Zakaullah Siddique

G. V. Bansi

Ms. Megha Patil

## Our Committees

### U. N. Day Committee

Chairman : Dr. T. K. Tope  
Secretary : Ms. Harita Agarwal  
Members : Anis Naqvi  
F. T. Khorakiwala  
Mohan Telang  
S. N. Mehta  
Ms. Shefali Shah

### Programme Committee

Chairman : S. P. Godrej  
Secretary : Ms. H. M. Hingorani  
Members : A. A. Premji  
Ms. Dwarka Deo  
K. K. Jain  
Bharat Kumar Sharma

### Souvenir Committee

Chairman : R. W. L. Callaghan  
Consul General for Saudi Arabia  
Secretary : Ms. M. R. Mukherjee  
Members : Azam Shaikh  
Sanjay Chhikara  
P. C. Kunhi Moosa

### Reception Committee

Chairman : H. E. Abdullah M. Al Obaid  
Consul General for Saudi Arabia  
Secretary : Amirali I. Jaffer

#### Members

A. A. Premji  
Ms. Dwarka Deo  
P. C. Kunhi Moosa  
Anis Naqvi  
Bharat Kumar Sharma  
Gafoor Lakha  
Mrs. H. M. Hingorani  
M. C. Nair  
Z. A. Bandukwalla  
Zakaullah Siddiqui  
Abdul Qadar  
A. C. Srivastava  
Dr. H. V. Pophale  
Prakash Chikhalikar  
V. Kumar  
Dr. F. J. Padaria

Tony Jatia  
S. K. Jain  
Dr. M. A. Patankar  
A. A. Syed  
S. L. Ahuja  
F. T. Khorakiwala  
S. N. Mehta  
Dr. A. C. Johari  
C. B. Udaseen  
K. T. Manek  
K. M. Abraham  
D.J. Madan, I.A.S (Retd.)  
Ms. Prakash Chikhalikar  
Capt. Kulin Ashar  
Ms. Suman Srivastava  
Ms. A. Khanna  
Ms. Rusi N. Dastoor

Mohan Telang  
A. H. Chhatriwala  
K. K. Jain  
M. I. Kazi  
H. A. Daginawala  
Virendra Kapadia  
Ms. Flavia Lewis  
Y. H. Varawalla  
Ms. Archana Kumar  
Dr. Rusi N. Dastoor  
Dr. Shoaib F. Padaria  
Dr. M. K. E. Menon  
Rajiv Saxena  
Ms. Sharmila Sonar  
Ms. Manju Ashar  
P. J. Mathew



# The MUNA Can Serve You

## ● What it is... ● What it does... ● How it Works...

The name of the Organisation is Maharashtra United Nations Association called "MUNA".

It represents a vital link between the United Nations and the people of Maharashtra. Through MUNA, you, the people, can achieve many of your goals. You can arrange for direct help on a particular project, ask for information, get advice.

The MUNA helps you

- (a) To further the objectives of the United Nations and to work in harmony with sister Associations through the Indian Federation of United Nations Associations at Delhi and thence through the apex body of the World Federation of United Nations Associations at Geneva.
- (b) To educate public opinion towards promoting a peoples, movement for the United Nations,
- (c) To interpret and to represent the views and sentiments of the Indian people in respect of international solidarity and cooperation among men, women and children of all classes and creeds, and
- (d) To organise seminars, debates either regional or international on some aspects of the promotion of human rights, for example, a regional seminar in Thailand to discuss the topic of participation of women in public life, an international conference of outstanding journalists in Geneva etc.

### MEMBERSHIP

Membership in the MUNA is open to all those who are interested in the objectives of the Organisation and who are judged by the Organisation to be able and willing to carry out these obligations.

"We, the people" are the opening words of the United Nations Charter and it is YOU, the people working through the agency of MUNA, IFUNA and WFUNA, who can see to the fulfilment of promises of that Charter.

To promote social progress

To raise living standards

To reaffirm faith in fundamental rights

To practice tolerance

To live together in peace.

# THE BIRTH AND GROWTH OF MUNA

BY

S. D. PANDEY

*Honorary President, World Federation of United Nations Association*

Rome was not built in a day; but Maharashtra United Nations Association was actually built in six hours.

I remember the day when I called on Mr. S. B. Saxena at Bombay, introduced by late Dr. R. D. Vidyarthi of the Engineering Association of India, Calcutta. Perhaps it was 11 a.m. when I called on him at his residence as he was resting being slightly indisposed. He heard me for about fifteen minutes and picked up the telephone and rang up his friend late Shri H. H. Ismail, Consul General for Dominican Republic in his office and we both immediately went to him. He summed up by saying "United Nations is the Saviour of humanity and is a religion to which all of us belong".

He and Mr. Saxena discussed the formation of the Association for half an hour and they drew up a list of persons whom they agreed to nominate to the *ad hoc* body to form the Association.

Mr. Saxena then contacted personally another friend of his, the then Home Minister of Maharashtra, Shri P. K. Sawant and requested him to become the President but he suggested that the Chief Minister should be made the President. He rang up Shri M. S. Kannamwar who immediately agreed to accept the Presidentship. We thereafter called on him to apprise of the details of the proposed Association.

Mr. Saxena had not yet given up and he then sought an immediate appointment with the then Governor of Maharashtra, H.E. Shrimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit. We went to the Raj Bhavan and after a brief chat about the old days at Allahabad, Mr. Saxena requested her to become the Patron. She was extremely kind and not only accepted to be the Patron but also donated an Ivory Trophy which was presented to her by the people of Bombay when she was the President of the U.N. General Assembly. It was later named after

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to be used for the cause of children who were so dear to him.

Thus almost within six hours the Maharashtra UNA was live with body and soul. Within a month Smt. Lakshmi N. Menon, the then Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, another friend of Mr. Saxena agreed at his request to inaugurate the Association which was done at the Bombay Presidency Radio Club. The function was attended by the United Nations officials and a galaxy of eminent personalities of Bombay.

It is a mystery to me as to how and from where Mr. Saxena collects the manpower, funds and patronage of the U.N. Officials in India and the Government of Maharashtra

It will be no exaggeration to mention that it is not only the organising capacity of Mr. Saxena that launches the activities but also his grasp of all what UN means to humanity in social and economic spheres.

Mr. Saxena was invited by the United Nations to serve as a Senior Advisor on different missions of various UN Agencies in a number of countries of the World.

Maharashtra UNA has the unique credit of organising an UN Pavillion at the International Tourist Fair, the first of its kind in India. It goes to the credit of this Association that youth and students have been involved in the voluntary services which the UNA renders to the people in need.

During Koyana earthquake and the periods of wars, the Association raised funds and sent volunteers in the earthquake affected area besides helping the Jawans and their families and undertaking various other welfare projects.

Maharashtra UNA members represented India at WFUNA International Conferences in Cyprus, USSR, China and Mongolia besides representing at a number of Summer Schools and in Goodwill Missions.



# From Birth to Adulthood

BY

S. B. SAXENA, SECRETARY-GENERAL

The Secretary-General of the Indian Federation of U. N. Associations, Mr. S. D. Pandey has already given a brief about MUNA. It is not possible for me to describe in detail what has happened since its inception. A few notable achievements are alone highlighted under headings given below :

A. Promotion of U.N. Ideals through meetings, seminars, group discussions, besides the organisation of exhibitions on U.N. related subjects, and activities related to the Specialised Agencies like WHO, UNICEF, UNESCO and celebration of specially designated U.N. days such as International Women's Year, Year of Disabled, Children's Year etc.

B. Promotion of International Understanding and goodwill by MUNA severally as well as jointly with other organisations.

C. Participation in International meetings and representations on delegations.

D. Social welfare projects for rendering assistance to people in need, locally or otherwise.

In order to obviate the strain of reading a bulk a visual presentation has been preferred and photographs of various functions are given.

A.1. UN Charter Day is celebrated each year on June 26. The stress on this day is laid on understanding the principles of the Charter and its implementation. It has been presided over by the Ministers and the High Court Judges. We had Hon'ble R.N. Tripathi and Hon'ble Mr. Justice Sharad Manohar, Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. H. Kania, Hon'ble Mrs. Justice Sujata Manohar and Hon'ble Sheriff of Bombay, Shri J. K. Nicolson.

A.2. U.N. Day is celebrated each year on October 24 in collaboration with the Government of Maharashtra. It is attended by dignitaries both from public and private life besides members of the Consular Corps. The function has been presided over by Government of India and State Government Ministers, Chief Justice of the High Court, Resident Representatives of the United Nations Development Programme in India, Directors of U.N. Centre, Vice-Chancellors and other prominent people in public life.

A three day U.N. Study Course and an All India Orientation Course on "The U.N. and the Development Decade" were organised besides organising film shows.

A.3. Human Rights Day is celebrated each year on 10th December and an attempt is made to highlight provisions of the Human Rights Charter. The subjects include various aspects of Human Rights such as racial discrimination, protection against torture and cruel treatment, rights of the child, rights of the women. This function has been presided over by Ambassador Homi J. H. Taleyarkhan, Mr. R. Stajduhar and Dr. J. S. Szusterntz, Director U.N. Information Centre, New Delhi, Vice-Chancellor T. K. Tope and late Dr. M.R. Vyas, Member Rajya Sabha.

Amongst the Judiciary, this function has been presided over by Hon'ble Chief Justice Mr. C. Mookerjee, Supreme Court Judge Hon'ble Mr. D. P. Madon, Supreme Court Judge Hon'ble Mr. M. H. Kania, Chief Justice Hon'ble Mr. M. N. Chandurkar, Chief Justice Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Deshmukh, Hon'ble Mr. Justice P. S. Shah, Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. K. Parekh, Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. K. Desai, Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. Lentin and Sheriffs of Bombay Mr. J. K. Nicolson and Mr. Nana Chudasama.

A.4. World Health Day is celebrated each year on April 7. MUNA had the honour of having the various Ministers of Health of Maharashtra Government to preside over the function. To name a few, Hon'ble Dr. Rafiq Zakaria, Hon'ble Shri S. B. Patil, Late Dr. J. Leon D'souza, and Late Hon'ble Shri B. A. Sawant.

Eminent Doctors participate in the theme of the year. Amongst those who participated on this day are Dr. S. P. Pednekar, Dr. D. V. Narula Dr. A. C. Johari, Dr. B. K. Goyal, Dr. B. S. Johri, Dr. R. K. Anand, Dr. Nand Keswani, Dr. R. D. Lele, Dr. H. V. Pophale and late Dr. V. D. Arora,

A National Conference on leprosy control was organised which was inaugurated by Hon'ble Shri Ram Niwas Mirdha, the then Minister of Textiles, Government of India.

A Health Exhibition was organised to highlight the work done by W.H.O. A Healthy Baby Competition was also held.

Bg

A.5. Children's Day is celebrated on November 14 by showing children's films, distribution of books and milk amongst orphanages of different denominations, children's parties along with film shows, games and refreshments and in one year a Nehru Badge and a booklet on Nehru were also distributed.

Special designated days such as International Women's Year are also celebrated.

A.6. During the International Tourist Year (1967) a special UN Pavillion was organised by the Association which was inaugurated by the Hon'ble Prime Minister of India, late Smt. Indira Gandhi.

Recently a UN Posters Exhibition was held at the Senate House of the University of Bombay followed by another exhibition at the M.V. College of Arts, Science and Commerce.

A.7. Activities related to UNESCO include organisation of painting competitions, cultural shows by physically handicapped persons, organisation of Mushairas (Urdu Poetry), Classical dance performances and organisation of U.N. Balls, Dance, Drama and Music competitions and performances.

Elocution contests and Essay competitions are held amongst schools and colleges. Award of prizes and Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial trophy are yearly features.

A programme of Interview Techniques was organised for the benefit of students, besides a Youth Camp for giving leadership training.

B. Participation in International Assemblies and Delegations.

A number of MUNA members have participated in International conferences. Secretary General was a member of the Indian Delegation at the WFUNA World Assembly held at Nicosia (Cyprus) and in Moscow. He was also a Deputy Leader of the Delegation to Mongolia and an Indian Delegate to China. Ms. Jayashree Ghia attended a seminar in Geneva. Ms. Jyotsna Tribhuvan, Advocate, Ahmednagar, Mr. P. D. Agarwal and Ms. Mithoo Patel represented MUNA at the International Summer School in Geneva. Judge S. B. Sonar was a member of IFUNA Delegation to Moscow representing MUNA. A number of our members attended the WFUNA Assembly at New Delhi.

## C. SOCIAL WELFARE PROJECTS

1. Assistance to physically handicapped MUNA has established two Telephone for physically handicapped persons. Smt. Ravi Bhushan donated generously through efforts of Dr. A. C. Johari. Another is being set up in Juhu area with efforts of Mrs. Kamla Verma of Delhi through efforts of Ms. Simi Viji. The third to be set up in the Colaba area.

2. Medical Assistance: MUNA, through various Medical Camps, has been able to provide substantial help to the poorer sections of the society. Both cash assistance for treatment and free spectacles have been provided. Ms. Praveen Contractor, Mukerjee Ms. Harita Agarwal and Mr. Vif have made tireless efforts to make these camps a success. Mr. V. Kumar has provided funds for the purchase of an ECG machine.

During the natural calamities like earthquakes, substantial relief in kind has been provided. Assam, Gujarat victims were the beneficiaries. Koyna earthquake victims, utensils, medicines and clothings besides cash were given. Two houses were constructed besides six wells and six tanks for supply at the initiative of the then Extra Government Minister for Assam, Shri P. K. Sawant. During India and China wars, large number of medicines were donated for the welfare of children besides adopting their children for education.

Our members have contributed to make this Association a success. There have been any failings, I alone am responsible for such lapses.

It is not possible to thank individually our admirers and supporters but it is our duty to mention those who were not able to achieve much. Our gratitude to them with a request to step up to the plate for the greater success of the Association.

Before I close, I must express my gratitude to all my colleagues specially Sathu, I.C.S. (Retd.) for their co-operation and support.

The present souvenir contains information on various bodies of MUNA. It is possible that some errors might have crept in for which the responsibility is

# Our Activities

## (I) Relief and Welfare Work

### (A) RELIEF WORK

1. Clothes, overcoats and blankets, apart from financial aid for construction of wells, to the famine stricken people of Bihar.
2. Donation of blankets to Tata Agricultural and Rural Training Centre in Phansa
3. Koyna earthquake relief work in the form of financial aid, clothes, utensils and medicines in Chiplun Taluka (Ratnagiri District)
4. Medicines, baby food, clothes and financial aid to Sholapur Drought Victims, and
5. Hearing aids and cash assistance to the deaf and mute children.

### (B) JAWAN'S WELFARE

Distribution of transistors, gift parcels, clothes and recreational material, besides adoption of Jawan's children and meeting their educational and other expenses.

### (C) ASSISTANCE TO DISABLED AND PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

Financial help to the disabled children and establishment of telephone booths for the physically handicapped in different areas of Bombay.

### (D) MEDICAL AID

1. Medical treatment through the Medical Unit since 1969
2. Medical Camps in different specialities such as ENT, Cancer, ECG, Eye (including free distribution of spectacles) in various parts of Bombay
3. Special Medical Camps for the treatment of women
4. Immunisation Camps

### E. MOBILE CRECHES for CHILDREN of CONSTRUCTION WORKERS

## (II) Educational and Cultural Activities

### (A) EDUCATIONAL

1. U. N. Film Shows
2. Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Trophy contests amongst educational institutions and award of cash prizes
3. Award of scholarships to deserving students
4. Orientation Course on U.N.
5. Leadership Training Camps
6. Teaching of foreign languages
7. Inter-School Musical/Elocution/Dramatics/Dancing competitions among school children
8. U.N. Study Courses
9. Seminars on various subjects like Social Justice For Women, Science of Civilization, Disarmament and Peace, Communalism.
10. Interview Techniques Courses
11. Exhibitions to highlight U.N. activities

### B. CULTURAL

1. Organisation of All India Mushaira
2. U.N. Ball
3. Russian Dance Ballet
4. Amrapali Dance Ballet
5. Gala Film Shows
6. Musical programmes by Music Director Shambhu Sen.
7. Qawali and Gazal programmes
8. Folk Dances
9. Dance performances by eminent dancers like Vyjayanthimala, Rita Devi and Sitara Devi
10. International Dance Performances

### (III) Health Education

#### (A) WORLD HEALTH DAY LECTURES

SUBJECTS	SPEAKERS/PARTICIPANTS	PRESIDED BY
1. Eradication of Small pox	Doctors V. D. Arora, J. C. Patel, D. J. Jussawala, S. S. Ajgaonkar, N. S. Vahia, D. V. Parulekar, Ms. Avabai, B. Wadia, D. N. Pai, Ms. Shanti Arora	Hon'ble V. P. Naik Chief Minister
2. Partners in Health	Eminent Doctors and members of MUNA	Hon'ble Dr. Rafi Zakaria, Minister Public Health and Aukaf H. E. Sri Prakash Governor of Maharashtra
3. Health, Labour and Productivity	Doctors D. N. Pai, Joe V. Desa H. V. Pophale	H. E. Nawab Ali Governor of Maharashtra
4. Early Detection of Cancer Saves lives	Doctors H. V. Pophale, D. D. Jussawala, P. A. Desai	Hon'ble Shri M. S. ... Minister for Transport
5. A Full Life Despite Diabetes	Doctors R. D. Sathe, J. C. Patel, S. S. Ajgaonkar, A. S. Godbole, M. K. Dhirwani, Mrs. Lalita Rao	Hon'ble Dr. Rafi Zakaria Minister for Health
6. Your Heart is your Health	Doctors K. K. Datey, C. V. Talwalkar, D. V. Narula, B. K. Goyal	Hon'ble S. K. ... Minister for Finance
7. Health Begins at Home	Doctors A. C. Johari, B. S. Johri H. V. Pophale, S. P. Pednekar	Hon'ble Smt. P. ... Minister for Social Health
8. Small Pox—Point of No Return	Doctors S. A. Kamat, Mrs. Saroj Jha, M. M. Chawla	Hon'ble Shri S. ... Minister for Labour and Cooperatives
9. Foresight Prevents Blindness	Doctors H. D. Dastoor, Rajendra T. Vyas, B. T. Maskati, R. H. Malyianji M. H. Joshi, J. R. Sethi, Mrs. Usha Om Prakash	Hon'ble Dr. J. ... Minister of State
10. Down with High Blood Pressure	Doctors T. H. Rindani, D. V. Narula, P. R. Singhvi, R. H. Parekh,	Hon'ble Shri ... Chairman Maharashtra
11. Smoking or Health : Choice is Yours	Doctors D. V. Narula, D. S. Saksena, P. A. Desai, B. S. Johari,	Hon'ble Dr. ... Minister for Labour and Urban Development
12. Add Life to Years	Doctors R. H. Dastoor, D. V. Narula, B. S. Johri	Hon'ble Shri ... Shinde, Minister
13. Health for All by the Year 2000. The countdown has begun	Doctors H. V. Pophale, D. V. Narula, N. H. Keswani, D. S. Saksena, B. S. Johri	

- |   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| 14. Children's Health Tomorrow's Wealth | Doctors A. C. Johari, P. M. Udani, H. V. Pophale, B. S. Johri             | Hon'ble Dr. (Mrs.) Lalita Rao, Minister for Public Health and Family Welfare |
| 15. Healthy Youth : Our Best Resource   | Doctors D. V. Narula, Sharad C. Shah, K. R. Mehta, P. Dhar, A. C. Johari, | Hon'ble Shri R. N. Mirdha, Union State Minister for Communications           |
| 16. Health for All — All for Health     | Doctors D. V. Narula, A. C. Johari, D. S. Saksena                         | Dr. N. H. Keswani  |

(B) National Conference on Leprosy Control and Public Education presided over by Hon'ble B. A. Sawant, Minister for Health

(C) Seminar on Drug Addiction and Control presided over by Hon'ble Mr. Justice Sharad Manohar, High Court, Bombay

(D) National Family Planning Week

#### (IV) Promotion of UN Ideals

Observance of UN Day

<sup>24/10</sup> The UN Day is celebrated each year on October 24 in collaboration with the Government of Maharashtra and eminent persons are invited to Speak on this occasion. Some of the distinguished dignitaries who have presided on the occasion and participated in the function are listed below:

Hon'ble M. S. Kannamwar (Chief Minister), Hon'ble S. K. Patil M. P., Hon'ble Dr. Lanka Sundaram, M. P. Hon'ble D. S. Desai (Home Minister), H. E. Mangaldas Pakvasa (Governor), H. E. Dr. P. V. Cherian (Governor), Hon'ble Homi J. H. Taleyarkhan (Minister), Hon'ble S. K. Wankhede (Minister), Hon'ble T. S. Bharde (Speaker), Hon'ble M. C. Chagla (Union Minister), Hon'ble V. P. Naik (Chief Minister), H. E. Nawab Ali Yavar Jung (Governor), Hon'ble M. A. Vairale (Minister), Dr. John Mc Diarmid Resident Representative UNDP New Delhi, Hon'ble Dr. M. B. Popat (Minister), Dr. T. K. Tope (Vice-Chancellor), Hon'ble P. K. Sawant (Minister), Mr. R. Stajduhar (Director U. N. Information Centre New Delhi), Hon'ble A. R. Antulay (Chief Minister), Hon'ble R.M. Pande (Minister), Hon'ble R. N. Mirdha (Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha), Hon'ble Shri S. Kundu (Union Minister of State), Hon'ble S. B. Chavan (Union Minister), Hon'ble

Y. B. Chavan (Union Minister), Hon'ble Shri Shivraj Patil (Speaker), Hon'ble R. A. Patil (Minister), Mr. Justice C. S. Dharmadhikari, Hon'ble Sharad S. Dighe (Speaker), Hon'ble Ramrao Adik (Minister), Hon'ble B. K. Goyal (Sheriff), Hon'ble Prof. S. M. I. Aseer (Minister), Mr. Justice B. Lentin, Mr. J. Berke (Resident Representative, UNDP, New Delhi), Hon'ble Ram Jethmalani, M.P. Mrs. Justice Sujata Manohar, H. E. Kona P. Rao (Governor), Hon'ble S. Nilangekar (Chief Minister), Dr. Sathyanathan (WHO, New Delhi), Mr. Justice P. B. Sawant and Mr. Justice Sharad Manohar,

(B) U.N. Charter Day <sup>26/6</sup>

It is celebrated on June 26 each year to highlight the important aspects of the U.N. Charter. Eminent personalities who have addressed the gathering on this occasion are : Hon'ble Ram Manohar Tripathi (Minister),

Hon'ble V. G. Prabhugaonkar (Minister), Hon'ble Ram Manohar Tripathi (Minister) Hon'ble J. L. Darda (Minister), Mr. Justice V. S. Deshpande (Chief Justice), Mr. Justice D. P. Madon (Judge, Supreme Court), Mr. Justice M. H. Kania (Chief Justice), Mr. Oman Al Dada (Canada), Mr. Yoshiaki Tahaka (Japan), Mr. Justice K. M. Reddy (Chief Justice), Mr. Justice H. H. Kantharia, Admiral S. Jain, Hon'ble J. K. Nicolson (Sheriff), Mr. Justice C. Mookerjee (Chief Justice), Dr. Rashmi Mayur and Hon'ble Nana Chudasama (Sheriff).

(C) Human Rights Day <sup>10/12</sup>

It is celebrated on December 10 to educate public opinion on Human Rights and to review the steps taken by the U.N. and its members in this direction.

(D) World Health Day <sup>7/4</sup>

A number of distinguished persons have spoken on Human Rights. To mention a few, they are Mr. H. Baumgartner, Director, U.N. Information Centre (New Delhi), Hon'ble Morarji Desai (Deputy Prime Minister), Hon'ble S. P. Kotwal (Lokayukt), Mr. Roger Polgar (Resident Representative, UNDP New Delhi), Mr. Justice B. N. Deshmukh (Chief Justice), Mr. Justice P. S. Shah (Lokayukt), Mr. Justice S. K. Desai and Mr. Justice N. K. Parekh.

#### (D) Children's Day

It is celebrated on Nov. 14. The activities include distribution of milk in orphanages, organising film shows and games, distribution of sweets, toys and books among children.

Medical camps for check-up by eminent Pedriaticians are also organised.

#### (V) Promotion of International Understanding

A number of receptions have been organised for dignitaries such as Mr. C. V. Narasimhan, Chef-de-Cabinet, United Nations, Her Imperial Highness Princess Ashraf Pahelvi (Iran), Madam M. A. Teller, (New Zealand), Delegates to International Eucharistic Congress, Delegates to World Federation of U.N. Associations, Student Delegation from USA Universities under American Field Service Programme, Hon'ble Minister S. A. Abdulla (Sudan) Mr. T. V. Holland (Australia), Dr. D. M. Bane (U.S.A.), Mr. A. D. Schutter (Belgium), Visiting Eye

Surgeon (U. K.), Commonwealth Conference Delegates visiting Barrister R. A. Sainaney (Canada), Delegates, Mr. Cecil Storey (Australia), Bhaichand Patel (Political Affairs UN, New York), Mr. James Jonah Secretary General, UN, New York, Delegates from twenty non-Aligned States, Dr. Keith Suter (Australia), Mr. Shubaili (Saudi Arabia), Ambassador and Members of the Delegation (China)

#### (VI) Receptions for Dignitaries

Receptions were held in honour of V. V. Giri, (President of India), Dr. Husain, (President of India), Dr. Gajendragadkar, (Vice-Chancellor, University), Mrs. Savitri Nigam, IFUNA, Mrs. Vimal Rastogi, Chairman, U.P.U.N. Association), Dr. Vyas M.P., Dr. J. Leon D'Souza Hon'ble S. Kundu, (State Minister External Affairs), Hon'ble Bhaichand Patel (Minister), Mr. Justice D. P. Khosa, Mr. Justice M. H. Kania of Supreme Court, India, Mr. Justice R. L. Aggarwal, M. I. Patel, Mr. Justice S.C. Pratap and M. Bhandare M.P.,

Hon'ble Mrs. Lakshmi N. Menon, Union Minister for External Affairs, Hon'ble V. K. Krishna Menon, Mrs. Rajan Nehru, Chairman IFUNA, Mrs. Tarkeshwari Sinha, M.P., K. K. Shah (Union Minister) and M. Pereira, Secretary General WFUNA

## OUR SOCIAL SERVICE



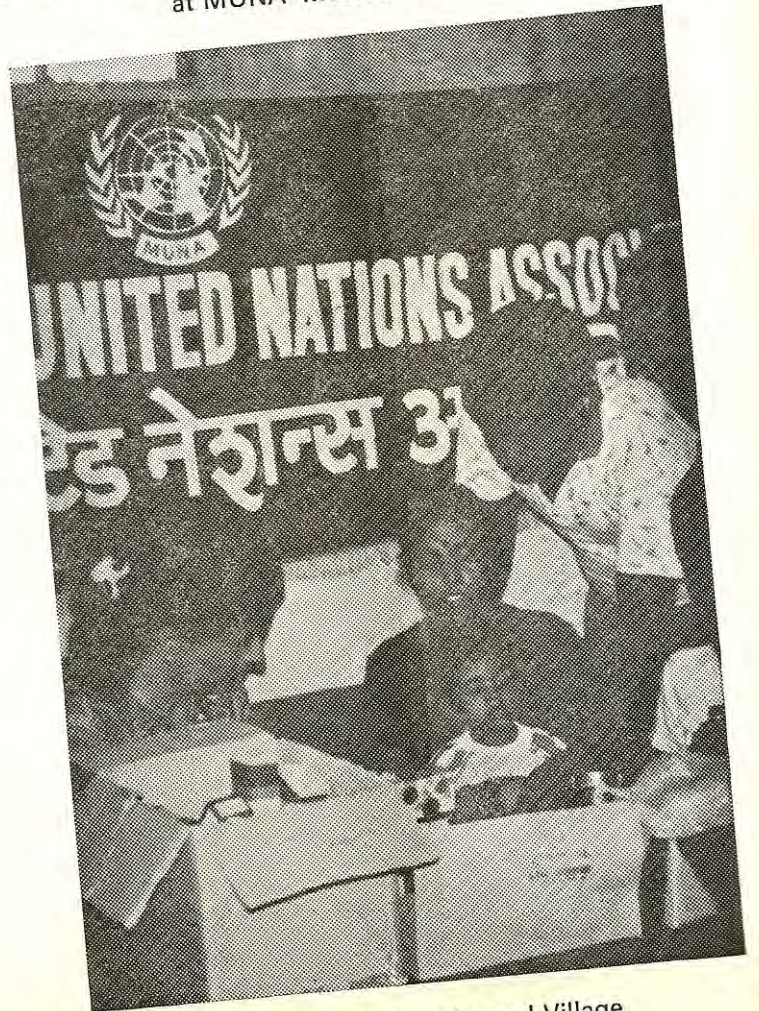
MUNA Telephone Booth for a blind person in Khar-Danda.  
Seen in the picture are (L) Dr. A.C. Johari and (R) Raju Shetty (Beneficiary)



Our Third Telephone Booth for a physically  
handicapped person at Jari Mari



ENT Check up being done by Dr. A.C. Johari, M.S., D.O.R.L.,  
at MUNA Medical Clinic



Medical Camp at Irangal Village  
Malad, Bombay (1989)



Eye Check up Camp at Vikhroli (a Bombay Suburb)



Dr. Hemant Gaikwad (3rd from right) explaining the details of the Camp



An old lady being examined for spectacles



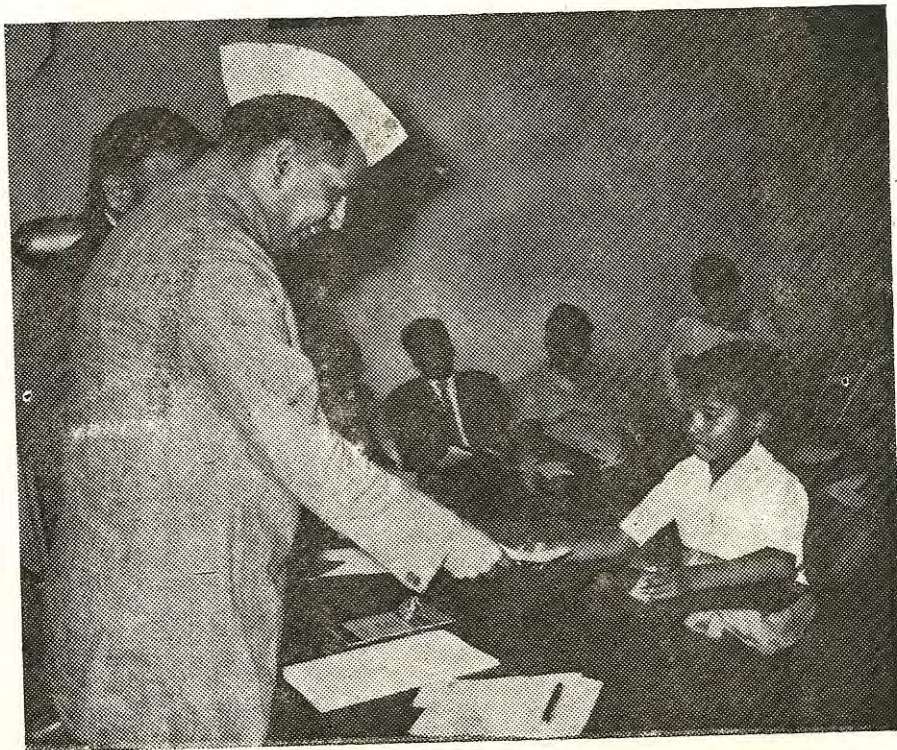
Medical Camp organised by the Maharashtra United Nations Association under the auspices of its Medical Unit through the courtesy of eminent doctors in various States



Members in the Koyna earthquake affected areas for distributing articles



Winner team of students receiving the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Trophy from Hon'ble Shri S. Kundu, the then State Minister of External Affairs



Hon'ble Shri Homi J. H. Taleyarkhan giving a prize to young Rajiv  
for his efforts for Jawans

## ESTABLISHMENT OF MUNA CLUB

MUNA has extended its activities to the educational institutions through the establishment of MUNA Clubs.

The aims and objects of the MUNA Clubs are to create an awareness amongst the children about the ideals of the United Nations. This awareness is important because of the large scale violence prevalent today and the children being innocent victims of it. The need today is to inculcate in the children the need for peace and security.

The establishment of MUNA Clubs as an independent unit in each educational institution will provide a platform for the children to contribute as individuals through participation and involvement in various activities — competitions, seminars, youth camps, leadership training programmes etc. Through interaction with each other the children will thus promote the ideals of peace and security by friendship and international understanding. The clubs will also help develop in the child a sense of being a part of UN on an individual level.

The inauguration of the St. Anthony's High School Chembur MUNA CLUB was held on

30th August, 1990. The Club was inaugurated by Mr. S. B. Saxena, Secretary-General. Mr. A. A. Sayed, Joint Secretary also spoke about the objectives of such Clubs. On this occasion a Public Speaking Competition on "The U.N. and the Child" was held for the students. The enthusiasm shown by the Principal and the students of this Institution was overwhelming. The children were awarded a first prize of Rs. 50 a second prize of Rs. 25 and three runners-up prizes of Rs. 15 each.

The inauguration of the MUNA Club is an eye opener for the need to help the children to shape a better tomorrow—a peaceful world for them to live in.

Buried was the bloody hatchet;  
Buried was the dreadful war clubs;  
Buried were all warlike weapons,  
And the war cry was forgotten.  
There was peace among the nations.

— LONGFELLOW —

MS. HEMA GANDHI  
PROJECT COORDINATOR



With Principal, Teachers and Members of MUNA CLUB

# OUR SILVER JUBILEE FUNCTION

The Silver Jubilee of the Maharashtra United Nations Association (MUNA) was celebrated with Hon'ble Mr. Ram Niwas Mirdha, President, World Federation of the UN Associations, presiding. Hon'ble Mr. Samarendra Kundu, M.P. and former Minister of State for External Affairs and Hon'ble Mr. Ramrao Adik, Minister for Finance, Government of Maharashtra were the Guests of Honour. Mrs. Lakshmi N. Menon, former State Minister for External Affairs, who had inaugurated the Association and came all the way from Trivandrum was the Chief Guest.

Secretary-General S. B. Saxena highlighted the activities of the Association since inception and silver mementos were presented to the Distinguished Guests, Founder Members and eminent workers. Hon'ble Mr. Ramrao Adik announced an initial contribution of Rs. 25000/- (Rupees Twenty five thousand) towards the Office Premises Fund of the Association and promised more substantial contribution of the Government of Maharashtra for the unique work done by MUNA in the cause of peace in the State of Maharashtra. He assured all support to the Association, whenever asked for.

Hon'ble Mr. Samarendra Kundu stressed the need for giving United Nations more powers and advised all member nations to surrender some of their powers to the World Body. He felt this step alone would enable the UN to be more effective. He further stressed upon the need for greater support to the MUNA which is the main source for disseminating information about the work done by the UN and its Agencies and encouraging. He assured all support to the Association.

Hon'ble Mr. R. N. Mirdha, who is also the President of the Indian Federation of UN

Associations, admitted that MUNA was the most active Association in India and asked all other Associations to follow its example. He further pointed out that MUNA alone has the distinction of not only propagating the UN ideals but also doing some work of its Agencies like WHO, UNESCO and UNICEF. He further emphasised upon the State Government to extend all support to MUNA which is the main representative of UN in the State.

Mrs. Lakshmi N. Menon in her address said that she was happy with the growth of the baby which she had given birth. She pointed out the need for strengthening the UN and its representatives like MUNA in the interest of lasting peace. She categorically stated that "UN is the only hope for the mankind".

Other Speakers included Hon'ble Mr. Homi J. H. Taleyarkhan, Hon'ble Sheriff Mr. Nana Chudasama and Mr. D. D. Sathe, I.C.S. (Retd.). Mr. S. Guha represented I.L.O; (U.N.). Hon'ble Mr. Justice Sharad Manohar, Chairman Reception Committee welcomed the Guests. The programme was preceded by recitation of a poem on UN by poet Ganesh Bihari Srivastava "Tarz" and a few couplets by Begum Tabassum. It was followed by a musical programme by Ms. Alka Bhatnagar, a dance recital by Ms. Jayantimala and a fashion show.

The function was attended by the elite of Bombay, consisting of diplomats, U.N. Officials, Government Officials, (Civil and Defence), prominent industrialists, educationists, bankers, doctors, film personalities, social workers, media and other eminent personalities.

A souvenir was brought out on the occasion highlighting the contribution of MUNA in various fields.



Ms. Lakshmi N. Menon lights the lamp, assisting her is Judge S. B. Sonar



Hon'ble Mr. R. R. Adik releasing the Souvenir



Hon'ble Mr. S. Kundu addressing the gathering



Mr. Ram Niwas Mirdha, Former State Minister for External Affairs, addressing the gathering

(L. to R.) Hon'ble R. R. Adik, Finance Minister, Ms. Lakshmi N. Menon, S. B. Saxena, R. N. Mirdha (standing), Hon'ble S. Kundu, M.P. and former Minister of State, Ministry of External Affairs, Hon'ble Homi Taleyarkhan and D. D. Sathe, I. C. S. (Retd.)



**THE TRAGEDY OF KUWAIT**  
**Human Rights-What are they?**

# Violation of U.N. Charter by Iraq

## Background

It appears that, according to the President of Iraq, Kuwait and United Arab Emirates were producing more oil than was fixed by OPEC. This resulted in lowering oil prices. Saddam Hussain did not want this to happen. He wanted higher oil prices to build the shattered economy of his country due to the long war with Iran. He was successful in so far as getting an increase in oil prices for \$ 18 per bbl to \$ 21 per bbl. For the purpose of threatening Kuwait, Iraq has built massive military strength on the Kuwait border.

As a matter of fact, Kuwait and UAE have been able to bring the oil price from \$ 20.50 per bbl. to \$ 13.60 per bbl. in June, by producing more oil per day than what was agreed. The two countries were doing this with a view to discouraging Western countries from pursuing alternative energy sources. It must be noted that Saudi Arabia's daily output is 5.42 million bbl. Iraq has also the capacity to pump 5 million bbl a day. But, it lacks modern equipment to do so and cannot manage the cost of investment. Moreover, it has to repay 40 billion dollars in foreign debt to the West. Hence, a drop in oil prices is against the interest of Iraq.

Moreover, Iraq wants to dominate the Mid-East politics.

Iraq has demanded from Kuwait (1) \$ 2.4 billion in compensation for oil which Kuwait has pumped from Iraqi territory, (2) to waive war loans, and (3) to lease or cede to Baghdad the strategic island of Bubiyan.

It also deserves to be noted that OPEC's other producers were delighted by the rise in oil prices on account of Saddam's threats, because by the end of June the oil prices had come down to \$ 14 per bbl. from \$ 16.25 per bbl. Now it is \$ 21 per bbl.

The United States imports 49.9% of its total consumption of oil.

President Saddam Hussain's dream is to make Kuwait a part of Iraq and thus command control over oil resources and become No. 2 oil power. With this power, he wants to carry on Arab fight with Israel and the U.S.A.

Thus, threat of Saddam Hussain is not only a temporary threat to Kuwait or Saudi Arabia, but the long term threat to world peace. Iraq's aggression on Kuwait is the beginning of a long drawn conflict, and a serious threat to world peace for many years to come.

The invasion of Kuwait is an instance of violation of the United Nations Charter by Iraq. For, among the purposes and principles of the United Nations are mentioned the following :—

1. To maintain international peace and security, and
2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples". (Art. 1.2)

Moreover, the Charter also states that the Members of the United Nations shall act *Inter alia* in accordance with following principles :

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

2. All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State. (Art. 2)

Iraq has violated all principles mentioned above. Moreover, it has also violated Art 33 of the U.N. Charter. The Article specifically lays down :

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

Iraq has failed to fulfill its obligations under this Article also.

Thus, the act of invasion of Kuwait by Iraq is a clear violation of the U.N. Charter. As a matter of fact Iraq had the option of utilising the Arab League which is in a sense a regional arrangement to solve its dispute, if such a dispute existed with Kuwait.

In this background, it is but natural for the Security Council to take action for violation of the U.N. Charter. Fortunately, as a result of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. coming together on point of avoiding conflict and maintenance of peace, the proceedings in the Council were smooth. The Security Council asked Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. It appears that the President of Iraq is not in a mood to respect the U.N. Charter. Instead of withdrawing his troops from Kuwait, he has declared Kuwait as Iraq's 19th province. One of the Presidential decrees, declares that pre-invasion Iraqi territory has been extended a few kilometres post of Al Abdali. Iraq has also detained some foreign nationals who may be considered as hostages. Iraq has maintained a cordon around several embassies in Kuwait city where Iraq has cut water, power and communications to the U.S., West German, French, Canadian, Danish, Romanian and Japanese missions.

As Iraq failed to respond to the appeal, the Security Council voted to impose a worldwide trade and financial embargo on Iraq. The resolution was passed by majority of 13 and there was no vote against this resolution. This clearly indicates that the

world conscience has been greatly disturbed by this action of Iraq which is a clear violation of U.N. Charter. It may be noted that this was the third time in the history of the U.N. during the past fortyfive years that the Security Council approved economic sanctions against a member country. The other two occasions were against Rhodesia in 1967 and South Africa in 1977. The resolution asked all governments to prevent the import into their territories of all commodities and products originating in Iraq or Kuwait and any activities by their nationals or in their territories to promote the export or transshipment of any commodities or products from Iraq or Kuwait and any dealings by their nationals or their flag vessels.

Iraq was still defiant. Hence the United States ordered a virtual naval blockade against Iraqi commercial shipping. It was argued by some that such a blockade amounted to an act of war. Hence the U.S. Secretary of States maintained that the decision met the requirements of the U.N. Charter and that the deposed but still the legitimate government of Kuwait had requested for such a move. Subsequently the U.N. Security Council passed a resolution permitting limited use of force to enforce its earlier resolution.

The U.N. Secretary-General is trying his best to ensure that this action of Iraq does not result in war in Mid-East. He is using his office to achieve the goals set in the U.N. Charter.

It is submitted that unless Iraq withdraws from Kuwait there would be no solution to this problem. Otherwise, small nations would always be in a danger of being attacked by stronger and bigger neighbours. The U.N. Charter assures 'equality to all States.'

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T. K. Tope

# Chronology of Events

## AUGUST 2 :

Iraqi army overruns Kuwait. The Amir of Kuwait flees to Saudi Arabia. UN Security Council condemns Iraqi action. USA, UK and France freeze Iraqi and Kuwaiti assets in their countries.

## AUGUST 3 :

US and USSR issue joint statements in Moscow condemning Iraq's action and asking for worldwide arms embargo against Iraq.

## AUGUST 4 TO 7 :

50,000 US troops leave for Saudi Arabia.

President Bush brands Baghdad a "liar" as there is no evidence of Iraqi pull out.

## AUGUST 8 TO 11 :

President Saddam Hussein annexes Kuwait with Iraq.

US orders naval blockade of Iraq. Arab summit meeting in Cairo passes resolution calling for Pan-Arab force to be sent to Saudi Arabia.

## AUGUST 12 TO 17 :

Following Pan-Arab Force formation the US is told to pull out by Iran, Jordan and Tunisia. King Hussein of Jordan visits Washington with a peace plan. US and USSR assure India help on evacuation.

## AUGUST 18 TO 24 :

As Iraq holds US and UK nationals as hostages, President Bush repeats his demand that all 'hostages' should be released immediately. He invites President Mikhail Gorbachov for Joint Operations against Iraqi Forces. Iraq threatens to revoke diplomatic immunity.

Harried Indians arrive in Bombay.

## AUGUST 25 :

Gulf at flashpoint as Iraqi's move in tanks. Western embassies are under seige.

## AUGUST 26 TO 30 :

US armed forces prepare for war. UN invests the US and other western powers to use 'measures' necessary to enforce economic embargo on Iraq and Kuwait.

President Saddam Hussein threatens of a chemical warfare.

## SEPT. 1 TO 10 :

Arab Gulf states hold Iraq responsible for the failure of diplomatic efforts to restore the crisis and they vow to liberate Kuwait. Bush wants Soviet troops in the Gulf.

Meanwhile the plight of the Gulf refugees worsens as attempts to provide food, shelter and medical care have been hampered by bureaucratic, cultural and logistical restraints. The US President George Bush and the Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachov meet in Helsinki.

US, Russia firm on Iraqi pull out. They are prepared to consider additional measures within the UN framework if current UN sanctions fail to end the crisis.

The two leaders recalling the UN resolutions, demand that Iraq ends its occupation of Kuwait, restores the legitimate Kuwaiti Government and frees all hostages now held in Iraq and Kuwait.

## SEPTEMBER 10 TO 15 :

The non-aligned countries explore the possibilities of setting up a 'catalyst group' to defuse the Gulf crisis.

India defies all to send food to Indians in Kuwait and Iraq. Indian ship "Tipu Sultan" arrives in Bombay. Air India airlifts food to Amman.

Britain sends troops for multinational force against Iraq. India clarifies its stand on the Gulf crisis. It is against Iraq's occupation of Kuwait and its adherence to the UN trade sanctions against Iraq and Kuwait.

Iraqi ouster from Asiad upto Olympic Council of Asia. IOC backs Kuwait.

SEPTEMBER 16 :

A new international fund is created to help India and other countries whose economies have been seriously hit by the Gulf crisis.

SEPTEMBER 17 :

American President George Bush tells the Iraq people that they stand on the "brink of war" for the 'mistake' by their leader Saddam Hussein of invading Kuwait.

Pakistan spurns Iraq's free oil offer as they decide to subscribe to sanctions imposed by the U.N. Security Council against Iraq. The U.N. Security Council unanimously condemns Iraq for mistreating western diplomatic personnel in Kuwait and threatened further sanctions.

Britain sends half a dozen "Tornado" jet fighters to Saudi Arabia. Iraqi invasion of Kuwait polarises the 21 Arab League into supporters and opponents of Iraq. The powerful Muslim brotherhood in Arab and Islamic States is poised to come out with its own version of a political offensive to counter western presence in the Gulf.

The U.S. Air Force Chief of Staff, General Michael Dugan declares that the U.S. air power will destroy everything in Baghdad, except for things of cultural and religious value.

SEPTEMBER 18 :

The two ships Akbar and Tipu Sultan leave Bombay for their evacuation mission in the Gulf. Eight Indians are killed in a bus mishap near Amman airport.

Iraqi army camps surround several embassies in Kuwait. Saddam on 'Iraqising' bid in Kuwait.

SEPTEMBER 19 :

U.S. Air Force Chief is dismissed for revealing Pentagon's war plans in the Gulf.

SEPTEMBER 20 :

Bush, Saddam trade war threats. The five permanent members of the Security Council are nearing an agreement at U.N. on an air embargo that would cover cargo as well as passenger flights. The Olympic Council votes to expel Iraq from the Asian Games for its invasion of Kuwait. Food supply in the Gulf worsens as Iraq wants alone to handle the distribution.

Iraq seizes all foreign assets in Kuwait, honouring the trade embargo against Iraq.

SEPTEMBER 21 :

The Indian Red Cross Society sends the despatch of personal letters to Indians. Special trains are sent to expatriates.

SEPTEMBER 22 :

Saudi Arabia expels Jordanian expatriates from Riyadh. Iraq orders the expulsion of expatriates from European countries. Pakistan floats the idea of a Pan-Arab force to slaughter horses and camels for food. The U.S. navy sends a food ship "Viswasiddhi". The U.S. government offers crude oil free of charge for 1990-91.

SEPTEMBER 23 :

The Iraqi President says he will not give up oilfields in West Asia if Iraq's demands are being stifled.

SEPTEMBER 24 :

Indians airlifted from Basra. Hussein of Jordan warns that Iraq's invasion of Kuwait is a replay of the Gulf World War I.

SEPTEMBER 25 :

Iraq says it will fight for a free Kuwait to keep Kuwait.

SEPTEMBER 26 :

The price of oil shoots up as Iraq takes over the rich oilfields in Kuwait. Saddam Hussein.

SEPTEMBER 27 :

Iraq threatens the death penalty for foreigners in embassies in Kuwait. The U.N. Security Council imposes sanctions by clamping an air embargo on Iraq. Saudi expels Iraqis and consulate workers.

SEPTEMBER 28 :

The Iraqi government tells the world that it would no longer provide rationing. Iraq announces a new force control over Kuwait and a month to become Iraqi citizens. The U.S. cracks open the oil reserves and sells 5 million barrels of oil.

crude oil in a bid to calm panicky financial markets.

#### SEPTEMBER 29 :

The Iraqi President accepts Iranian terms for a formal end to the 1980-88 war and normalise relations. The Soviet armed forces Chief of Staff warns that the alliance of Iran with Iraq could develop into a world war.

A number of countries seek aid from the World Bank and the IMF.

#### SEPTEMBER 30 :

Washington steps up signals for an early war against Iraq without waiting for sanctions to bite Iraq.

6,000 British troops prepare to leave for Gulf and France has its 2,000 Mirage war planes ready in the event of a war. India makes a behind the scene bid for creating a "standing U.N. Peace Keeping Force". The Gulf crisis has a disastrous effect on the Indian economy — oil imports, export earnings and expatriate remittances.

#### OCTOBER 1 and 2 :

The Iraqi President calls for a purely Arab solution to conflicts and demand the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops. He welcomes the initiative such as that put forward by the French President Francois Mitterand. The U.S. and Soviet Union draft resolutions to authorise the use of military force against Iraq if a world wide economic squeeze does not force a retreat from Kuwait.

#### OCTOBER 3 and 4 :

Iraq is willing to scrap arsenal of chemical weapons if U.S. forces Israel to do the same. The EEC announces \$ 2 billion aid to Egypt, Jordan and Turkey to cover economic losses linked to the Gulf-crisis. India is elected to the Security Council for the sixth time.

#### OCTOBER 5 :

The Bush administration is now ready for a long diplomatic and economic war of attri-

tion with Iraq. Islamic leaders report a 'certain amount of flexibility' in the Iraqi position.

#### OCTOBER 6 TO 9 :

The NAM calls for an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait. President Mitterand of France visits the Gulf to discuss the present crisis.

Non-Arab Muslim nations—Bangladesh, Indonesia, Pakistan, the Maldives, Malaysia and Brunei formulate a joint call for the peaceful resolution of the Gulf crisis.

Saddam threatens to bomb Israel, if they do not leave the occupied territories.

The PLO leader Yasser Arafat and King Hussain of Jordan meet to examine the link between the Gulf crisis and a possible solution to the Arab-Israeli conflicts, the stand of the West against Saddam Hussein.

Israeli troops distribute gas-masks to the public for fear of an Iraqi attack.

#### OCTOBER 10 TO 15 :

Indian government imposes a complete ban on trade with Iraq except for essential supplies. Israeli forces open fire on Palestinian demonstrators at the Wailing Wall beneath the Holy Mount. 21 Palestinians killed. U.N. Security Council postpones voting on the resolution condemning Israel. Worldwide criticism of Israel pours in. U.N. Security Council votes unanimously to condemn Israel's killing. U.S. casts vote to codemn Israel.

British Foreign Secretary arrives in Cairo for talks with Egyptian President Hosni Mobarak on the Gulf Crisis and the Israeli Palestinian conflict. Secretary General of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) hints at the possibility of the emergence of a regional defence alliance. U.S. Defence Secretary Sir Richard Cheney, to leave for Moscow to seek information on the Iraqi war machine. Indian ship 'Tipu Sultan' stopped and searched by American and British warships but later allowed to proceed.

# NEWS AND VIEWS

## News

### Iraq Captures Kuwait.

Amir flees to safety. New regime to be installed. World warned to keep off or witness massacre. European nations approve total embargo on imports of oil from Iraq and Kuwait and freeze Iraqi assets.

The UN imposes worldwide oil embargo and economic sanctions against Iraq and Kuwait and prohibits trade with them.

The Iraqi President Saddam Hussein announces merger of Kuwait with Iraq announcing himself President of the united country. US troops land in Saudi Arabia as part of military task force to protect the country from Iraqi attack.

The 21 member Arab League decides to send an Arab force to help protect Saudi Arabia from threat of an Iraqi invasion. The US welcomes the Arab League's decision to send troops to Saudi Arabia.

Iraq is under economic and psychological pressure following United Nations imposed sanctions and presence of US navy and troops in strength in the Middle East.

Iraq holds US and UK nationals as hostages. The US plans to step up its mobilisation against the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. The Prime Minister of India, V. P. Singh said that India was committed to a collective effort in the UN to find a "practical solution" to the Gulf Crisis.

Iraq warned that its forces might employ chemical weapons to repel an invasion.

By taking Americans and Britons as hostages President Saddam Hussein has chosen to play with the lives of these innocent civilians in retaliation against the UN sanctions and the western military build up against Iraq following Iraq's seizure of Kuwait. The threat is to lodge the human targets at these vital sites to deter such attacks. The very idea is brutal.

Jordan closed its north-eastern border with Iraq to contain the daily influx of thousands of people fleeing from Iraq.

The French President Francois Mitterand announced his decision to commit ground forces to the Gulf.

The UN Security Council sanctions use of necessary measures to enforce economic embargo against Iraq.

President Saddam Hussein warned the United Nations that if it started war with Iraq he would use nerve gases and chemical weapons. The External Affairs Minister Of India I. K. Gujral ruled out any mediatory role for India as it could not be a self-appointed mediator.

The Big-2 held a summit on the Gulf Crisis on Sept. 9, 1990 in Helsinki.

The Arab states vow to liberate Kuwait. The Indian Government is making arrangements by Air and Sea ferry to evacuate Indians via Dubai.

India urged the Security Council to help solve its economic and humanitarian problems in the wake of the Gulf crisis.

The burden sharing plan for the military operations in the Persian Gulf has received a set-back following the non-co-operative attitude of West Germany and Japan.

The American President George Bush called the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait as 'monstrous' and said that Iraq stood on the 'brink of war'. Iraqi government called the American President a 'liar'.

U.S. Air Force Chief General Michael Dugan said that US Air Force would specifically target President Saddam Hussein in case of a war. Iraqi troops in Kuwait entered the diplomatic missions of France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Canada and looted the French embassy. UN deplored the raid on embassies. Iraq named its Minister of Local Government Ali Hassan Al Majid as Governor of Kuwait.

The Security Council discussed a draft strongly condemning the raids by Iraqi troops and demanding the release of foreign nationals. The seventh emergency resolution of the UN strongly condemned the aggressive acts perpetuated by Iraq against diplomatic premises and personnel in Kuwait. It decided to further concrete measures which may include complete

or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, radio and other means of communication and severance of diplomatic relations. Iraq seized all foreign assets from countries honouring the trade embargo against Baghdad as UN considered an air blockade. Meanwhile, the US Air Force Chief General Michael Dugan was dismissed as he revealed that the US administration had accepted Israeli advice to target the Iraqi President personally. This revelation was a far damaging piece of information to be let out for public consumption at this stage of the Gulf crisis.

Efforts for the evacuation of Indians stranded in Kuwait continued with two ships 'Akbar' and 'Tipu Sultan' which were sent from Bombay. Meanwhile, the food situation in the Gulf took a turn for the worse as food distribution was under the control of the Iraqis. The situation was so bad that people had to wait for hours at six of the 50 co-operatives still operating in the city. Hospitals had also run out of medicines.

The Indian ship 'Vishwa Siddhi' carried essential food supplies to stranded Indians in refugee camps in Amman.

Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, apart from splitting the Arab World into two camps, has transformed Arab alliances and unrecognisably changed the West Asian chessboard. Iraq is a friend of Iran, Syria is with U.S. Palestinian leaders are friends with King Hussein.

The US President threatened 'war' if sanctions and diplomatic pressure were not effective. Saddam Hussein said that he was confident of harming the leading superpower in the world. A transcontinental war of words raged. Iraq planned to destroy all oilfields in the region if it is attacked. Iraq seized all available assets of companies and banks of nations honouring the embargo.

The Iraqi troops grabbed many consumer goods either by outright theft or extortion. The Security Council imposed a stringent 'air embargo' against Iraq and occupied Kuwait in an effort to resolve the Gulf crisis by tightening the economic noose around Baghdad. Exceptions are made to flights carrying

medicines and foodstuffs approved by the Security Council. Iraq threatened Americans and said it would not let them with food for their comm

U.S. is prepared for an early

The U.S. and the Soviet UN resolutions for the use of military Iraq if the economic squeeze did. The U.S. reported a shift of wav favour of a military strike if

Meanwhile, some powers at Iraq raised hopes of a peaceful crisis. Diplomatic efforts to find solution to Gulf crisis intensified. Envoy delivered a message from President Gorbachov to King Fahd. Mr. Francois Mitterand embarked on a trip to the Gulf region for talks with leaders. Iran also seemed to favour a solution and ruled out his commitment in case of a war. Efforts were made by the Soviets to meet the Iraqis in Baghdad. After initial suggestions, the U.S. was preparing for an immediate military solution. Meanwhile, the Bush administration gets ready for the unconditional withdrawal of forces from Kuwait.

In one of the most amazing operations in history 'Operation Evacuation of India' the unique distinction of India as a country to have evacuated most of its people in the shortest possible time. More than 1,00,000 people were

President Mitterand visited the Gulf to discuss the present crisis with King Fahd. A faint glimmer of hope. The UN reaffirmed its position that there should be no discussions on the Gulf crisis until there is a resolution of conflicts in Lebanon and Israel and withdrawal of Arab territories.

Gulf nations hit hard by the invasion. Saddam have put up a brave face but cash crunches, paralysed stock exchange, dropping trade and bolting exports.

Events took a sudden turn with the killings of unarmed Palestinians by Israeli securitymen at the Temple of the Holy Mount. As Saddam threatened to bomb Israel experts expressed



the killings could trigger terrorist actions and bring the U.S. led multinational force and Iraq closer to war in the Gulf. The world condemned the killings. The Arab world and the non-aligned group deplored the act. India also expressed shock.

The U.N. Security Council seemed deadlocked over sending a commission to probe the killings. The U.S. accused the PLO of encouraging intransigence among the non-aligned nations to prevent the Council from discussing the Gulf Crisis. The PLO called for placing the Israeli occupied territories under the control of a temporary U.N. administration.

The Security Council voted unanimously to condemn Israel for the killings of Palestinians and asked for a U.N. investigation into the deaths. This is viewed as a measure to maintain Arab support in the International alliance against Iraq.

The Gulf Cooperation Council proposed to form a defence alliance which may consist of members of the GCC and Syria, Egypt, Turkey and Pakistan, because they felt that they could not wait till doomsday and that U.N. sanctions should be given a time frame. They felt that force would have to be used.

Meanwhile, the U.S. Defence Secretary left for Moscow to seek information on the Iraqi war machinery. Baghdad warned the Soviet Union that it would reverse its decision to release 5,000 odd citizens in Iraq if information was passed on to the U.S.

## Views

In the Gulf, hysteria is at feverpitch as each new day brings with it more troops, more aircrafts, more warships and a belief that war is inevitable now. The military development is said to be the biggest since World War II. For the West, the issue now is not the defence of Saudi Arabia, but the reduction of Iraq to a non-entity so that it would never again alter the Gulf's delicate balance of power. The crisis will predictably leave the Arabs in a shambles politically. Economically, the countries in the region will take a long time to come out of the crisis.

Nirupama Subramaniam — Sunday Observer

The American involvement in a war in West Asia appears to be inevitable. The American objectives appear to be beyond the defence of Saudi Arabia. It is most unlikely that Iraq will attack Saudi Arabia. It has however provided greater provocation to the US by merging with Kuwait which it considers a part of its own territory.

The Afternoon

A change of Government and policy in Iraq with Kuwait restored to its people and ruler, would be the best outcome of this crisis. If President Bush has to use force after all, he can do so with the confidence that decent men and women all over the world are on his side.

Paul Johnson, The Afternoon

The US has clearly taken advantage of Iraq's complete isolation in the Arab fraternity and the world at large following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. Dark days are ahead for the Iraqi President unless he pulls out of Kuwait and sues for peace.

Faced with the massive military challenge and economic blockade, Iraq has been forced to make peace with Iran which is a shrewd move by Saddam Hussein. Along with Jordan and other nations who are against American show of power, there is a ray of hope that a solution will be found without resort to war. If its Gulf objectives are achieved, US will also avoid a confrontation.

The Afternoon

The two superpowers have given notice that henceforth they will act in concert. This leaves the Third World Countries to look after themselves. In the Soviet-US nexus the developing nations will be dropped like a hot cake.

A. R. Kanangi, The Afternoon

Whatever happens in the near future, the Kuwait that existed before will never be the same again.

Ranjana Sengupta, Indian Express

Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and Saddam Hussein's unrepentant stance have shocked the Arab states into immobility and left the superpowers floundering for a response in the post cold war scenario. And for Indians in the Middle East, it has burst the bubble

of peaceful prosperity. Not since the days of Adolf Hitler has one man threatened the international balance of power and thumbed his nose so insolently at the world. Political analysts in the Gulf believe Saddam will play a game of brinkmanship until the UN mandated economic sanctions start biting hard.

India Today

As the Gulf moves closer to war all sides have indentified causes which they wish to defend. But if there is an armed conflict many hundreds and thousands of young lives will be sacrificed to the war aims of the various nations and leaders.

Robert Fisk — The Indian Express

Compared to the harmful dictators like Alexander the Great, Napoleon, Hitler and Stalin, Saddam is a ridiculous midget. Yet interference with a single human life constitutes a form of dictatorship. To interfere with thousands of human lives constitutes a very serious crime.

Dom Moraes - Afternoon Despatch and Courier.

According to Desmond Morris who has written volumes interpreting body languages, Saddam Hussein's body language is that of an idealist and they are the most dangerous people in the world. He has a dream to be the greatest Arab leader and it has become an obsession.

Sally Staples — Mid-Day

Those who shrink from stopping Saddam Hussein today should realise that the cost of stopping him tomorrow will be much higher and may even be impossible. The very minimum conclusion to this episode is the removal of Hussein from power and total destruction of all his nuclear and chemical facilities by agreement or by force of arms.

Editor-in-Chief US News and World Report.

Kuwait which vied with Switzerland is the world's wealthiest until August 2 invasion, is being laid bare by its Iraqi invaders who have stripped it bare. The West must act now or there will be no Kuwait left.

Indian Express

Kuwait is being plundered by Iraqi soldiers. Sophisticated equipment, valuable art treasures, centres, hospitals, schools, have been destroyed and looted.

Spotlight

The NRI's have lost thousands in the wake of Iraqi invasion. The NRI in Kuwait has really lost...

The fall out from the Gulf for India. India with its falling strained to pay high real interest foreign debts. Because of the refining and domestic capacity petroleum products have risen may threaten the Indian industry.

Raman Kapoor —

The Gulf returnee in India never to go back, a hundred thousands of a whole politics gone. Critique of the economics of...

C. P. Sunderan —

For the panic-stricken fleeing Kuwait the journey of night time travel, hostile waits, an apathetic embassy of a scorpion infested desert safety of home a new mirage.

J. K. Nair —

Tens of thousands of hungry refugees are stranded in the heat of a desert no-man's land. It emphasises the complete failure of national aid agencies to manage the management to refugee crisis.

World Bank President said the Gulf crisis posed a threat to world peace and unless it would have a serious effect on the and developing countries.

Not only will the Gulf East revive the ailing world has been hit by the demand began by the superpowers.

to a reversal of the commitment by Washington and Moscow to eventually rid the planet of all chemical weapons. The developments in the Gulf are fraught with grave implications.

Sarosh Bana — Indian Express

Since Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait, no fewer than 12 military satellite systems peer in on Iraq and Kuwait. Iraq has been surveyed from space and pinned down for precise military surgery. In a period of international tension and possibly armed conflict the spy satellite's role will play a decisive role in shortening what will be an unequal conflict.

David Whitehouse — Free Press Journal

The kind of arsenal assembled in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf is impressive, but the political leadership could well bear in mind that a desperate Saddam Hussein cannot be cowed down all that easily. The prudent way to come out of the crisis is to keep the economic heat on, at the same time looking for positive signals from Baghdad on a political situation. Rushing into military option would end in a disaster.

Frontline

Bush is pursuing a strategy of diplomacy backed up by containment, while the Pentagon continues to gather the heavily armed forces it would need for an all-out war with Iraq. The President is hoping that a 'new world' will contain Hussein.

US News and World Report

'A new world order' remains a vague and fragile concept. But if longtime allies, old enemies and new rivals can join together to defuse the crisis in the Gulf and prevent Saddam Hussein from mounting a new one, the world will have taken a giant step toward finding a new and better way of dealing with outlaws.

US News and World Report

Japan welcomed the adoption of a resolution for sanctions against Iraq by the U.N. In the wake of the present crisis, it is considering sending non-combatants and to supply materials such as those to build hospitals. Thus, for the first time since the end of the

Second World War, the prospect of Japanese being seen in other countries has become a distinct possibility.

Frontline

In mobilising international public opinion against Iraq, President Bush has declared that the acquisition of territory by force is unacceptable. On the other hand Saddam Hussein has stirred the passions of the Arabs and projected himself as the only Arab leader capable of standing upto USA and Israel. If Saddam Hussein thinks that international law is an ass, the great powers cannot escape their share of the blame for educating him before. Whichever way the crisis is resolved the Arab world is unlikely to be the same again.

Kedar Nath Pandey — Alive

The Bush administration skillfully avoided every suggestion to intervene on Kuwaitis behalf until Iraq had completely captured the oil rich kingdom. Non-partisan policy analyst sums up the whole Gulf episode as a classic attempt of the Republican Party to divert attention from serious domestic and fiscal problem to 'protecting vital elements' abroad.

Vinod Ghildiyal — Sunday Observer

Military options in respect of returning the Amirs to power over a 'recognisable' Kuwait safeguarding the 'hostages' and incurring a low level of US casualties look bleak. The most promising option is UN diplomacy. A UN sponsored face-saving formula for both Saddam and Bush would bring peace in the Gulf.

Kanti Bajpai — Indian Express

The U.N. seems to have come to life. The five permanent members have acted in unison on Iraq's invasion and occupation of Kuwait. The stark reality is that the Security Council's recent activity is the product of a superpower detente and of accord among the five fixtures of the Security Council. Without exception, they all act according to their own perceptions of their national interests. The UN rests on a balance of forces. It can at best regulate the play of power. We need it badly, all the same. It has no alternative and its record has depended on the conduct of its members.

A.G. Noorani — Indian Express Magazine



# UNITED NATIONS

## SECURITY COUNCIL

### RESOLUTION 660 (1990)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 2932nd meeting, on 2 August 1990

The Security Council

Alarmed by the invasion of Kuwait on 2 August 1990 by the military forces of Iraq.

Determining that there exists a breach of international peace and security as regards the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

Acting under Articles 39 and 40 of the Charter of the United Nations.

1. Condemns the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait;
2. Demands Iraq withdraw immediately and unconditionally all its forces to the positions in which they were located on 1 August 1990;
3. Calls upon Iraq and Kuwait to begin immediately intensive negotiations, for the resolution of their differences and supports all efforts in this regard, and especially those of the League of Arab States;
4. Decides to meet again as necessary to consider further steps to ensure compliance with the present resolution.

### RESOLUTION 661 (1990)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 2933rd meeting on 6 August 1990.

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolution 660 (1990) of 2 August 1990,

Deeply concerned that resolution has not been implemented and that the invasion by Iraq of Kuwait continuous with further loss of human life and material destruction,

Determined to bring the invasion and occupation of Kuwait by Iraq to an end and to restore the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Kuwait.

Noting that the legitimate Government of Kuwait has expressed its readiness to comply with resolution 660 (1990).

Mindful of its responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security,

Affirming the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence, in response to the armed attack by Iraq against Kuwait, in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter;

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Determines that Iraq so far has failed to comply with paragraph 2 of resolution 660 (1990) and has usurped the authority of the legitimate Government of Kuwait;
2. Decides, as a consequence, to take the following measures to secure compliance of Iraq with paragraph 2 of resolution 660 (1990) and to restore the authority of the legitimate Government of Kuwait;

3. Decides that all States shall prevent;

(a) The import into their territories of all commodities and products originating in Iraq or Kuwait exported therefrom after the date of the present resolution;

(b) Any activities by their nationals or in their territories which would promote or are calculated to promote the export or transshipment of any commodities or products from Iraq or Kuwait; and any dealings by their nationals or their flag vessels or in their territories in any commodities or products originating in Iraq or Kuwait and exported therefrom after the date of the present resolution, including in particular any transfer of funds to Iraq or Kuwait for the purposes of such activities or dealings;

(c) The sale or supply by their nationals or from their territories or using their flag vessels of any commodities or products, including weapons or any other military equipment, whether or not originating in their territories but not including supplies intended strictly for medical purposes, and in humanitarian circumstances, foodstuffs, to any person or body in Iraq or Kuwait or to any person or body for the purposes of any business carried on in or operated from Iraq or Kuwait, and any activities by their nationals or in their territories which promote or are calculated to promote such sale or supply of such commodities or products;

4. Decides that all States shall not make available to the Government of Iraq or to any commercial, industrial or public utility undertaking in Iraq or Kuwait, any funds or any other financial or economic resources and shall prevent their nationals and any persons within their territories from removing from their territories or otherwise making available to that Government or to any such undertaking any such funds or resources and from remitting any other funds to persons or bodies within Iraq or Kuwait, except payments exclusively for strictly medical or humanitarian purposes and, in humanitarian circumstances, foodstuffs;

5. Calls upon all States, including States non-members of the United Nations, to act strictly in accordance with the provisions of

the present resolution notwithstanding any contract entered into or licence granted before the date of the present resolution;

6. Decides to establish a committee in accordance with rule 28 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council and to request the Security Council to designate the members of the Council, to assign the following tasks and to report to the Council with its observations and recommendations;

(a) To examine the progress of the implementation of the present resolution which will be submitted to the Secretary-General;

(b) To seek from all States information regarding the progress of their action in connection with the implementation of the provisions laid down in the present resolution;

7. Calls upon all States to cooperate with the Committee in the discharge of its task, including supplying such information as may be sought by the Committee in accordance with the provisions of the present resolution;

8. Requests the Secretary-General to provide all necessary assistance to the Committee and to make necessary arrangements in the Secretariat for the purpose of the present resolution;

9. Decides that, notwithstanding paragraphs 4 above, nothing in the present resolution shall prohibit the legitimate Government of Iraq from acting upon all States:

(a) To take appropriate measures to protect assets of the legitimate Government of Kuwait and its agencies;

(b) Not to recognize the authority of the occupying Power;

10. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Council on the progress of the implementation of the present resolution and to submit his first report to be submitted to the Council at its first meeting;

11. Decides to keep the present resolution on its agenda and to continue its efforts to bring to an early end to the invasion of Kuwait;

## RESOLUTION 662 (1990)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 2934th meeting, on 9 August 1990

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 660 (1990) and 661 (1990),

Gravely alarmed by the declaration by Iraq of a "comprehensive and eternal merger" with Kuwait,

Demanding, once again, that Iraq withdraw immediately and unconditionally all its forces to the positions in which they were located on 1 August 1990.

Determined to bring the occupation of Kuwait by Iraq to an end and to restore the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Kuwait

Determined also to restore the authority of the legitimate Government of Kuwait,

1. Decides that annexation of Kuwait by Iraq under any form and whatever pretext has no legal validity, and is considered null and void;

2. Calls upon all States, international organisations and specialised agencies not to recognise that annexation, and to refrain from any action or dealing that might be interpreted as an indirect recognition of the annexation;

3. Further demands that Iraq rescind its actions purporting to annex Kuwait;

4. Decides to keep this item on its agenda and to continue its efforts to put an early end to the occupation.

## RESOLUTION 664 (1990)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 2937th meeting on 18 August 1990

The Security Council,

Recalling the Iraqi invasion and purported

annexation of Kuwait and resolutions 660, 661 and 662,

Deeply concerned for the safety and well being of third state nationals in Iraq and Kuwait,

Recalling the obligations of Iraq in this regard under international law,

Welcoming the efforts of the Secretary-General to pursue urgent consultations with the Government of Iraq following the concern and anxiety expressed by the members of the Council on 17 August 1990,

Acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter :

1. Demands that Iraq permit and facilitate the immediate departure from Kuwait and Iraq of the nationals of third countries and grant immediate and continuing access of consular officials to such nationals;

2. Further demands that Iraq take no action to jeopardize the safety, security or health of such nationals;

3. Reaffirms its decision in resolution 662 (1990) that annexation of Kuwait by Iraq is null and void, and therefore demands that the government of Iraq rescind its orders for the closure of diplomatic and consular missions in Kuwait and the withdrawal of the immunity of their personnel, and refrain from any such actions in the future;

4. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Council on compliance with this resolution at the earliest possible time.

## RESOLUTION 665 (1990)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 2938th meeting, on 25 August 1990

The Security Council

Recalling its resolutions 660 (1990), 661 (1990), 662 (1990) and 664 (1990) and demanding their full and immediate implementation,

Having decided in resolution 661 (1990) to impose economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

Determined to bring an end to the occupation of Kuwait by Iraq which imperils the existence of a Member State and to restore the legitimate authority, and the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Kuwait requires the speedy implementation of the above resolutions,

Deploring the loss of innocent life stemming from the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and determined to prevent further such losses,

Gravely alarmed that Iraq continues to refuse to comply with resolutions 660 (1990), 661 (1990), 662 (1990) and 664 (1990) and in particular at the conduct of the Government of Iraq in using Iraqi flag vessels to export oil,

1. Calls upon those Member States co-operating with the Government of Kuwait which are deploying maritime forces to the area to use such measures commensurate to the specific circumstances as may be necessary under the authority of the Security Council to halt all inward and outward maritime shipping in order to inspect and verify their cargoes and destinations and to ensure strict implementation of the provisions related to such shipping laid down in resolution 661 (1990);

2. Invites Member States accordingly to co-operate as may be necessary to ensure compliance with the provisions of resolution 661 (1990) with maximum use of political and diplomatic measures, in accordance with paragraph 1 above;

3. Requests all States to provide in accordance with the Charter such assistance as may be required by the States referred to in paragraph 1 of this resolution;

4. Further requests the States concerned to co-ordinate their actions in pursuit of the above paragraphs of this resolution using as appropriate mechanisms of the Military Staff Committee and after consultation with the Secretary-General to submit reports to the Security Council and its Committee established under resolution 661 (1990) to facilitate the monitoring of the

implementation of this resolution.

5. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

#### RESOLUTION 666 (1990)

Adopted by the Security Council on 13 September, 1990.

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolution 661 (1990) in paragraphs 3 (c) and 4 which were adopted in humanitarian circumstances,

Recognizing that circumstances exist in which it will be necessary to supply humanitarian relief to Iraq or Kuwait in order to relieve suffering,

Nothing that in this respect the Council established under paragraph 4 of resolution 661 (1990) has received communication from several Member States,

Emphasizing that it is the responsibility of the Security Council, alone or acting through the Humanitarian Committee, to determine what humanitarian circumstances have arisen,

Deeply concerned that Iraq has not fully complied with its obligations under Council resolution 664 (1990) to ensure the safety and well-being of its nationals, and reaffirming the full responsibility in this respect of the national humanitarian law applicable, the Fourth Geneva Convention,

Acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations,

1. Decides that in order to meet the necessary determination with a view to the purposes of paragraph 4 of resolution 661 (1990) in circumstances where such circumstances have arisen, the Council shall keep the situation under review in Iraq and Kuwait under its attention;

2. Expects Iraq to comply with its obligations under Security Council resolution 664 (1990) in respect of third States and reaffirms that Iraq remains responsible for their safety and well-being in accordance with international humanitarian law where applicable, the Fourth Geneva Convention;

Having decided in resolution 661 (1990) to impose economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

Determined to bring an end to the occupation of Kuwait by Iraq which imperils the existence of a Member State and to restore the legitimate authority, and the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Kuwait requires the speedy implementation of the above resolutions,

Deploring the loss of innocent life stemming from the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and determined to prevent further such losses,

Gravely alarmed that Iraq continues to refuse to comply with resolutions 660 (1990), 661 (1990), 662 (1990) and 664 (1990) and in particular at the conduct of the Government of Iraq in using Iraqi flag vessels to export oil,

1. Calls upon those Member States co-operating with the Government of Kuwait which are deploying maritime forces to the area to use such measures commensurate to the specific circumstances as may be necessary under the authority of the Security Council to halt all inward and outward maritime shipping in order to inspect and verify their cargoes and destinations and to ensure strict implementation of the provisions related to such shipping laid down in resolution 661 (1990);

2. Invites Member States accordingly to co-operate as may be necessary to ensure compliance with the provisions of resolution 661 (1990) with maximum use of political and diplomatic measures, in accordance with paragraph 1 above;

3. Requests all States to provide in accordance with the Charter such assistance as may be required by the States referred to in paragraph 1 of this resolution;

4. Further requests the States concerned to co-ordinate their actions in pursuit of the above paragraphs of this resolution using as appropriate mechanisms of the Military Staff Committee and after consultation with the Secretary-General to submit reports to the Security Council and its Committee established under resolution 661 (1990) to facilitate the monitoring of the

implementation of this resolution;

5. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

#### RESOLUTION 666 (1990)

Adopted by the Security Council at its meeting on 13 September, 1990.

The Security, Council,

Recalling its resolution 661 (1990), paragraphs 3 (c) and 4 which apply, except in humanitarian circumstances, to foodstuffs,

Recognizing that circumstances may arise in which it will be necessary for foodstuffs to be supplied to the civilized population in Iraq or Kuwait in order to relieve human suffering,

Nothing that in this respect the Committee established under paragraph 6 of that resolution has received communications from several Member States,

Emphasizing that it is for the Security Council, alone or acting through the Committee, to determine whether humanitarian circumstances have arisen,

Deeply concerned that Iraq has failed to comply with its obligations under Security Council resolution 664 (1990) in respect of the safety and well-being of third State nationals, and reaffirming that Iraq retains full responsibility in this regard under international humanitarian law including, where applicable, the Fourth Geneva Convention.

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Decides that in order to make the necessary determination whether or not for the purposes of paragraph 3 (c) and paragraph 4 of resolution 661 (1990) humanitarian circumstances have arisen the Committee shall keep the situation regarding foodstuffs in Iraq and Kuwait under constant review;

2. Expects Iraq to comply with its obligations under Security Council resolution 644 (1990) in respect of third State nationals and reaffirms that Iraq remains fully responsible for their safety and well-being in accordance with international humanitarian law including, where applicable, the Fourth Geneva Convention;



3. Requests, for the purposes of paragraphs 1 and 2 of this resolution, that the Secretary-General, seek urgently, and on a continuing basis, information from relevant United Nations and other appropriate humanitarian agencies and all other sources on the availability of food in Iraq and Kuwait, such information to be communicated by the Secretary-General to the Committee regularly;

4. Requests further that in seeking and supplying such information particular attention will be paid to such categories of persons who might suffer specially, such as children under 15 years of age, expectant mothers, maternity cases, the sick and the elderly;

5. Decides that if the Committee, after receiving the reports from the Secretary-General, determines that circumstances have arisen in which there is an urgent humanitarian need to supply foodstuffs to Iraq or Kuwait in order to relieve human sufferings, it will report promptly to the Council its decision as to how such need should be met;

6. Directs the Committee that in formulating its decisions it should bear in mind that foodstuffs should be provided through the United Nations in co-operation with the humanitarian agencies and distributed by them or under their supervision in order to ensure that they reach the intended beneficiaries;

7. Requests the Secretary-General to use his good offices to facilitate the delivery and distribution of foodstuffs to Kuwait and Iraq in accordance with the provisions of this and other relevant resolutions;

8. Recalls that resolution 661 (1990) not apply to supplies intended for medical purposes, but in this connection recommends that medical supplies should be exported under the strict supervision of the Government of the exporting State or by appropriate humanitarian agencies.

#### RESOLUTION 667 (1990)

Adopted by the Security Council at its meeting on 16 September, 1990.

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolution 660 (1990),

661 (1990), 662 (1990), 664 (1990), 665 (1990) and 666 (1990),

Recalling the Vienna Conventions of 18 April 1961 on diplomatic relations and of April 1963 on consular relations, to both of which Iraq is a party,

Considering that the decision of Iraq to order the closure of diplomatic and consular missions in Kuwait and to withdraw the immunity and privileges of these missions and their personnel in contrary to the decisions of the Security Council, the international conventions mentioned above and international law,

Deeply concerned that Iraq, notwithstanding the decisions of the Security Council and the provisions of the conventions mentioned above, has committed acts of violence against diplomatic missions and their personnel in Kuwait,

Outraged at recent violations by Iraq of diplomatic premises in Kuwait and at the abduction of personnel enjoying diplomatic immunity and foreign nationals who were present in these premises.

Considering that the above actions by Iraq constitute aggressive acts and a flagrant violation of its international obligations which strike at the root of the conduct of international relations in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations,

Recalling that Iraq is fully responsible for any use of violence against foreign nationals or against any diplomatic or consular missions or its personnel,

Determined to ensure respect for its decisions and or Article 25 of the Charter of the United Nations,

Further considering that the grave nature of Iraq's actions, which constitute a new escalation of its violations of international law, obliges the Council not only to express its immediate action but also to consider further concrete measures to ensure Iraq's compliance with the Council's resolutions.

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Strongly condemns aggressive acts perpetrated by Iraq against diplomatic pre-

mises and personnel in Kuwait, including the abduction of foreign nationals who were present in those premises.

2. Demands the immediate release of those foreign nationals, as well as all nationals mentioned in resolution 664 (1990),

3. Further demands that Iraq immediately and fully comply with its international obligations under resolutions 660 (1990), 662 (1990), and 664 (1990), of the Security Council, the Vienna Conventions on diplomatic and consular relations and international law.

4. Further demands that Iraq immediately protect the safety and well-being of diplomatic and consular personnel and premises in Kuwait and in Iraq and take no action to hinder the diplomatic and consular missions in the performance of their functions, including access to their nationals and the protection of their person and interest,

5. Reminds all States that they are obliged to observe strictly resolutions 661 (1990), 662 (1990), 664 (1990), 665 (1990) and 666 (1990),

6. Decides to consult urgently to take further concrete measures as soon as possible, under Chapter VII of the Charter, in response to Iraq's continued violation of the Charter, of resolutions of the Council and of international law.

#### RESOLUTION 669 (1990)

Adopted by the Security Council at its meeting on 24 September 1990.

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolution 661 (1990) of 6 August 1990,

Recalling also Article 58 of the Charter of the United Nations,

Conscious of the fact that an increasing number of requests for assistance have been received under the provisions of Article 50 of the Charter of the United Nations,

Entrusts the committee established under resolution 661 (1990) concerning the situation between Iraq and Kuwait with the task of examining requests for assistance under the provisions of Article 50 of the Charter of the United Nations and making recommendations to the President of the Security Council for appropriate action.

#### RESOLUTION 670 (1990)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 2943rd meeting, on 25 September 1990

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolutions 660 (1990), 661 (1990), 662 (1990), 664 (1990), 665 (1990), 666 (1990), and 667 (1990),

Condemning Iraq's continued occupation of Kuwait, its failure to rescind its actions and end its purported annexation and its holding of third State nationals against their will, in flagrant violation of resolutions 660 (1990), 662 (1990), 664 (1990) and 667 (1990) and of international humanitarian law.

Condemning further the treatment by Iraqi forces of Kuwaiti nationals, including measures to force them to leave their own country and mistreatment of persons and property in Kuwait in violation of international law.

Noting with grave concern the persistent attempts to evade the measures laid down in resolution 661 (1990),

Further noting that a number of States have limited the number of Iraqi diplomatic and consular officials in their countries and that others are planning to do so,

Determined to ensure by all necessary means the strict and complete application of the measures laid down in resolution 661 (1990),

Determined to ensure respect for its decisions and the provisions of Articles 25 and 48 of the Charter of the United Nations,

Affirming that any acts of the Government of Iraq which are contrary to the above-mentioned resolutions or to Articles 25

or 48 of the Charter of the United Nations, such as Decree No. 377 of the Revolution Command Council of Iraq of 16 September 1990, are null and void,

Reaffirming its determination to ensure compliance with Security Council resolutions by maximum use of political and diplomatic means.

Welcoming the Secretary General's use of his good offices to advance a peaceful solution based on the relevant Security Council resolutions and noting with appreciation his continuing efforts to this end.

*Underlining to the Government of Iraq* that its continued failure to comply with the terms of resolutions 660 (1990), 661 (1990), 662 (1990), 664 (1990), 666 (1990) and 667 (1990) could lead to further serious action by the Council under the Charter of the United Nations, including under Chapter VII,

Recalling the provisions of Article 103 of the Charter of the United Nations.

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

1. Calls upon all States to carry out their obligations to ensure strict and complete compliance with resolution 661 (1990) and in particular paragraph 3, 4 and 5 thereof;

2. Confirms that resolution 661 (1990) applies to all means of transport, including aircraft;

3. Decides that all States, notwithstanding the existence of any rights or obligations conferred or imposed by any international agreement or any contract entered into or any licence or permit granted before the date of the present resolution, shall deny permission to any aircraft to take off from their territory if the aircraft would carry any cargo to or from Iraq or Kuwait other than food in humanitarian circumstances, subject to authorisation by the Council or the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990) and in accordance with resolution 666 (1990), or supplies intended strictly for medical purposes or solely for UNIMOG;

4. Decides further that all States shall deny permission to any aircraft destined to land in Iraq or Kuwait, whatever its State of registration, to overfly its territory unless;

(a) The aircraft lands at an airfield designated by that State outside Iraq or Kuwait in order to permit its inspection to ensure that there is no cargo on board in violation of resolution 661 (1990) or the present resolution, and for the purpose the aircraft may be detailed for as long as necessary; or

(b) *The particular flight has been* approved by the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990); or

(c) The flight is certified by the United Nations as solely for the purposes of UNIMOG;

5. Decides that each State shall take all necessary measures to ensure that any aircraft registered in the territory or operated by an operator who has his principal place of business or permanent residence in its territory complies with the provisions of resolution 661 (1990) and the present resolution;

6. Decides further that all States shall notify in a timely fashion the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990) of any flight between its territory and Iraq or Kuwait to which the requirement to land in paragraph 4 above does not apply, and the purpose for such a flight;

7. Calls upon all States to co-operate in taking such measures as may be necessary, consistent with international law, including the Chicago Convention, ensure the effective implementation of the provisions of resolution 661 (1990) of the present resolution;

8. Calls upon all States to detain any ships of Iraqi registry which enter their ports and which are being or have been used in violation of resolution 661 (1990), or to

deny such ships entrance to their ports except in circumstances recognized under international law as necessary to safeguard human life;

9. Reminds all States of their obligations under resolutions 661 (1990) regard to the freezing of Iraqi assets, and the protection of the assets of the legitimate Government of Kuwait and its agencies, located within their territory and to report to the Committee established under resolution 661 (1990) regarding those assets;

10. Calls upon all States to provide to the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990) information regarding the action taken by them to implement the provisions laid down in the present resolution;

11. Affirms that the United Nations Organisation, the specialised agencies and other

international organisations in the United Nations system are required take such measures as may be necessary to give effect to the terms of resolution 661 (1990) and this resolution;

12. Decides to consider, in the event of evasion of the provisions of resolution 661 (1990) or of the present resolution by a state or its nationals through its territory measures directed at the State in question to prevent evasion.

13. Reaffirms that the Fourth Geneva Convention applies to Kuwait and a High Contracting Party to the Convention Iraq is bound to comply fully with its terms and in particular is liable under the Convention in respect of the breaches committed by it, as are individuals who commit or order the commission grave breaches.



يا جابر الشعب يا سمة المحبِّ  
الشعبُ حياك والتهيرماك

# Statement by His Highness Sheikh Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Sabah, Amir of the State of Kuwait before the forty-fifth session of the United Nations General Assembly, New York, 27 September 1990

In the name of God the compassionate,  
the merciful,

As moslems, we always begin everything by invoking the name of God, our Lord, and in praising the Lord we seek to draw closer to Him whom we praise even in times of distress.

I offer you, Mr. President, in my own name and on behalf of the people of Kuwait, sincere congratulations on your election as President of the Fortyfifth Session of the United Nations General Assembly. You represent, Sir, a friendly country that has very close ties with Kuwait. Both our countries, as well as other states, draw strength and effectiveness from the principles of justice and international law. We are confident, Mr. President, that under your stewardship, this Assembly will be able to fulfill the aspirations of the international community at this point in time against an extremely complex international backdrop.

I wish also to take this opportunity to pay tribute to your predecessor, General Garba, for the skill and prudence he demonstrated in addressing the concerns of the world community.

In the same vein, special thanks and gratitude go to the Secretary General of the United Nations, His Excellency Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his persistent and outstanding efforts in the interest of international peace and security as well as his keen interest in enhancing the role and effectiveness of the world organization with a view to attaining the noble goals set by the founding fathers.

Mr. President,

Since Lichtenstein has now joined the United Nations, it is our pleasure to extend a warm welcome to the new member and to

wish its friendly people every success in their new status. We trust that Lichtenstein's presence here will promote multilateralism in all its aspects.

Mr. President,

I speak from this rostrum today as my peaceful country is passing through extremely harsh circumstances that have given rise to an unprecedented crisis in the history of the United Nations, which, since its inception, has sought to uphold justice on the basis of international law. Indeed, the Security Council has demonstrated that role by recently adopting a series of firm resolutions in the face of naked and brutal aggression against the State of Kuwait.

There is no doubt that the key role played by the Security Council is indeed a propitious one under the prevailing grave circumstances in Kuwait, and, in fact, in the world at large. It is our earnest hope that this role will continue to grow without waning and gain momentum without setbacks, in order to consolidate the rule of international law.

Today, I bring to you the message of a peace-loving nation. A nation that has consistently worked for peace; a nation that reached out with a helping hand to all those who truly needed help; a nation that sought mediation and reconciliation among adversaries. It is this very nation whose security and stability have been trampled upon as a result of its abiding belief in lofty principles inspired by our true Moslem faith and echoed in universal charters, pacts and codes of morality.

Today, I plead before you the cause of a people whose land, until so recently was a beacon for peaceful co-existence and genuine

brotherhood among the family of nations. A people whose national territory was a gathering place for individuals from various peaceful nations who sought a decent and dignified life through constructive work. Some of these people have now been made homeless, wanderers living only on hope in their banishment, while others have become prisoners or fighters refusing, even at the risk of their own lives, to surrender or yield to occupation with all its violence and brutality.

Mr. President,

The crisis of Kuwait is a manifold tragedy, whose dire consequences affect not only Kuwaitis but other peoples as well. In fact, it has jeopardized stability in the world, especially in the Gulf region.

And so, I come to this forum, which is the local point of international collective action, in order to acknowledge the overwhelming global solidarity that has been shown to us in a multitude of Security Council resolutions that have been passed in an unprecedented fashion. This demonstrates rock-solid international rejection of the assassination of the norms of international law, rules of good neighbourly relations and established customs and practices at the hands of armed military invaders whose tanks rolled over and crushed all those concepts. Indeed, this is what makes the Iraqi aggression against the State of Kuwait quite a peculiar cast. For we have never seen in contemporary post World War Two history a country that overran a sovereign independent state, a member of the United Nations, and then sought not only to annex it by brutal force but also to erase its name and entire entity from the world political map and wipe out the parameters of its national identity as defined by its institutions and its political, economic and social structures. All of this, Mr. President, has taken place as we approach the end of the twentieth century.

I came here to tell you of the horrors and suffering we are enduring both inside and outside our occupied homeland, and to put before you our just case. Now, the fate of a people, of a nation, is in your hands. Expecting

you to act in good conscience, we are confident that the only measure that will win your endorsement is support for our legitimate right to liberate our land. Furthermore, we trust that you will not waver in deciding on the measures needed to compel the invading aggressors to restore the legitimate authority and to put an end to their barbaric acts and deviations.

Mr. President,

The aggression by the Iraqi regime against the State of Kuwait which resulted in occupation and the Iraqi vicious attempts to annex Kuwait in flagrant violation of all charters, norms of conduct and treaties, including those legal instruments concluded between the two countries and deposited right here with the United Nations, is not an ordinary conflict between two states over a piece of land. Rather, the Iraqi aggression was the culmination of a pre-meditated scheme to occupy and seize the entire state by force of arms. This aggression, alas, was perpetrated by a country with which we have several internationally recognized treaties and agreements within the League of Arab States, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the United Nations and other international organizations.

This Iraqi regime has invented false pretexts and untenable claims against my peaceful and peace-loving country. In response to them and despite our firm conviction that those claims were totally unfounded, we proposed the constitution of a mutually acceptable, neutral Arab arbitration panel to which both parties would submit their differences. However, Iraq turned down that offer out of hand. Our last attempt at a peaceful resolution of our problems with Iraq was the bilateral round of talks in Jeddah, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, in the course of which Kuwait stressed the need to resolve its outstanding problems with Iraq within an Arab context. But Iraq's plans were not anchored in any legal framework or based on any formal legal instruments. In fact, Iraq was bent on sweeping through the entire territory of Kuwait, violating its sovereignty and violating the sanctity of Kuwaiti citizens' lives and property.

As a consequence, rape, destruction, terror and torture are now the rule of the day in the once peaceful and tranquil land of Kuwait. Hundreds of thousands of Kuwaiti citizens along with nationals of various other countries who were our guests have been made homeless and many of them have had their life savings robbed. Hundreds have lost their lives. Others have been held hostage. Indeed, at this very moment, an intense campaign of terror, torture and humiliation continues unabated in that dear land. We receive daily reports of massacres and continuing systematic armed looting and destruction of state assets and individual property.

This has prompted the forces of righteousness, justice and peace in the world to try to acquaint themselves with the calamity of those innocents. In accordance with its responsibilities derived from the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 on the protection of civilians in Times of War, the International Committee of the Red Cross has attempted to dispatch a team that would have reported on their conditions. But the aggressor persisting in his inhumane conduct, declined to allow this international committee to send representatives to Kuwait in order to carry out their tasks. He also refused to let envoys of the United Nations Secretary-General to visit Kuwait to stand on the conditions of its population.

Such conduct constitutes yet another violation by the aggressor of international and humanitarian covenants, thus demanding a resolute stand against it.

Against all these odds, an enormous source of solace to us has been the position taken by virtually all countries of the world in support of Kuwait's rights. Hence, the League of Arab States, the Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Islamic Countries and the United Nations Security Council all took appropriate decisions condemning the Iraqi aggression and calling for the annulment of the Annexation Act and the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the invading Iraqi forces to the border that existed prior to the aggression. Thus, the legitimate government of Kuwait would be able to exercise its functions and

responsibilities as it used to before the invasion. It is with a deep sense of pride and honour that we hail the stand taken by the proud people of Kuwait in defence of the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of their state against the usurper whose forces are armed to the teeth with weapons of destruction.

Mr. President,

Two years have now elapsed since I made an initiative from this rostrum calling for the cancellation of foreign debts under the burden of which numerous countries suffer enormously. In point of fact, these countries have fallen victim to a host of factors that not only thwarted any prospect for their economic prosperity but also generated mounting pressure on them. Though some measure of progress has indeed been made in this area, the magnitude and scope of the problem continue to pose a grave threat to the lives of millions of human beings, a threat that in all likelihood may undermine world peace and stability. The long standing academic argument that economic stability and political stability are closely interlinked is perhaps as valid and timely now as it has ever been. Along these lines, it would be advisable for us all to review the conclusions of the United Nations-sponsored Conference on the Problems of the Least Developed Countries held in Paris earlier this month, in order to appreciate better the weight of the problem and the urgency it has assumed with a view to making tangible headway towards an effective remedy in the interest of all mankind. In this spirit, Kuwait, for its part, has decided, in line with our previous proposal regarding this issue, to write off all interests on its loans. In addition, Kuwait will consider with the poorest nations arrangements regarding the principal of its loans with a view to easing the burden of their debts.

Mr. President,

From the early years of independence, my country has been privileged to be in the forefront of states that gave development aid to other countries. Kuwait's contributions represent the highest rate in the world in terms



of gross national product, amounting to 8.3% of its GNP. This highlights Kuwait's genuine desire to contribute towards raising the standard of living in the developing nations. It also proves that Kuwait has been a leader in the efforts to improve the economic infrastructure of other countries.

Mr. President,

The devastating consequences of the aggression against Kuwait and its civilian population with its repercussions on the stability and security of the entire Gulf region, together with its ripple effects on world stability, as we have clearly seen, have been far-reaching indeed. They have already had adverse effects on long-standing crucial issues we had always hoped the world community would eventually resolve satisfactorily, I have in mind the problem of the Palestinian people and the tragedy of the occupation of the Southern part of our sister state, Lebanon.

Mr. President,

The State of Kuwait will remain, as always, faithful to its principles, true to its system of values, close to its friends and respectful of its obligations and commitments.

In closing, may I take this opportunity,

Mr. President, to address a few words to my people, my kinsfolk, the loyal sons and daughters of Kuwait, from this august forum, a forum for justice and fairness, a forum for guidance and hope, to assure each and everyone of you that Allah, the Almighty, will ultimately secure triumph for us, thanks to your struggle and resolve, thanks to the gracious role of the United Nations, thanks to the support lent to us by our brethren and friends along with all people of good conscience throughout the world. The withdrawal of the invaders is, God willing, undoubtedly imminent. We shall return to our Kuwait, the oasis of safety and peace, which embraces all Kuwaitis and foreigners living in our midst as brothers. Together, we will join hands in concert and harmony to secure our development and progress. This will be a fulfillment of God's promise as rendered in the following verse :

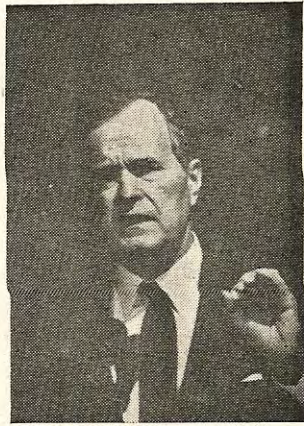
“O ye who believe,  
If you will aid (the cause of)  
Allah, He will aid you,  
And plant your feet firmly.”

(Surah 47, **Mohammad**, Verse 7).

And whose word can be truer than Allah's?

Thank you and may Allah, our Lord, bring you all peace and grace.

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**GEORGE HERBERT WALKER BUSH**  
**President of the United States of America**

Born on June 12, 1924, in Milton, Massachusetts, had his schooling at Philips Academy and on his 18th birthday entered navy. He was the youngest pilot in the U.S. Navy and won "Distinguished Flying Cross." He married Barbara Pierce in 1945 and they now have four sons, one daughter and ten grandchildren. After World War II he took a degree in Economics at Yale University.

After education he began his business career as a clerk in an oil field supply store in 1948. But later started various corporations with an astounding success in this business career. He then shifted to politics.

In 1966 he won the elections to the House of Representatives and in 1970 became

the United States Ambassador to the United Nations and continued till 1973. He served as head of the US Liaison office in the People's Republic of China for about a year. From 1976-77 served as Director of Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). In November 1980 Bush became Vice-President with Reagan and continued for eight years. Was appointed to head task forces on Government regulatory reforms, international terrorism and drug interdiction. He won the election for the Presidency in November 1988 and is the 41st President of the United States. He is the first incumbent Vice-President to move up to the Presidency through the choice of voters since Martin Van Buren who won the election of 1836.

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# Address By President BUSH

## At The General Assembly of The United Nations

**PRESIDENT BUSH:** (Applause.) Well, Mr. President, thank you very much.

Mr. Secretary General and distinguished delegates to the United Nations, it is really a great privilege to greet you today as we begin what marks a new and historic session of the General Assembly.

My congratulations to the Honorable Guido diMarco on your election, sir, as President of the General Assembly.

And on a personal note, I want to say that, having witnessed the unprecedented unity and co-operation of the past two months, that I have never been prouder to have once served within your ranks and never been prouder that the United States is the host country for the United Nations. (Applause).

Forty-five years ago, while the fires of epic war still raged across two oceans and two continents, a small group of men and women began a search for hope amid the ruins, and they gathered in San Francisco, stepping back from the haze and horror, to try to shape a new structure that might support an ancient dream. Intensely idealistic, and yet tempered by war, they sought to build a new kind of bridge — a bridge between nations, a bridge that might help carry humankind from its darkest hour to its brightest day.

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

The revolution of '89 swept the world almost with a life of its own, carried by a new breeze of freedom that transformed the political climate from Central Europe to Central

America, and touched almost every corner of the globe. That breeze has been sustained by a now almost universal recognition of a simple, fundamental truth: The human spirit cannot be locked up forever.

The truth is, people everywhere are motivated in much the same ways, and people everywhere want much the same things — the chance to live a life of purpose, the chance to choose a life in which they and their children can learn and grow healthy, worship freely, and prosper through the work of their hands and their hearts and their minds.

We're not talking about the power of nations, but the power of individuals — the power to choose, the power to risk, the power to succeed. This is a new and different world.

Not since 1945 have we seen the real possibility of using the United Nations as it was designed, as a center for international collective security.

The changes in the Soviet Union have been critical to the emergence of a stronger United Nations. The US-Soviet relationship is finally beyond containment and confrontation, and now we seek to fulfill the promise of mutually shared understanding. The long twilight struggle that for 45 years has divided Europe, our two nations, and much of the world has come to an end. Much has changed over the last two years. The Soviet Union has taken many dramatic and important steps to participate fully in the community of nations, and when the Soviet Union agreed with so many of us here in the United Nations to condemn the aggression of Iraq, there could be no doubt, no doubt then, that we had indeed put four decades of history behind us.

We are hopeful that the machinery of the United Nations will no longer be frozen by the divisions that plagued us during the Cold

War; that at last, long last, we can build new bridges and tear down old walls; that at long last we will be able to build a new world based on an event for which we have all hoped, an end to the Cold War.

Two days from now, the world will be watching when the Cold War is formally buried in Berlin. And in this time of testing, a fundamental question must be asked, a question not for any one nation but for the United Nations, and the question is this: Can we work together in a new partnership of nations? Can the collective strength of the world community expressed by the United Nations unite to deter and defeat aggression? Because the Cold War's battle of ideas is not the last epic battle of this century.

Two months ago, in the waning weeks of one of history's most hopeful summers, the vast, still beauty of the peaceful Kuwaiti desert was fouled by the stench of diesel and the roar of steel tanks. And once again, the sound of distant thunder echoed across a cloudless sky. And once again, the world awoke to face the guns of August.

But this time, the world was ready. The United Nations Security Council's resolute response to Iraq's unprovoked aggression has been without precedent. Since the invasion on August 2, the Council has passed eight major resolutions setting the terms for a solution to the crisis. The Iraqi regime has yet to face the facts. But as I said last month, the annexation of Kuwait will not be permitted to stand. (Applause.) And this is not simply the view of the United States. It is the view of every Kuwaiti, the Arab League, the United Nations, Iraq's leaders should listen. It is Iraq against the world.

Let me take this opportunity to make the policy of my government clear. The United States supports the use of sanctions to compel Iraq's leaders to withdraw immediately and without condition from Kuwait. We also support the provision of medicine and food for humanitarian purposes so long as distribution can be properly monitored. Our quarrel is not with the people of Iraq. We do not wish them to suffer. The world's quarrel is with the dictator who ordered that invasion.

Along with others, we have dispatched military forces to the region to enforce sanctions, to deter and if need be defend against further aggression. And we seek no advantage for ourselves, nor do we seek to maintain our military forces in Saudi Arabia for one day longer than is necessary. US forces were sent at the request of the Saudi government.

The American people and this President want every single American soldier brought home as soon as this mission is completed.

Let me also emphasize that all of us here at the UN hope that military force will never be used. We seek a peaceful outcome, a diplomatic outcome, and one more thing, in the aftermath of Iraq's unconditional departure from Kuwait, I truly believe there may be opportunities for Iraq and Kuwait to settle their differences permanently, for the states of the Gulf themselves to build new arrangements for stability, and for all the states and the peoples of the region, to settle the conflicts that divide the Arabs from Israel.

But the world's key task, now, first and always, must be to demonstrate that aggression will not be tolerated or rewarded.

Through the UN Security Council, Iraq has been judged, fairly judged by a jury of its peers, the very nations of the earth. And today the regime stands isolated and out of step with the times, separated from the civilized world, not by space but by centuries.

Iraq's unprovoked aggression is a throwback to another era, a dark relic from a dark time. It has plundered Kuwait. It has terrorized innocent civilians. It has held even diplomats hostage. Iraq and its leaders must be held liable for these crimes of abuse and destruction.

But this outrageous disregard for basic human rights does not come as a total surprise. Thousands of Iraqis have been executed on political and religious grounds, and even more through a genocidal poison gas war against Iraq's own Kurdish villagers.

As a world community, we must act, not only to deter the use of inhuman weapons like

mustard and nerve gas, but to eliminate the weapons entirely. And that is why one year ago I came to the General Assembly with new proposals to banish these terrible weapons from the face of the earth. And I promised that the United States would destroy over 98 percent of its stockpile in the first eight years of a chemical weapons ban treaty, and 100 percent, all of them, in ten years, if all nations with chemical capabilities, chemical weapons, sign the treaty.

We've stood by those promises. In June, the United States and the Soviet Union signed a landmark agreement to halt production, and to destroy the vast majority of our stockpiles. Today, US chemical weapons are being destroyed, but time is running out. This isn't merely a bilateral concern. The Gulf crisis proves how important it is to act together, and to act now, to conclude an absolute world-wide ban on these weapons. We must also redouble our efforts to stem the spread of nuclear weapons, biological weapons and the ballistic missiles that can reign destruction upon distant peoples.

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

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

And as we look to the future, the calendar offers up a convenient milestone, a signpost by which to measure our progress as a community of nations. The year 2000 marks a turning point beginning not only the turn of

the decade, not only the turn of the century, but also the turn of the millenium. And 10 years from now as the fifty-fifth session of the General Assembly begins, you will again find many of us in this hall, hair a bit more grey, perhaps, maybe a little less spring in our walk, but you will not find us with any less hope or idealism or any less confidence in the ultimate triumph of mankind.

I see a world of open borders, open trade and, most importantly, open minds, a world that celebrates the common heritage that belongs to all the world's people, taking pride not just in hometown or homeland but in humanity itself. I see a world touched by a spirit like that of the Olympics, based not on competition that's driven by fear but sought out of joy and exhilaration and a true quest for excellence.

And I see a world where democracy continues to win new friends and convert old foes, and where the Americans — North, Central and South — can provide a model for the future of all humankind, the world's first completely democratic hemisphere. And I see a world building on the emerging new model of European unity — not just Europe, but the whole world, whole and free.

This is precisely why the present aggression in the Gulf is a menace not only to one of — one region's security, but to the entire world's vision of our future. It threatens to turn the dream of a new international order into a grim nightmare of anarchy in which the law of the jungle supplants the law of nations. And that's why the United Nations reacted with such historic unity and resolve. And that's why this challenge is a test that we cannot afford to fail.

I'm confident we will prevail. Success, too, will have lasting consequences; reinforcing civilized standards of international council, yelling a new precedent in international cooperation, brightening the prospects for our vision of the future.

There are ten more years until this century is out, ten more years to put the struggles of the 20th century permanently behind us, ten more years to help launch a new partnership

of nations. And throughout those ten years — and beginning now — the United Nations has a new and vital role in building towards that partnership.

Last year's General Assembly showed how we can make greater progress towards a more pragmatic and successful United Nations. And for the first time, the UN Security Council is beginning to work as it was designed to work. And now is the time to set aside old and counter-productive debates and procedures and controversies and resolutions. It's time to replace polemic attacks with pragmatic action.

And we've shown that the UN can count on the collective strength of the international community. We've shown that the UN can rise to the challenge of aggression, just as its founders hoped that it would. And now is the time of testing.

We must also show that the United Nations is the place to build international support and consensus for meeting the other challenges we face. The world remains a dangerous place, and our security and well-being often depends, in part, on events occurring far away. We need serious international cooperative efforts to make headway on the threats to the environment, on terrorism, on managing the debt burden, on fighting the scourge of international drug trafficking and on refugees and peace-keeping efforts around the world.

But the world also remains a hopeful place. Calls for democracy and human rights are being reborn everywhere, and these calls are an expression of support for the values enshrined in the United Nations Charter. They encourage our hopes for a more stable, more peaceful, more prosperous world. Free elections are the foundation of democratic government and can produce dramatic successes as we've seen in Namibia and Nicaragua.

And the time has come to structure the UN role in such efforts more formally, and so that the UN establish a special electoral assistance, to be an Electoral Commission composed of experts from around

the  
dictat  
partnership

tions, we also believe that  
partnership for all states is

central to the future of this organization and to this new partnership we've discussed. In support of this principle and in conjunction with UN efforts to reduce regional tensions, the United States fully supports UN membership for the Republic of Korea. We do so without prejudice to the ultimate objective of reunification of the Korean Peninsula and without opposition to simultaneous membership for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. (Scattered applause).

Building on these and other initiatives, we must join together in a new compact, all of us, to bring the United Nations into the 21st century, and I call today for a major long-term effort to do so. We should build on the success, the admirable success, of our distinguished Secretary General, my long-time friend and yours, my long-time colleague I might also say, Javier Perez de Cuellar.

We should strive for greater effectiveness and efficiency of the United Nations. The United States is committed to playing its part in helping to maintain global security, promoting democracy and prosperity. And my administration is fully committed to supporting the United Nations and to paying what we're obliged to pay by our commitment to the Charter. International peace and security and international freedom and prosperity require no less.

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

And so let it be said of the final decade of the 20th century this was a time when humankind came into its own, when we emerged from the grit and the smoke of the industrial age to bring about a revolution of the spirit and the mind and began a journey into a new day, a new age, and a new partnership of nations. The UN is now fulfilling its promise as the world's "parliament of peace." And I congratulate you. I support you. And I wish you godspeed in the challenges ahead.

Thank you very, very much. (Applause).



**NOBLE PEACE PRIZE WINNER  
HIS EXCELLENCY  
MIKHAIL SERGEYEVICH GORBACHEV**

**(General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee elected  
by the 28th CPSU Congress)**

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was born on March 2, 1931 into a peasant family in the village of Privolnoye in Krasnogvardeisky district, Stavropol Territory. He started his career at the age of 15 soon after the 1941-1945 Great Patriotic War as a machine operator at a machine and tractor station. He joined the CPSU in 1952.

He graduated from the Department of Law of Moscow State University in 1955 and from the Stavropol Agricultural Institute in 1967, attaining the speciality of a researcher agronomist-economist.

Mikhail Gorbachev has been active in Komsomol and Party work since 1955. He worked in Stavropol Territory as First Secretary of the Stavropol YCL City Committee, Deputy Head of the department of Propaganda and Agitation, and then as Second and First Secretary respectively of the Stavropol YCL Territorial Committee.

In March 1962 he was nominated Party organiser at the Stavropol Territorial Production Collective and State Farm Administration and in December of the same year he was approved as head of the Department of Party Organs of the CPSU Territorial Committee.

In September 1966 he was elected First Secretary of the Stavropol City Party Committee. From August 1968 he worked as Second Secretary and in April 1970 was elected First Secretary of the Stavropol CPSU Territorial Committee.

Mikhail Gorbachev has been a member of the CPSU Central Committee since 1971. He was a delegate to the 22nd, 24th to 28th CPSU Congresses and the 19th Party Conference. In 1978 he was elected Secretary of the CPSU CC and in 1979 Alternate Member of the Politburo of the CPSU CC.

In October 1980 he was given full membership of the Politburo. The March 11, 1985 Plenum of the Party elected him General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

He was a Deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet in 1970-1989 and a member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, a Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation of the 10th-11th convocations.

From October 1988 he was Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and a People's Deputy of the USSR. (In 1990 he resigned his duties as People's Deputy upon being elected President of the USSR). On May 25, 1989 he was elected Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet by the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR. On March 15, 1990 the Third Extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR elected him President of the USSR.

Mikhail Gorbachev has been awarded a number of government decorations: three Orders of Lenin, Orders of the October Revolution, the Order of the Red Banner of Labour, "The Badge of Honour", and medals.

## Following is the full text of the speech by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze at the 45th UN General Assembly session on September 25.

Mr. President, Distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

From the vantage point of this 45th session of the United Nations General Assembly one might look back in amazement at how strikingly different is the terrain we have covered in just one year from the familiar landscape of the preceding four decades.

Politically, this was not just a calendar year but a light year in the history of the world.

The cold war, with its accompanying stress, psychoses and anticipation of disaster, is no longer a part of our life. Gone is the strain of daily confrontation, propaganda, bickering and reciprocal threats.

This was the year during which pieces of the Berlin wall were a popular souvenir. And now, an end has been put to the division of Europe and a final line drawn under the Second World War. The unification of the two German states is being completed. The "German question", this "great" and "classical" problem of world politics which only yesterday seemed intractable, has been resolved calmly and to mutual satisfaction.

Let me congratulate cordially and sincerely the German people on behalf of the Soviet people on this most important event in the history of this state, this nation and Europe.

Almost unnoticed, the military alliances have lost their enemies. They are beginning to build their relations on a new basis, moving away from confrontation which is being eroded by disarmament, lower defence spending, more wide-ranging confidence-building measures and the emergence of collective and cooperative security structures.

Unprecedented progress has been made in the peaceful resolution of regional conflicts by political means. In Southern Africa the

United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia has been implemented. The situation around Nicaragua has been settled, and a dynamic search for peace is under way in Cambodia, Afghanistan and other hot spots of the globe. We do not forget about Angola, Ethiopia, Cyprus, Korean Peninsula and Western Sahara. All this is being done with the most active participation of the United Nations.

These positive changes in the world have been propelled by a new relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States, which is evolving from cooperation to partnership and interaction. The meetings of the Soviet and US Presidents on Malta, in Camp David and Helsinki are major events in world politics.

The political environment is clearly being defined by the global recognition of the supremacy of universal human values. Democratic forms are becoming established in running the affairs of states and in the conduct of international affairs.

The United Nations too is being reborn. We are pleased to note that President Mikhail Gorbachev's ideas concerning the role of the organisation in the *changing world* have been seen to reflect majority opinion and the real needs of the international community.

The central concepts of today's politics are cooperation, interaction and partnership in facing the global challenges of combating economic backwardness, poverty and social inequality and protecting the environment.

Had this session taken place before last August, we would have had every reason to say that mankind had cleared a narrow and dangerous passage and had wide and glowing horizons ahead of it.

But now our field of vision has been obscured by the dark cloud of aggression against Kuwait. On that black Thursday,



Iraq flagrantly violated the United Nations Charter, the principles of international law, the universally recognised norms of morality and the standards of civilized behaviour. Iraq has committed an unprovoked aggression, annexed a neighbouring sovereign state, seized thousands of hostages and resorted to unprecedented blackmail, threatening to use weapons of mass destruction.

There is also another dimension to Iraq's action. It has dealt a blow to all that mankind has recently achieved, all that we have been able to accomplish together, by adopting the new political thinking as our guide to the future.

An act of terrorism has been perpetrated against the emerging new world order. This is a major affront to mankind. Unless we find a way to respond to it and cope with the situation, our civilisation will be thrown back by half-a-century.

The Security Council reacted rapidly and with determination, as required by the nature and dimensions of the threat. There is no doubt that it expressed the will of the international community.

Iraqi actions are having and will have the gravest consequences for the people of Iraq and for millions of men, women and children in many countries of the world, for their hopes and their future. War may break out in the Gulf region any day, any moment.

From this rostrum we would like to appeal once again to the leaders of Iraq. We are doing it as their old friends and as a country that found the courage to condemn its wrong-doings against certain states in the past. We call upon them to hear reason, to obey the demands of the law and also of plain common sense, to take a responsible and humane attitude, above all vis-a-vis the Iraqi people, who surely yearn for peace, tranquillity and good relations with their neighbours.

We also hope that at this time of grave trial, Arab states will live up to the expectations of mankind and help to find a way out of the Persian Gulf crisis. This would make it possible to deal with other hotbeds of conflict in the Middle East, and to find an equitable solution to the Palestinian problem.

If the world has survived to this day it is because at tragic moments in its history the forces of evil were always opposed by the forces of good, arbitrary power by the rule of law, treachery and meanness by honour and decency, and violence by the strength of the spirit and the belief in justice.

Today is no time for rejoicing, but one cannot help being satisfied at the unprecedented unity of the Security Council and the clear attitude of the international public opinion in the face of Iraq's behaviour. This gives us confidence in the ability of the United Nations to deal with this grave international crisis. The positions taken by members of this organisation give the Security Council the mandate to go as far as the interests of world peace will require.

Some may find that Iraq is being judged by a different higher standard than that applied to other countries even in quite recent past. My answer is this: it is good that we have reached this point. It is good that we have adopted a universal human yardstick of good and evil; that we are calling aggression by its proper name and consider it necessary to condemn and punish its perpetrator and to help the victim of injustice.

These are a trying times, a test for our organisation. If it passes this test it will immeasurably enhance its prestige, gain new experience and new capabilities. There is no doubt that it will use them to restore peace and justice in other conflict situations and to ensure the implementation of its resolutions bearing on all regional problems.

An approach based on mankind's common interest does not permit any other kind of behaviour. From now on, the world community intends to act by a common set of standards.

International relations are being freed from the vestiges of the cold war which, for many years, had a negative effect on the international legal order. We are again becoming the United Nations and are returning to our own global constitution—the Charter of the United Nations, to those of its provisions that were forgotten for a while but have been proven to be indispensable for

the most important of our tasks—the maintenance of international peace and security. The establishment of the principles of new thinking in world politics has enabled us to start implementing the effective measures of persuasion and enforcement provided in the Charter.

In the context of recent events we should ~~remind those who regard aggression as an acceptable form of behaviour that the United Nations has the power to "suppress acts of aggression".~~ There is ample evidence that the right can be exercised. It will be, if the illegal occupation of Kuwait continues. There is enough unity in this regard in the Security Council, and there is also the will and a high degree of consensus in the world community.

Of course, before—and I reiterate—before all political, peaceful, non-military forms of pressure must be applied to the aggressor, obviously in combination with economic and other enforcement measures.

In a way, the Gulf crisis is not just a tragedy and an extremely dangerous threat to peace; it is also a serious challenge for all of us to review the ways and means of maintaining security, the methods of protecting law and order on our planet, the mechanisms for controlling the processes which affect the state of human civilisation in the broadest meaning of this term, and the role of the United Nations in this.

As any other democratically operating organisation, the United Nations can function effectively if it has a mandate from its members, if states agree on a voluntary and temporary basis to delegate to it a portion of their sovereign rights and to entrust it with performing certain tasks in the interests of the majority.

It cannot be otherwise in today's world. Only in this way can we make the period of peace lasting and irreversible and follow up on our initial success in bringing about a healthier climate in international relations.

Life poses new challenges. What will be needed in the first place is, in our view, a theoretical and conceptual reassessment of the political, technological, economic, environmental, humanitarian and cultural realities

of the modern world and of its human dimension. The world is consolidating on the basis of universal human values. Partnership is replacing rivalry. It is becoming the basis for relations between many countries that used to regard each other as adversaries.

Partnership is not just a fashionable term. It became evident during the latest ~~crisis that was the basis of the loss and~~ constructive interaction among the Permanent Members of the Security Council. But the decline of East-West rivalry as a real or perceived factor in international relations may bring to the arena of world politics new figures and new phenomena. One such phenomenon we will probably have to deal with is claims to regional hegemony.

Among the issues assuming a critical importance for the future of mankind are the non-proliferation of nuclear, chemical, bacteriological and missile technologies, and, more generally, the disproportionate growth of the military sector in some economies and societies.

Even in the past the doctrines of the "balance of terror" and "nuclear deterrence" were questionable means of maintaining peace and security. In the new conditions they simply become irrelevant.

We need to define the criteria of defence sufficiency. The Iraqi aggression would seem to make it difficult even to discuss this. After all, what can be sufficient in the face of the irrational? On the other hand, the aggression has once again underscored the validity of the argument that no nation should have the exclusive prerogative or absolute freedom to determine its own level of armament. Any other approach would result in an unbridled arms race and all-out militarisation. We must look toward different principles, toward an accommodation of reciprocal concerns and a balance of armaments at the lowest possible levels.

We in the Soviet Union have the unfortunate experience of building up a redundant defence capability. This was due more to an erroneous assessment of the situation and a desire to protect the country against any eventuality than to any evil intent or aggressiveness. At the time, we

and our adversaries took an overly "arithmetical" approach to military parity. Of course, parity is needed for global stability, but it should not go beyond the limits of reasonable defense sufficiency.

We have drawn and continue to draw appropriate conclusions for ourselves. It is now common knowledge that militarisation is wasteful for any country and can be ruinous when taken to extremes.

In the longer term, the world community will need to monitor the military power of states, arms supplies and transfers of military technology. Such an approach will be in everyone's interests and will strengthen stability and trust. Otherwise, we will continue to be confronted with armed conflicts and attempts to intimidate and blackmail. Above all it will be necessary to keep a close watch on those countries that make determined efforts to build up the offensive capabilities of their armed forces. Moreover, to have them explain why this is being done.

Of course, the United Nations itself will have to play the primary role in this. But the organisation will need effective support from regional security structures which are already becoming a reality in Europe and which we hope will emerge in Asia and the Pacific, in the Middle East, in Central America and elsewhere in the world.

We might consider the idea of introducing on a global and regional level the international registration of certain types of armaments that are produced or acquired. There is a need for transparency in this area.

We need to agree on principles governing the sale and supply of arms. Such attempts were made in the past, but unfortunately they were not carried through.

In our view, we must urgently request the Geneva Conference on Disarmament to address this issue and submit recommendations to the next session of the General Assembly.

Two years ago the Soviet delegation raised the issue of reactivating work of the Security Council's Military Staff Committee. Recent developments have convinced us of

the need to return to the original idea conceived by the founders of this organisation and of its Charter.

We know why the Military Staff Committee has never become a functioning body. During the cold war the committee could not and did not have a role to play. Now, however, we see that without substantive recommendations from this body the Security Council is unable to carry out its functions under the Charter.

The architects of our organisation proceeded from the harsh realities of the Second War and were right in assuming that for the organisation to be effective in keeping peace and preventing war, it must have the means to enforce its decisions and, if necessary, to suppress aggression, and have a mechanism for preparing and coordinating such actions.

The Soviet delegation believes that the Security Council must take the necessary organisational steps to be able to act in strict conformity with the provisions of the Charter.

It should begin by initiating steps to reactivate the work of the Military Staff Committee and study the practical aspects of assigning national military contingents to serve under the authority of the Council.

The Soviet Union is prepared to conclude an appropriate agreement with the Security Council. We are sure that the other Permanent Members of the Council and states that might be approached by it will do the same.

If the Military Staff Committee worked properly, if appropriate agreements had been concluded between the Council and its Permanent Members, and if other organisational aspects of countering threats to peace had been worked out, there would be no need now for individual states to act unilaterally. After all, however justified they might be, such actions provoke a mixed response, create problems for those same states and may not be acceptable to all.

By contrast, there is no reason to object to steps taken by legitimate international "law-enforcement bodies" — the Security Council and its Military Staff Committee.

We should not underestimate even the psychological effect of the Security Council

repairing structures and forces to counter aggression.

To be frank, the situation is beginning to cause alarm. Let us face it : cracks have appeared in the nuclear non-proliferation regime; the IAEA is having difficulty in expanding the zone of application of its safeguards. It is time to trigger off the emergency systems in order to save the situation. As a matter of utmost urgency, nuclear tests must be stopped. If testing is stopped, we have a chance to survive; otherwise the world will perish. We need to tell people about it frankly, without taking refuge in all sorts of specious arguments. Should we perhaps invite the parliaments of all countries to express their attitude to nuclear explosions?

What else has to happen to set in motion the elimination of chemical weapons? The Soviet Union and the United States are setting an example by doing so on a bilateral basis. But what about the others? It is really odd that while there is no person, no politician who would publicly call for retaining toxic agents things are at a standstill.

Should we perhaps ask for a roll-call vote right in this room to see who votes against? If everyone is in favour, let us just work out a binding schedule for completing work on the convention and set a timeframe for the destruction of chemical weapons. Similar problems, mostly concerning verification, arise with regard to biological weapons.

Swift action is needed on all these issues, yet the debate at the Geneva Conference on Disarmament proceeds in a quiet and leisurely manner. Should this be tolerated? Even as dangerous developments are gaining critical momentum in the world, the negotiations continue at a pace that was set at the time of the cold war.

I think negotiators at the Palais Des Nations in Geneva should pull up the blinds. Let them see what is going on outside and let people know what those disarmament pundits are reflecting upon.

I don't want to offend anyone. I know that eminent people work there. But what is to be done? The time has come to cry out.

I cannot fail to mention yet another aspect of security.

The world community should also consider the possibility of various "unconventional situations" arising from the mass taking of hostages and cases of blackmail involving particularly dangerous and destructive weapons.

These problems will have to be addressed at two levels — technical and legal. We could start out by setting up a group of experts for contingency planning under the Security Council.

The group could include experts on combating terrorism, psychologists, nuclear physicists, chemists, physicians, disaster relief workers, experts on physical protection of facilities, etc.

Recommendations regarding the management of "unconventional situations" should be made known to a limited number of people. The Security Council may find it necessary upon recommendation of the Military Staff Committee to establish a rapid response force to be formed on a contract basis from units specially designated by different countries, including the five Permanent Members of the Security Council. This idea also deserves discussion.

But technical methods alone are not enough to deal with such things. In our view there is an urgent need to institute a new norm in international law which would declare the threat by any individual for purposes of blackmail of using weapons of mass destruction, hostage-taking or mass terror to be a crime against humanity. Such work is currently underway somewhere in the labyrinths of this organisation, but so far inconclusive.

What we need, however, is to create as soon as possible a moral and legal environment in which anyone guilty of grave crimes against humanity, of participating in atrocities, in taking hostages, acts of terrorism or torture, and those guilty of particular ruthlessness in the use of force, could not escape punishment and would not be absolved from personal responsibility even if they acted under orders.

The principle of suppressing aggression and threats to peace should, in our view, be complemented with the principle of individual responsibility and commensurate punishment.

This is a difficult question from the legal standpoint. An advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice should be sought on this subject. Incidentally, we would be in favour of enhancing the role of that body and would welcome a more up-to-date interpretation of its competence.

The Gulf crisis is causing a major dislocation in the entire system of world economy. Its true magnitude is even difficult to assess now. It is clear that the consequences will be severe for the economies of the developing countries, particularly the poorest of them, those burdened by large foreign debt. Merely stating this is not enough. Action must be taken without delay. It is necessary to establish as soon as possible an international machinery, may be a temporary one for the time being, for example, under the auspices of the International Monetary Fund or the World Bank, to mitigate the negative consequences of this crisis for countries which are in a particularly vulnerable position.

We are of the view that finding out the economic repercussions of the crisis should be primarily the function of the United Nations. The organisation should be the centre of action in situations affecting the interests of many countries.

The Soviet Union as a major oil-producing and energy exporting country will be prepared to cooperate in implementing measures under the auspices of the United Nations or of any other international body, aimed at stabilising the economic situation in the world. This should not be a matter of individual steps of a mostly charitable nature to assist individual countries. What is needed is a global policy of stabilisation and compensation.

History, particularly modern history, teaches all kinds of lessons. They should not be ignored or underestimated. One of them is that security can hardly be lasting unless it is supported by economic growth combined with spiritual health and by traditional cultural values combined with new

technologies and a concern for the environment.

Hence the need for cooperation in the 1990s to be geared to the resolution of the entire set of global economic and environmental problems. A new, "poverty curtain", this time between North and South, must not be allowed to fall. If it does, the division of the world that will follow may prove fatal to our civilisation. We have no time to lose. A global strategy for development and for solving universal problems is needed now. The United Nations, supported by its specialised agencies and by outside intellectual resources, should take the lead in formulating such a strategy.

An interdependent world calls for a new level of multilateral economic partnership. Cooperation on a bilateral basis and in selected areas is no longer enough.

The special session of the General Assembly on international economic cooperation has clearly shown that everybody would gain if each group of countries were to adjust its approaches and show willingness to forsake individual or group self-interest in economic cooperation, setting as its highest priority the interests of the common good, "a global self-interest" if you will, which would no longer be selfish.

We welcome the provisions of the Declaration of the Special Session which support the integration of the USSR and East European countries into the world economy. We hope that the United Nations will give concrete expression to its support for this process.

The Soviet contribution to these efforts will certainly be growing as we move ahead with perestroika at home, deepen our economic reform and switch over to a market economy. We have firmly opted for a closer association with GATT, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, with a view to joining them as soon as the necessary internal and external conditions are in place.

We also see a unique contribution that we can make to the development of international cooperation. For geographical and other reasons we are in a better position than others to serve as a link between Europe and Asia and to contribute to the establishment of a single Eurasian space in the economic, scientific, technological, environmental and other areas. This could be facilitated, for instance, by Soviet communication lines and equipment, including space communication systems.

Scientific and technological progress has become a major factor shaping the world's future. The global nature of its implications places in a new perspective the need to coordinate national policies in this area. The United Nations and its system of organisations can and must, in our view, assume a leading role in these efforts.

This is an area in which trust among states is of special importance. Without trust, barriers to international scientific and technological cooperation cannot be dismantled. We think that the international community should take a stand against monopolism in the field of science and technology. Without that, it will be difficult to deal effectively with underdevelopment and the numerous problems of the developing world.

If we succeeded in really focusing the global development strategy on scientific and technological progress, we could substantially mitigate such alarming trends as the brain drain, the growing professional migration, and the rising cost and narrowing scope of research.

The United Nations would do well to take the lead in organising a wide-ranging discussion on the role of thought, science and technology in addressing the problems of today's world. The USSR is ready to host such a discussion.

Much has been said lately on environmental issues. We even run the risk of "talking away" our future, for until now very little has been done at the global level while the destruction of the environment is outstripping our preparations to deal with the threat.

I hope that even as we continue to prepare for the 1992 Conference on the Environment and Development in Brazil, we will be able to start implementing specific environmental projects.

In our view, one of the priority measures would be to establish a United Nations Centre for Emergency Environmental Assistance. We have submitted to the Secretary General a list of Soviet scientists and specialists whom, upon the centre's request, we will be ready to send at our expense as part of international expert teams to areas of environmental disasters.

We are well aware that a healthy environment requires considerable investment both on the national and global levels. As we see it, the way to go is to reduce military expenditures and to promote conversion in the defense production sector. There is no alternative. The figures are well known. 800 billion dollars must be spent before the end of this century to avert environmental degradation. That sum is almost equal to what the world spends on the military each year.

The Chernobyl tragedy has highlighted the urgency of environmental protection problems. We are grateful to the governments and various agencies which are joining in the hard work of dealing with the consequences of the disaster. On behalf of the Soviet people I also wish to express our gratitude to all international, governmental and public organisations and private citizens who have offered their help to the victims.

Our special thanks go to UNESCO and to those countries and organisations that reached out so movingly to Chernobyl's children, inviting them to come for rest and medical treatment and sharing with them the warmth of their hearts. The Secretary General's decision to designate a special representative for Chernobyl disaster relief has been greatly appreciated in our country.

The multi-dimensional approach to security supported by our organisation brings into focus the interrelationship between the security of states and the well-being and freedom of the individual. The human being is coming to the fore and the human dimension

international initiative. For us and for the is becoming a universal yardstick for any United Nations the security of the individual, of every citizen and the protection of fundamental human rights are inseparable from the national security of states and international security as a whole.

I think the time has also come to look at regional conflicts from the standpoint of human rights. Those rights include the right to life and personal safety as well as the right to enjoy fundamental freedoms and to participate in the democratic process of government.

The main task for the international community is to create conditions in which people would be able to make a free choice. Disputes must be settled through the ballot box, not in the trenches of war.

Speaking about the future, we would also like to respond to those who are following with understandable concern the developments in our country. It is true that our domestic situation is not at all simple and still far from stable.

But, whatever the complexity of our situation, one has to see that it is evolving against the background of the emancipation, active political involvement and reaffirmation of their national identities by all of our country's nations. They are opening themselves to the world and the world is discovering them.

That this process is accompanied by certain difficulties and even losses should be no reason for excessive alarm, because the Soviet people and the democratic forces that are assuming responsibility for the future of our Union are aware of the Soviet Union's place in the world and of its responsibility for the maintenance of global stability. This awareness is shared by all nations in our multinational country, and they will all act responsibly, realising that stability in the world will also mean peace in their own home.

In working for the renewal of our society we have seen how important it is to defend democratic principles at all levels, domestically and internationally.

If attempts to embark on the path of democracy were to end in failure or, worse still, in defeat, it would have grave consequences for the world's future, not to mention the risk of chaos and new dictatorships.

To prevent that should be in everyone's interest.

Today the humane goal formulated by Kant two centuries ago has special relevance for all of us : "The greatest challenge for the human race, which nature compels it to meet, is to attain a universal civic society based on the rule of law."

The key to this lies in strengthening the existing instruments of humanitarian cooperation, in the universal observance of international covenants on human rights and in the improvement of international humanitarian monitoring procedures.

As we meet for our organisation's 45th General Assembly, we are speaking not so much of its maturity but of the beginning of its rebirth, its restoration according to the blueprints of 1945. And, wiping off the grime left by cold war, we see a work of collective wisdom. The United Nations devised their organisation as an instrument of action. We must see to it that from now on all of us gear our words to joint actions. This is what our time is all about. The philosophy of today is a philosophy of action.

This is the sixth time I speak from this rostrum and the sixth time I attend a session of the General Assembly. It has been a great, first-rate school.

Where else can one become so closely involved with the entire gamut of human problems and encounter such a constellation of personalities, intellectuals, professionals and scholars whose brilliant qualities are epitomised by the Secretary General of our organisation, Mr. Perez de Cuellar.

I consider myself very fortunate to have met and worked here with real political leaders and great men during the years when the United Nations returned to what it was meant to be a centre for harmonising the activities of nations.

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# Resolving a World Crisis

IN the face of the continuing Middle-East crisis, President George Bush and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, displaying a new solidarity, met at an emergency summit in Helsinki on September 9. In a joint communique, issued after their one-day summit at which no aides or advisers were present, the two Presidents said they "are united" and called upon Iraq to "withdraw unconditionally from Kuwait, to allow the restoration of Kuwait's legitimate government, and to free all hostages now held in Iraq and (occupied) Kuwait." **Following is the full text of the joint communique :**

We are united in the belief that Iraq's aggression must not be tolerated. No peaceful international order is possible if larger states can devour their smaller neighbours.

We reaffirm the joint statement of our Foreign Ministers of August 3, 1990, and our support for United Nations Security Council Resolutions 660, 661, 662, 664 and 665. Today, we once again call upon the government of Iraq to withdraw unconditionally from Kuwait, to allow the restoration of Kuwait's legitimate government, and to free all hostages now held in Iraq and Kuwait.

Nothing short of the complete implementation of the United Nations Security Council resolutions is acceptable. Nothing short of a return to the pre-August 2 status of Kuwait can end Iraq's isolation.

We call upon the entire world community to adhere to the sanctions mandated by the United Nations, and we pledge to work, individually and in concert, to ensure full compliance with the sanctions. At the same time, the United States and the Soviet Union recognize that U.N. Security Council Resolution 661 permits, in humanitarian circumstances, the

importation into Iraq and Kuwait of food. The Sanctions Committee will make recommendations to the Security Council on what would constitute humanitarian circumstances. The United States and the Soviet Union further agree that any such imports must be strictly monitored by the appropriate international agencies to ensure that food reaches only those for whom it is intended, with special priority being given to meeting the needs of children.

Our preference is to resolve the crisis peacefully, and we will be united against Iraq's aggression as long as the crisis exists. However, we are determined to see this aggression end, and if the current steps fail to end it, we are prepared to consider additional ones consistent with the U.N. Charter. We must demonstrate beyond any doubt that aggression cannot and will not pay.

As soon as the objectives mandated by the U.N. Security Council resolutions mentioned above have been achieved, and we have demonstrated that aggression does not pay, the Presidents direct their Foreign Ministers to work with countries in the region and outside it to develop regional security structures and measures to promote peace and stability. It is essential to work actively to resolve all remaining conflicts in the Middle East and Persian Gulf. Both sides will continue to consult each other and initiate measures to pursue these broader objectives at the proper time.

**After the one-day summit the two superpower leaders held a joint press conference. Following are excerpts from the news conference given by President George Bush and President Mikhail Gorbachev on September 9.**

**Is there likely to be war in the Middle East ?**

**Bush :** I hope that we can achieve a peaceful solution, and the way to do that is to have Iraq comply with the United Nations resolutions. And I think that part of our joint state-



ment, two short lines, said it most clearly: "Nothing short of the complete implementation of the United Nations Security Council resolutions is acceptable." As soon as Saddam Hussein realizes that, then there certainly will be a peaceful resolution to this question.

**Gorbachev:** The whole of our seven hours of meeting today were devoted to the quest for a political resolution of that conflict. And I believe that we're on the right road.

**And if the crisis cannot be resolved peacefully?**

**Bush:** The United States is determined to see these resolutions enforced, and I like to feel that they will be enforced and that will result in a peaceful resolution.

**Is now an opportunity to solve the Palestinian problem through an international peace conference?**

**Bush:** I see the implementation of the United Nations resolutions separate and apart from the need to solve the other question ... Under certain circumstances the consideration of a conference of that nature would be acceptable indeed, it's been a part of our policy from time to time. But the thing that I feel strongly about is that these issues are not linked. And any effort to link them is an effort to dilute the resolutions of the United Nations.

**How long will U.S. troops remain in the Gulf?**

**Bush:** They will be present in the area until we're satisfied that the security needs of the area have been met, and that these resolutions have been complied with. And the sooner they are out of there, as far as I am concerned, the better. I made very clear to President Gorbachev, as I think he will confirm, that we have no intention keeping them a day longer than is required.

**Gorbachev:** That's a very important statement.

**Will the United States boost economic aid to the Soviet Union?**

**Bush:** This remarkable cooperation that has been demonstrated by the Soviet Union

at the United Nations gets me inclined to recommend as close cooperation in the economic field as possible, and I will be saying this to the Congress when I get back.

**Gorbachev:** I wouldn't want President Bush's reply to give rise to the opinion that the Soviet Union is going to align with a certain behaviour .... It would be very oversimplified and very superficial to judge that the Soviet Union could be bought for dollars.

**Will the Soviet Union remove its advisers from Iraq?**

**Gorbachev:** They are not so much advisers as specialists or experts who are working under contract, and their number is being reduced. Whereas at the beginning of the conflict, I think there were still 196 of them, there are now some 150.

**Bush:** It would facilitate things if they were out of there in terms of total understanding. But I heard his answer, listened to it very, very carefully, and I must say that I would let it stand at that.

**Was there discussion of military options for curbing Iraqi aggression?**

**Bush:** No. We did not discuss military options.

**Gorbachev:** The whole of our time together was spent on talking about this conflict in a mutual search for a political solution.

**But if Iraq does not withdraw, will not military action be necessary?**

**Gorbachev:** I did not say that if Iraq does not withdraw peacefully, we're going to have recourse to military methods. I did not state that. I do not state that.

**Has the Soviet Union put pressure on its old ally, Saddam Hussein?**

**Gorbachev:** We discussed various options for ending the situation with him and we are also attempting .. to make it quite clear to Saddam Hussein that if Iraq were to provoke military action, then the result would be a tragedy first and foremost for the Iraqi people themselves, for the whole of the region and for the whole of the world.

**Why are the leaders not equally as aggressive in pursuing U.N. Resolution 242 calling for Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories?**

**Bush:** We've been zealously trying to do that as have many other powers for many years. But the fact that that resolution hasn't been fulfilled when it calls for withdrawal to secure and recognize boundaries, and it should be, and hopefully we can be catalytic in seeing that happen, does not mean that you sit idly by in the face of a naked aggression against Kuwait.

**Gorbachev:** Everything that is taking place in the Middle-East is a matter of concern to us, of equal concern.

**What specific steps were discussed to ensure compliance with the U.N. resolutions on Iraq?**

**Bush:** We didn't agree to specific and concrete steps... We did not sit at this meeting and try to assign each other or ask each other to undertake specific measures in keeping with that particular paragraph.

**Gorbachev:** The meeting and the document that we've just adopted is more impor-

tant than our enumerating various steps that might have been taken here.

**Given that the Presidents are determined to see aggression end, what comes next?**

**Bush:** It's too hypothetical. We want to see the message get through to Saddam Hussein. We want to see him do what the United Nations calls on him to do. And that statement can be interpreted any way you want to interpret it.

**Gorbachev:** I have the impression that both the press and public opinion in some countries is in some ways saying that there's a lack of decision on somebody's part, that we're withdrawing in the face of those who are trampling on international law. I cannot agree with that view.

**Was the Soviet Union asked to supply troops?**

**Bush:** I did not ask him to send troops in. If the Soviets decided to do that at the invitation of the Saudis, that would be fine with us.

Source : SPAN October, 1990.

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## Soviet-French Statement on Gulf Crisis

MOSCOW, August 26 (TASS) : Following is the text of the Soviet-French Statement on Gulf crisis:

"The Soviet Union and France, deeply concerned over the crisis created by the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, welcome the adoption of Resolution 665 by the UN Security Council, which is to ensure the strict implementation of sanctions against Iraq. This Resolution is another evidence of the agreement of permanent members of the Security Council and the world community over the need for putting an end as soon as possible to the situation, which constitutes a gross violation of the basic principles of inter-state relations and a serious encroachment on world peace and security.

"The sides reiterate their allegiance to the principle of collective actions taken in accordance with the UN Charter, in order to achieve a political settlement of the crisis on the basis of the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait and the restoration of the sovereignty of that Arab country.

"Expressing a serious concern over the situation with foreign citizens, who are forcibly kept in Iraq and Kuwait contrary to the com-

mitments that follow from the standards of international law and human rights, the ministers recall the demand of the Security Council that Iraq should give an opportunity to these people to leave for home immediately and without any obstacles. They insistently urge Baghdad to refrain from any actions hampering the work of diplomatic and consular missions in Kuwait and violating the status and immunity of their personnel.

"The USSR and France urged Iraq to be realistic, to display common sense and heed the will of the world community expressed in Security Council resolutions that deal with the Gulf crisis.

"The sides are positive that this crisis proved once again the need for stepping up efforts to achieve an early settlement of other conflict situations in the Middle East, especially the Palestinian problem. They reiterate their support for actions of Arab countries promoting the settlement of the Lebanese crisis.

"The Soviet Union and France will continue close cooperation with regard to developments in the Gulf zone."

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# Political Means not Exhausted in Gulf Crisis

MOSCOW, August 30 (TASS) : Political means of resolving the Gulf crisis are not yet exhausted, President Mikhail Gorbachev said in an interview with the Paris-Match magazine, which was published by the Russian edition of the Moscow News weekly today.

M. Gorbachev granted the interview for a special Paris-Match issue in French and Russian, being prepared jointly with the Moscow News.

He said everything should be done to prevent the Gulf crisis from escalating.

"Even in the domestic experience of perestroika, I have often encountered situations when it seemed I ought perhaps to take sharper measures lest be accused of weakness. In perestroika, however, we have always sought to avoid a split and confrontation in society.

We have always relied on political methods," Gorbachev said.

He added: "In international affairs, too, one should not take extreme measures in order to enhance one's prestige. That would be short-sighted. We should, through inter-action, look for collective approaches and solutions to normalise the situation."

"I think we should continue cooperating in the United Nations frameworks and actively interacting with Arab countries, which can and should play their role," Gorbachev said.

"Such possibilities are also available to both the Soviet Union and France in their contacts with the present Iraqi regime. We are not evading responsibility. And we are using all possible opportunities," Gorbachev said.

## MESSAGE TO ARAB FOREIGN MINISTERS

In an urgent message to Arab Foreign Ministers on Wednesday Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said that Arabs ability to unite at a critical moment largely determines whether or not a war in the Middle East region can be prevented.

The message emphasises the need to step up efforts to search for a political settlement to the conflict in the Gulf and preventing its development into all-out war.

**Symposium  
on  
Gulf Crisis and UN**

## Symposium Organised by the Indian Federation of UN Associations (IFUNA), New Delhi

The Indian Federation of United Nations Associations which is affiliated to the World Federation of United Nations Associations organised a symposium on the "Gulf Crisis and UN" on 21st August 1990. The speakers included Vice-Chancellor A. S. Agwani, Jawaharlal Nehru University, former Foreign Secretaries A. P. Venkateswaran and Romesh Bhandari, journalist Girilal Jain, Professor R. P. Kaushik, Parliamentarian Amal Datta, and Air Commodore Jasjit Singh, Director of the Institute of Defence and Strategic Analysis. The speakers at the symposium expressed fears that the current crisis in the Gulf, due to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, might explode into a more dangerous confrontation and harm interests of the global community. They spoke of the prospects of nuclear weapons being used in retaliation, if chemical warfare was resorted to by Iraq.

According to Venkateshwaran, the action of Saddam Hussein in invading Kuwait was totally "unwarranted" and it would not be easy for the Iraqi President to survive the crisis. In his opinion the most significant feature of the regrettable situation could be the re-emergence of imperialistic and colonial forces which had been pushed into relative oblivion after the Second World War. He said that international opinion was unanimous in condemning the Iraqi action and added that it had dealt a severe blow to Arab and Islamic Solidarity. Further in such a situation the only apparent option was to use force.

Air Commodore Jasjit Singh was of the opinion that the current crisis might develop into a long drawn out conflict with dangerous consequences for the world. He feared that the situation could explode into a more violent one than the Second World War. To avoid further conflicts he favoured collective security through federalisation of the UN.

Romesh Bhandari observed that the Gulf Crisis might lead to a Third World War. Saddam Hussein was caught unawares by the ferocity of international reaction against his action in Kuwait. Bhandari visualized a build-up in the region and felt that the current crisis presented a grim picture.

Amal Datta referred to the inaction of the Western Nations over a prolonged period while Saddam Hussein threatened Kuwait's economic and political independence. By contrast U.N. acted promptly and passed the condemnatory resolutions and imposed economic sanctions on Iraq. He expressed apprehension that the oil prices would go up. He also feared that the Gulf situation would deal a severe blow to the economies of developing nations.

Girilal Jain maintained that the western world should not have allowed Hussein to control the oil prices and said that the Iraqi President would have to pay dearly for his invasion of Kuwait.

In his remarks Kaushik expressed his fears that the situation might not ease in the near future and could indeed trigger a "limited" nuclear war.

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## Symposium Organised by Maharashtra United Nations Association

Maharashtra United Nations Association, which is affiliated to the Indian Federation of UN Associations (IFUNA), also organised a symposium on the 'Gulf Crisis and the U.N.' on the lines of the one held in Delhi. The symposium was held on 15 September, 1990 at the Taj Mahal Hotel. The function was chaired by Former Chief Justice and Lokayukt Justice V. S. Deshpande. The speakers included Justice B. Lentin, Ambassador for Kuwait in India Ali Zakaria Al Ansari, Parliamentarian and eminent jurist Ram Jethmalani, former Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University Dr. T. K. Tope, Director UN Information Centre, New Delhi, Bhaichand Patel and columnist M. V. Kamath. Representatives from about 35 countries attended the symposium, besides eminent citizens of Bombay from all walks of life — legal luminaries, educationists, doctors, industrialists, businessmen and Government officials.

The introductory speech was made by the Secretary General, S. B. Saxena. President of MUNA D. D. Sathe welcomed the guests. Both the office-bearers made it clear to the speakers and the audience that the main purpose of the symposium was to discuss the Security Council Resolutions with reference to the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq and the speakers were to keep this in mind. A souvenir highlighting various aspects of the crisis and UN role in solving the problems was released by the Ambassador for Kuwait.

Bhaichand Patel in his opening address observed that the U.N. had acted decisively in the Gulf. He firmly believed in the U.N. as it was a forum where countries with different economic systems came together. He felt that the U.N. agencies were active

in the borders of Jordan and Yemen and reaffirmed that the Security Council was for unconditional and total withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait.

Ambassador Ali Zakaria Al Ansari appreciated India's fair stance with the U.N. Security Council resolutions to defuse the present Gulf Crisis. He termed the situation in Kuwait as critical and urged the international community to fully implement the sanctions imposed by the U.N. resolutions. He accused Iraq of breaking all norms of Arab and Muslim conventions by invading Kuwait.

Justice B. Lentin maintained that the invasion was a violation of the legal process. He said that the full blame for the Gulf Crisis must be laid at the doorstep of Hussein, as it was the creation of one man. He said that unlike in 1937, when Hitler emerged as a dictator and the League of Nations could not do anything, the U.N. this time acted on the very first day of Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. He applauded the U.N. for maintaining world peace and in allowing food to be sent to the refugee camps.

Ram Jethmalani said that Iraq was an international bully who needed to be neutralised by the international community. He criticised India's lack of courage in unambiguously condemning the Iraqi aggression. He felt that India should have supported the actions of U.S. wholeheartedly by sending all its aircraft carriers and ships for furthering the objectives of the U.N. Security Council in the region. He also said that there was a need to reassess relations with PLO which had supported Iraq.

Kamath remarked that the UN followed double standards which he said did nothing to stop the US aggression against Vietnam, Pakistan's attack against Kashmir and for that matter, India's swallowing up of Goa, Hyderabad, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikanar etc. India was in no position to condemn Iraq for taking Kuwait after aggression against these states. He also alleged that UN has been adopting double standards on Human Rights and criticised it. He said that Iraq could not be condemned by the UN for violating human rights when Saudi Arabia violated them in the name of implementing the Shariat Laws. Kamath criticized the organisers for not inviting Iraq Consul General without knowing the background in which the invitation to him had to be withdrawn as it was on account of the Consul General's threat to the Association to see that the function was not held. Kamath was perhaps unaware of the fact that the matter was reported to the police and elaborate security arrangements had to be made in view of a large number of VIP's attending the function held. He also condemned the previous speakers by naming them repeatedly. He further remarked that a crusade was going on between Islam and Christianity.

These remarks and the language used by him were strongly resented by the audience. He did not continue his speech and left the hall in a rage without resuming his seat. Despite being persuaded by the MUNA members to come back he refused to return and passed derogatory remarks against the audience calling them "hooligans".

After this disruption, the Symposium continued with a speech by Dr. T. K. Tope, Former Vice-Chancellor Bombay University.

Dr. Tope said that it was the establishment of the U.N. in 1945, which prevented Third World War during the last 45 years. He complimented the swift action taken by the Security Council against Iraq after its invasion of Kuwait. He observed that President Saddam should know that aggression does not pay. He should also learn that it would not benefit Iraq or any other country to flout the U.N. Resolutions anymore. He hoped that the Gulf crisis will be resolved without resort to war.

Some of the speeches are reproduced in the pages to follow.





WORLD FEDERATION OF UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATIONS  
FÉDÉRATION MONDIALE DES ASSOCIATIONS POUR LES NATIONS UNIES

Headquarters

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11 October 1990

Mr. S.B. Saxena  
Secretary-General  
Maharashtra United Nations Association  
"Sneh Sadan", Ground floor,  
Opp. Colaba P.O.  
Bombay 400 005  
India

Dear Mr. Saxena,

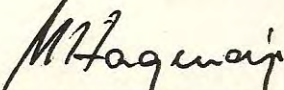
Thank you very much for sending me your recent publication on "The Gulf Crisis and the United Nations" which I read with interest.

Please accept my congratulations for the speed with which the publication was issued and for its substantive qualities.

To my knowledge no other UNA organized a symposium on the crisis in the Gulf. However, a number of them adopted resolutions condemning the Iraqi invasion and supporting the UN action.

With every good wish,

Yours sincerely,

  
Dr. Marek Hagmajer  
Secretary-General

MH/ag.

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WFUNA is a non-governmental organization in consultative status with the United Nations and its related agencies

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विदेश राज्य मंत्री  
भारत  
MINISTER OF STATE  
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
INDIA

14 September 1990

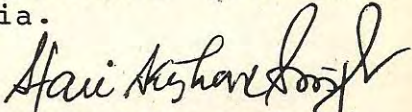
MESSAGE

I welcome the initiative of the Maharashtra United Nations Association to discuss "Gulf Crisis and the United Nations".

The current crisis in the Gulf has confronted developing countries, member states of the UN, with immense problems which require to be tackled urgently. The Gulf region, both for geo-political reasons, as well as for economic reasons, is of great importance to India. Any escalation of tension or conflict would have immediate and serious repercussions for us. The greatest urgency facing India today is the humanitarian question. Thousands of our citizens residing and working in Kuwait and Iraq face acute shortages of food and medicines.

India's position is a clear and principled one and in conformity with the UN Security Council resolutions. India has called for the soonest possible withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait, renunciation of a military solution and working for a negotiated political solution of all outstanding issues and reversal of the induction of foreign military presence in the region.

India has approached the UN Security Council under Art. 50 of the UN Charter with regard to the special problems faced by India resulting from the sharp increase in oil prices, cessation of remittances and cessation of exports. We hope that members of the Security Council will support countries like India, who have invoked Art.50 with a view to ensuring that measures taken by the international community are an adequate response to the special economic problems faced by these countries including India.

  
(Hari Kishore Singh)

RABI RAY  
SPEAKER, LOK SABHA



NEW DELHI

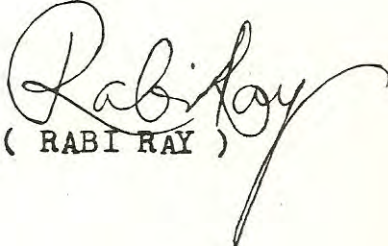
Dated : 8.9.1990.

MESSAGE

I am happy to learn that a meeting on "Gulf Crisis and United Nations" is being organised on 15th September, 1990 under the auspices of Maharashtra United Nations Association.

United Nations has been playing a very important role in resolving international problems and issues. It is only appropriate that its good offices should be utilised to have the Gulf Crisis - which is assuming alarming proportions - tided over at the earliest.

My best wishes for the success of your endeavours.

  
( RABI RAY )

CHIEF MINISTER



सत्यमेव जयते

MAHARASHTRA

Mantralaya, Bombay 400 032

Date : Sept. 11, 1990

MESSAGE

It is indeed appropriate that MUNA has called several eminent public men and intellectuals to debate a burning topic "Gulf Crisis and United Nations."

The basic premise that the U N Charter has to be upheld and that Human Rights have to be protected, underlines the role that the U N has to play in the current crisis, to save humanity.

Millions of unfortunate people from several nations have been entrapped in the Gulf, and all of them look up to the U N for relief and succour. Voluntary agencies and governments can only provide help to relieve hunger and stave off death and disease.

I commend the initiative taken by MUNA and wish the Seminar all success.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Sharad Pawar'.

( Sharad Pawar )



MINISTER FOR  
Finance and Planning  
GOVERNMENT OF MAHARASHTRA  
Mantralaya, Bombay 400 032

September 4, 1990.

I am glad to know that, Maharashtra United Nations Association has organised a meeting on "Gulf Crisis and United Nations" on September 15, 1990, at Bombay.

The importance of upholding the ideals enshrined in United Nations charter need not be overstressed and moreover, the present crisis also involves the protection of human rights.

The MUNA, I am sure, will play a vital role in the context of this crisis.

I extend my best wishes to the office bearers of MUNA on the occasion of this meeting.

*Ramrao Adik*  
(Ramrao Adik)

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Press, Ladies and Gentlemen\*

The invasion and occupation of Kuwait by Iraq is a clear violation of the national sovereignty of Kuwait and its territory. This occupation has caused a serious calamity and damage to human life and property and is considered a dangerous precedent not only in the internal Arab relations but also a violation which the world has not experienced. The world community in entirety and in an unprecedented move has condemned this occupation. The United Nations Security Council has passed five Resolutions in this regard on the basis of the United Nations Charter and the International Declaration of Human Rights. *The Kuwaiti people continue to stand by the legitimate and legal Government of His Highness Shaikh Jaber Al-Ahmed Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, the Amir of Kuwait and headed by the Prime Minister and Crown Prince His Highness Shaikh Saad Al-Abdullah Al-Salim Al-Sabah, and its national identity in accordance to its laws and constitution. Kuwait has rejected this occupation through the continuing brave national resistance of its people. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait is responsible for the present crisis in the Gulf Region and the injustices committed against the Kuwaiti nationals and expatriates who were enjoying a peaceful and prosperous life in Kuwait.*

The atrocities committed by the Iraqi forces are beyond description like stealing, looting, ransacking of houses, stores, shops, personal belongings and killing of innocent people, stealing civilian aircrafts and banks,

both the national and foreign. Even hospital equipment and apparatus were not spared. Most surprising was the looting of the Blood Banks. Study tables of school children were not spared too.

These crimes and atrocities are innumerable. All these inhuman actions are a clear violation of the International Declaration of Human Rights and International Law.

These actions have been committed against a prominent member of the United Nations and Non-Aligned Movement and the Islamic Conference and various other organizations.

*The Kuwaiti people, and its legal Government will not accept this open aggression and subsequent occupation of Kuwait and that our people are resisting the invading army to defend themselves and expatriates in Kuwait.*

We call on all the World Community, especially the Indian people, who have a long history in resisting the occupation, to stand with us to see this crisis through, and we have no doubt that the invaders will withdraw through the assistance of the peace loving people of India and other friendly nations.

Thank you.

KAZIM HAJI YACOB MARAFIE  
CONSUL GENERAL  
FOR THE STATE OF KUWAIT  
BOMBAY.

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\* *Speech delivered by the Consul General for Kuwait at a Press Conference at Taj Mahal Hotel, September 12, 1990*



(L to R) H. E. the Ambassador for U. A. E., H. E. the Ambassador for Kuwait, Secretary-General S. B. Saxena, Bhaichand Patel, Director UNIC, New Delhi, Justice V. S. Deshpande, D. D. Sathe, I.C.S. (Retd.), President, Justice B. Lentin, Dr. T. K. Tope (last)



More than 100 members of the Diplomatic Corps representing 35 countries in the audience



A view of the gathering



His Excellency Ali Zakaria Al Ansari, Ambassador for Kuwait in India, New Delhi releasing the Souvenir





His Excellency Ali Zakaria Al Ansari, Ambassador of Kuwait In India,  
New Delhi addressing the gathering



Director United Nations Information Centre, New Delhi, Mr. Bhaichand Patel  
explaining the steps taken by the Security Council in connection with the  
invasion of Kuwait by Iraq



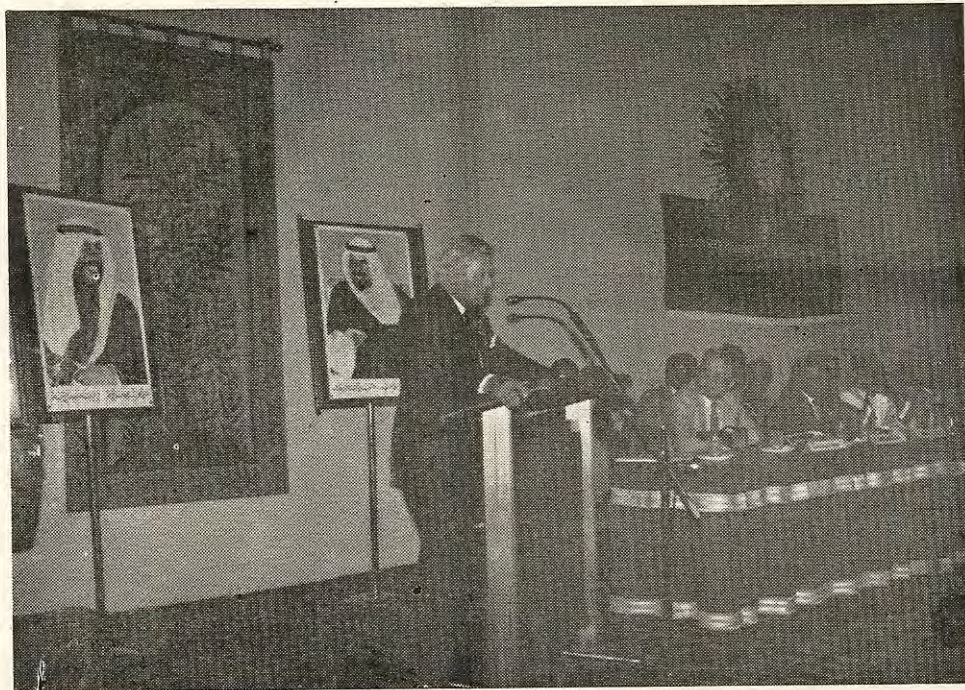
Justice B. Lentin addressing the gathering



Eminent Jurist Ram Jethmalani, M.P., speaking on "Gulf Crisis and U.N."



Dr. T. K. Tope, former Vice-Chancellor, Bombay University expressing his views



R. W. L. Callaghan, Executive Vice-Chairman, MUNA and Consul General for Ireland speaking



Former Chief Justice and Lokayukt V. S. Deshpande who presided over the meeting summing up

# Speech of His Excellency Mr. Ali Zakaria Al Ansari Ambassador of Kuwait in India

Distinguished Guests and Friends,

As you all are aware, on the early morning of the second of August, the Iraqi forces invaded and occupied Kuwait after a severe bloody battle, at a time when Kuwaitis with all sincerity and good faith were trying to settle the disputes between our two countries. The Kuwait delegation left Jeddah in Saudi Arabia, with the impression that the door was still open for more negotiations in the future. Only seven hours of its arrival to Kuwait the Iraqi regime mischievously invaded Kuwait breaking all norms of Arab and Moslem values and conventions.

The Iraqi regime rejected the United Nations Security Council's five resolutions. It rejected the resolutions of the Arab summit Conference (10th of August) the resolutions of Organization of the Islamic Conference and that of the Non-aligned Movement. Iraq mocked the International public opinion by annexing Kuwait and then considering it as its 19th province.

The barbarian attack on the small, peaceful Kuwait, a sovereign, independent state, member of the United Nation, the Arab League, Nam and Chairman of Organisation of Islamic Conference by its bigger and militarily stronger neighbour has, exposed the expansionist ambitions of the Iraqi regime especially after deploying its troops on the borders of Saudi Arabia, thereby threatening not only the stability and security of Saudi Arabia but also that of the entire region.

The Iraqi invaders killed innocent Kuwaitis, looted their houses, shops and banks, cleared warehouses and co-operative societies of foodstuff with a view to causing starvation amongst citizens; seized public and private vehicles and removed them to Iraq. They even went to the extent of raping women of different nationalities. The Kuwaiti Ambassador and staff of the Embassy in Baghdad and the Consulate in Basra were arrested. Atrocities and illegal actions by the invading troops are committed daily.

Now, at this critical time in the history of the Arab Nation, it is imperative that the sanctions imposed by the Security Council of the United Nations, the resolutions of the Arab League Council, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the extraordinary Arab summit are fully implemented so that Iraq may be compelled to come back to its senses and withdraw its troops from Kuwait unconditionally so that the legitimate government of His Highness the Amir may return to Kuwait and resume its responsibilities.

Kuwait is a small, peaceful country, but it has its place in the heart of humanity. It has no enemies, with the wise political and economic policies of its Government and the dynamism of its people Kuwait has been able in short period of time to be transformed into a modern city in the real sense of the words, with well established institutions, democratic rule, and a high standard of living. Its citizens enjoy highly organised educational, medical and social services. It is a peaceful, energetic and welfare society. Its wealth from oil has been carefully invested so that even the future generation has been in mind, so that when the oil dries up they will have other sources of income. Upto now Kuwait managed to secure more than 50% of its income from its investment worldwide. Yet, Kuwait was not selfish. As early as 1961 Kuwait Fund for Arab Development was established to help Arab countries' economies by financing productive projects. Twentyfive years later, Kuwait decided to extend help to all friendly developing countries. You may be surprised to know that between 5-9% of its gross national income is allotted for assistance of other countries. The United Nations goal of 1% to be collected from developed countries has not been achieved until now. Kuwait is really sharing its wealth with its Arab brothers and developing countries. Now, Saddam Hussein says that the wealth of Kuwait should be spent on noble purposes rather than luxuries!! Was

there more noble purpose than what I mentioned ?? Kuwait allots only 8% of its budget for defence whereas 47% is allotted for education and other social services.

For your information Kuwait Fund for Development has financed between 1962-1986, 302 projects of which 77 for African and 67 for Asian countries. The total value of these projects is 4.8 billion dollars. India, itself an old friend with whom we have enjoyed always excellent relations has enjoyed facilities from Kuwait Fund for Development, in the range of 310 million dollars for 8 projects. The latest one was Kerala Fisheries with the sum of 52.5 million dollars. These loans are granted at very low interest rate (1.5-5%) with repayment periods ranging from 15 to 25 years and with grace periods averaging between 2-5 and 5-7 years.

Kuwait has further fulfilled its obligations internationally by paying its share and donations to 25 United Nations Agencies and Organizations. That was just a brief account to assert Kuwait's importance regionally and internationally. No wonder that the international community immediately supported its just cause against the aggressor by issuing the five successive Security Council Resolutions against the Iraqi regime.

Now it may be fruitful to mention certain historical facts. Kuwait has been ruled by Al-Sabah family since 1758 without direct Turkish interference. This rule continued uninterrupted up to the present time with Sheikh Jabir Al-Ahmed Al-Sabah as the Amir of Kuwait. The claim that Kuwait was part of Iraq during the Ottoman Empire has no historical basis. It is well known that the Turkish Empire at that time has its influence on huge territories in Asia, North Africa and Europe. But Kuwait has never flown on its territory any flag but its own even when Iraq itself was under the Ottoman Rule. The 1880 agreement of protection with the United Kingdom was the first contact of Kuwait with a great power at that time. After Kuwait's independence in 1961 Abdul Kareem Kasim, President of Iraq put his claim on Kuwait. But later in 1963 Iraq Government recognized the State of Kuwait with its existing boundaries and established diplomatic rela-

tions and agreed for a demarcation by technical joint teams. But unfortunately kept dragging their feet and said this will be done in due course and resorted every now and then on blackmailing Kuwait. During the hard time of Iraq due to its 8 year war with Iran, Kuwait assisted Iraq extensively (about 13 billion dollars) and suffered as a result. Attempts were made on the life of His Highness the Amir and other subversive actions were taken against Kuwait. Its aeroplanes had been hijacked and shipping lines blocked. But Kuwait kept on supporting Iraq morally and financially. The Iraqi regime showed its appreciation to Kuwait by stabbing it from the back.

After invading Kuwait Saddam Hussein lied to the world when he said that he was called by the Kuwaiti revolutionaries and established a puppet government. There was not one single Kuwaiti who accepted to cooperate with the Iraq invaders. There was complete condemnation, anger and rejection of this invasion that has developed into armed resistance and complete civil disobedience in spite of the atrocities, intimidation and various other measures committed by the invading forces. The welfare society of Kuwait is now living a long nightmare, witnessing the gradual destruction of their beautiful city Kuwait that has taken them years and years to construct, waiting with the utmost patience, sacrifice and resistance until the day comes when the Iraq regime realises that its military might cannot enforce the Kuwaiti people to abandon their principles and submit to its evil plans and that all possible means will be explored for restoring its constitutional legitimate government to Kuwait to take its responsibilities in running the country.

When Kuwait asks its friends and peace loving countries to condemn loudly the Iraqi savage aggression, it is to put more pressure on it and isolate it completely so that it may come back to its senses and realises that there is no way but to withdraw unconditionally thus avoiding more bloodshed and destruction. We would like our old friend India, for whom we have great regard, to join the world in condemning the Iraqi regime aggression, and defending the just cause of Kuwait. We

fully appreciate India's firm stand with the United Nations Charter and Principles, and its stand with democratic norms, being the biggest democracy in the world, and against all forms of tyrannic dictatorships, and would like it to play a more positive role in isolating Iraq thus obliging it to abide by the United Nations Security Council Resolutions.

If any party will benefit from this aggression it is Israel. The Jewish emigration from the USSR and other East European Countries to Israel has been intensified lately without much interruption. The struggle of our brothers in Palestine for restoring their legitimate rights and establishing their own state on their land has been forgotten because the Arab arms are aimed at Arabs. Saddam Hussein has threatened to burn half of Israel, but his army that occupies Kuwait

now is busy massacring his Moslem brothers and looting their properties. Paradoxically, he tries to convince the Arabs that his occupation of Kuwait aims at the liberation of Palestine. This is the real sad image of the Iraqi regime in the Gulf region. It has planted mistrust in their hearts. The gap of split amongst Arabs has become wider and wider. Even worse, the world is now on the verge of destructive war. This is the price everybody everywhere is going to pay when a one man rule possessing military might plagues this earth. He is the one whose judgement is always right, and the entire world is wrong!!! Such tyrannic dictatorships have no place in this century in which freedom and democracy are becoming gradually the phenomenon, and should be strongly condemned and checked, if we dream of a healthy world based on understanding and cooperation.



## The Occupation of Kuwait and Saddam Hussain's Form of Human Rights

BY

H. E. KAZIM H. Y. MARAFIE

Consul General for the State of Kuwait, Bombay

On the 2nd August 1990, Iraq suddenly, without provocation or any legal pretext and without declaration of war, attacked Kuwait in full strength. Humanity has seen many wars in its past history and I am sure it will see in its future also, but unlike this one. To some pessimistic historians peace is only a period between wars that may be, especially in a region which is a focal point in terms of strategic and economic interests. It has always been a great challenge to the leaders of small countries to build their countries by overcoming their countries' backwardness and at the same time to watch for an outside threat. The Arab States like most of the Third World countries gained their Independence after the 2nd World War, due to their national struggle and to the understanding of many thinkers like the world famous philosopher Bernard Shaw, who said sarcastically but wisely that every country has the right to mismanage itself. At a time when many in the West have refuted and challenged the ability of the aspiring Afro-Asian countries for independence no one, as Mr. Bernard Shaw has rightly stated, should appoint himself as a judge to determine whether or not a country reached maturity to rule itself. But sometimes watching the actions of some nations and their leaders we wonder !

Many leaders in the Third World countries mismanaged their countries' wealth and abused their people, to put it frankly. Kuwait is not one of those countries which has been mismanaged by its leaders. Since Independence in 1961, Kuwait has ushered with great vigour to build a modern state

with its wealth and ability of its people. In a short time Kuwait has been transformed to a modern state with well established Educational Institutions, Medical Centres, Modern Highways, Modern Banking systems, Telecommunication and in short a Modern Welfare State, where its people enjoyed a high level of living standard. At the same time Kuwait was not selfish and did not keep its wealth to her own, but on the contrary, Kuwait was one of the leading countries which has established since Independence, the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development, which was followed by many countries. Through this fund, Kuwait has supported many disadvantaged Arab countries, financially in various projects, i.e. Power Stations, Hospitals, Schools and Agricultural projects. At a later date the Arab Fund has been enhanced financially to assist many non-Arab friendly nations to the extent of 9% of Kuwait's gross national product, which has been allotted for friendly developing countries. This fund has financed between 1962 and 1986, 302 projects in Asian and African countries. The total value of these projects amounts to four thousand eight hundred million US \$ out of which more than three hundred million \$ eight projects have been financed in India. Kuwait has further fulfilled its obligation internationally, by paying its share and donations to twenty five United Nations agencies and organisations. So it is no surprise that the world community has come to its rescue in a time of need. Kuwait is a small and peace-loving country which has no enemies and has great respect for world opinion and its international organisations. After this barbaric aggression and occupation was committed against



Kuwait by Iraqi regime, the world community stood with the Kuwaiti people firmly and supported their just cause. This occupation came at a wrong time and a wrong direction. At a time when the two Super Powers are coming closer and having almost identical views on international issues and have successfully solved regional conflicts, Iraq which for the past few months, prior to the invasion, vowed to destroy half of Israel directed its forces to a fraternal Arab and Muslim state. The 2nd August is a date which the Kuwaiti people will remember and the Iraqis will regret for many years to come. The atrocities and human rights abuses committed daily by the Iraqi security forces and troops are beyond description. They were torturing the civilian population, engaging mass extra-judicial executions, looting shops and supermarkets, ransacking houses and even raping. Eye witnesses have reported to Amnesty International many executions and tortures are said to include use of electric shocks, prolonged beatings on sensitive parts of the body, breaking of limbs, plucking out hair with pincers. These were inflicted not only on individuals in the resistance but on any one supporting or sympathising with the legal Government. In addition to such crimes against humanity, eye witnesses who have just returned say that the Iraqis have resorted to complete destruction of Institutions of Kuwait by removing property and all valuable materials from Banks, Hospitals and private homes. It was an act of piracy. They were trying to rob the country of everything. It was also reported by an eye witness, that a religious leader who had publicly condemned the invasion was later found dead with his finger nails extracted and beard ripped out from his chin. Not to mention the financial loss of those foreigners who worked in Kuwait, and we proudly say we have over 120 nationalities, who lived comfortably earning millions of dollars. These shameful crimes committed against humanity, not on Kuwait alone, have no precedent in the present history and the world has in its entirety condemned these acts.

The United Nations through its Security Council has passed series of Resolutions

condemning Iraq and mandating the withdrawal of its troops unconditionally from Kuwait and restoring the legal Government. Iraq has recently tried unsuccessfully to link the Gulf crisis with the Middle East problem and the evacuation of the Arab Muslim and friendly nations from Saudi Arabia. We have to say clearly that these forces which have been stationed in Saudi Arabia have come at the request of Saudi Arabia to defend its territories against the imminent invasion by the Iraqi forces, and as has been clearly announced by the Government of Saudi Arabia, these forces will withdraw when the cause of their presence has been served, and after Iraq withdraws unconditionally from Kuwait and respects the United Nations Resolutions and the Arab League and Islamic Resolutions. Also we should clearly state that there is no linkage between withdrawing the Iraqi forces and solving the Arab-Israeli conflict and any attempt by Iraq or others to link the two issues is only to delay the solution of the Kuwait occupation.

Kuwait has always stood with the Palestinians in all international organisations, trying to reach a solution to the plight of the Palestinian people who have been faced with unprecedented injustices at the hands of the Israelis and the last massacre in the Al-Aksa Mosque, is only one example of the atrocities committed against the innocent people. But to link the problem of the Middle East to the Gulf crisis, is only to do more harm to the Palestinians and the Kuwaitis who are facing an occupation by an Arab country.

Kuwait stands fully with the Security Council Resolutions: 660, 661, 662, which clearly state:-

1. Mandating Iraq to withdraw immediately and unconditionally all its forces to its position in which it was located on 1-8-90.

2. Determined to bring the invasion and occupation of Kuwait by Iraq to an end and to restore the Sovereignty, Independence and territorial integrity of Kuwait and to restore the authority of the legitimate Government of His Highness the Amir, Shaikh Jaber Al-Ahmed Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, and the Crown Prince and Prime Minister Shaikh Saad Abdulla Al-Salim Al-Sabah.

3. The annexation of Iraq under any form or pretext has no legal validity and is considered null and void.

4. Calls upon all states, international organisations and specialized agencies not to recognise the annexation and to refrain from any action or dealing that might be interpreted as an indirect recognition of the annexation. Kuwait also stands with all the other Resolutions relevant to the Gulf crisis of the Security Council, the Arab League resolutions and the Arab summit resolution in Cairo.

Between the period, 13-15 October 1990, a public conference was held in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, headed by His Highness the Amir of Kuwait and attended by more than one thousand prominent personalities from Kuwait, i.e. Ministers, Members of Parliament, Businessmen, Members of Public Institutions, Journalists and others.

At the end of the conference which was covered by the local and foreign media, a resolution was passed which

1. Condemned the Iraqi regime aggression and occupation of Kuwait and the atrocities committed against the Kuwaiti people.

2. Fully supported the legal Government of H. H. the Amir, Shaikh Jaber Al-Ahmed Al-Jaber Al-Sabah and Crown Prince and Prime Minister H. H. Shaikh Saad Abdulla Al-Salim Al-Sabah.

3. Called for the full and unconditional withdrawal of the Iraqi forces from Kuwait without giving an inch of land to the aggressor.

4. Stood by and supported the resolutions of the Security Council and considered them as the only basis in addition to the extraordinary Arab Summit resolution in Cairo on 10th August 1990 to reach a peaceful solution to the Gulf crisis.

5. Expressed their thanks to all countries that stood by Kuwait, and also to the Security Council of the United Nations for its firm stand against the Iraqi aggressor.

At the end, I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Maharashtra United Nations Association on its Silver Jubilee and to applaud its firm stand in promoting the values of justice and shouldering the heavy burden of the principles of the U.N. according to its Charter.

# Agreement with the Sheikh of Koweit

## 23 January 1899

Praise be to God alone (lit. in the name of God Almighty) ('Bissim Illah Ta'alah Shanuho')

The object of writing this lawful and honourable bond is that it is hereby covenanted and agreed between Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm John Meade, I.S.C., Her Britannic Majesty's Political Resident, on behalf of the British Government on the one part, and Sheikh Mubarak-bin-Sheikh Subah, Sheikh of Koweit, on the other part, that the said, Sheikh Mubarak-bin-Sheikh Subah of his own free will and desire does hereby pledge and bind himself, his heirs and successors not to receive the Agent or Representative of any Power or Government at Koweit, or at any other place within the limits of his territory, without the previous sanction of the British Government; and he further binds himself, his heirs and successors not to cede, sell, lease, mortgage, or give for occupation or for any other purpose any portion of his territory to the Government or subjects of any other purpose any portion of his territory to the Government or subjects of any other power without the previous consent of Her Majesty's Government for these purposes. This engagement also to extend to any portion of the territory of the said Sheikh Mubarak, which may now be in the possession of the subjects of any other Government.

In token of the conclusion of this lawful and honourable bond, Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm John Meade, I.S.C., Her Britannic Majesty's Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, and Sheikh Mubarak-bin-Sheikh Subah, the former on behalf of the British Government and the latter on behalf of himself, his heirs and successors do each, in the presence of witnesses, affix their signatures on this, the tenth day of Ramazan 1316, corresponding with the twenty-third day of January, 1899.

M. J. MEADE                      MUBARAK-AL-SUBAH  
Political Resident in  
the Persian Gulf

Witnesses :

E. WICKHAM HORE, Capt., I.M.S.  
T. CALCOTT GASKIN

MUHAMMAD RAHIM BIN  
ABDUL NEBI SAFFER

Article 1 :

The territory of Kuwayt, as delimited in Articles 5 and 7 of this convention, constitutes an autonomous kaza of the Ottoman Empire.

Article 2 :

The shaykh of Kuwayt will hoist, as in the past, the Ottoman flag, together with the world 'Kuwayt' inscribed in the corner if he so wishes it, and he will enjoy complete administrative autonomy in the territorial zone defined in Article 5 of this Convention. The Ottoman Imperial Government will refrain from interference in the affairs of Kuwayt, including the question of succession, and from any administrative act as well as any occupation or military act, in the territories belonging to it. In the event of vacancy, the Ottoman Imperial Government will appoint by Imperial ferman a kaymakam to succeed the deceased shaykh. He will also have the power to delegate before the shaykh a commissioner to protect the interests and the natives of other parts of the Empire.

Article 3 :

The Ottoman Imperial Government recognizes the validity of the conventions which the shaykh of Kuwayt previously concluded with the Government of His Britannic Majesty, dated 23 January 1899, 24 May 1900, and 28 February 1904. It also recognizes the validity of land concessions made by the said shaykh to the Government of His Britannic Majesty and to British subjects, and the validity of the pledges included in the note of 24 October 1911, sent by H. M.'s Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan's Ambassador in London.

Article 4 :

With a view to confirming the understanding already established between the two Governments following the exchange of assurances dated 6 September 1901, between the embassy of His Britannic Majesty at Constantinople and the Imperial Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Government of His Britannic Majesty declares that since no

change will be effected by the Ottoman Imperial Government in the status quo of Kuwayt, as defined in the present Convention, it will not alter the nature of its relations with the Government of Kuwayt and will not establish a protectorate over the area ascribed to it. The Ottoman Imperial Government takes note of this declaration.

Article 5 :

The autonomy of the Shaykh of Kuwayt is exercised by him in the territories the limit of which forms a semi-circle with the town of Kuwayt in the center, the Khur-al-Zubayr at the northern extremity and al-Qurayyin at the southern extremity. This line is indicated in red on the map annexed to the present convention (annex V). The islands of al-Warbah, Bubyān, Masjhan, Faylakah, 'Awhah, al-Kubr, Qaru, al-Maqta, and Umm-al-Maradim, together with the adjacent islets and waters, are included in this zone.

Article 6 :

The tribes which are situated within the limits stipulated in the following article are recognized as within the dependence of the shaykh of Kuwayt who will collect their tithes as in the past and will exercise the administrative rights belonging to him in his quality of Ottoman kaymakam. The Ottoman Imperial Government will not exercise in this region any administrative action independently of the shaykh of Kuwayt and will refrain from establishing garrisons or undertaking any military action whatsoever without prior understanding with the Government of His Britannic Majesty.

Article 7 :

The limits of the territory referred to in the preceding article are fixed as follows :

The demarcation line begins on the coast at the mouth of Khur-al-Zubayr in the northwest and crosses immediately south of Umm-Qasr, Safwan and Jabal Sanam, in such a way as to leave to the vilayet of Basrah

these locations and their wells; arriving at the al-Batin, it follows it toward the southwest until Hafr-al-Batin which it leaves on the same side as Kuwayt; from that point on the line in question goes southeast leaving to the wells of al-Safah, al-Garaa, al-Haba, al-Warbah and Antaa, reaching the sea near Jabal Munifa.

Article 8 :

In the event that the Ottoman Imperial Government agrees with the Government of His Britannic Majesty to prolong the Baghdad-Basrah railroad to the sea at the Kuwayt terminal or to any other terminal in the autonomous territory, the two Governments will agree on the measures to be taken concerning protection of the line and the stations as well as the establishment of customs offices, merchandise depots and any other installation connected with the railroad.

Article 9 :

The shaykh of Kuwayt will enjoy in full safety the rights of private property which he possesses in the territory of the vilayet of Basrah. These rights to private property will have to be exercised in accordance with Ottoman law, and the immovable properties will be subjected to duties and charges, to the rules of maintenance and transmission and to the jurisdiction established by Ottoman laws.

Article 10 :

The criminals of neighbouring provinces will not be received in the territory of Kuwayt and will be expelled if found; similarly, the criminals of Kuwayt will not be received in neighbouring provinces and will be expelled if found.

It is understood that this provision will not be used by the Ottoman authorities as a pretext for interference in the affairs of Kuwayt; it will also not serve as a pretext to the shaykh of Kuwayt for interference in the affairs of the neighbouring provinces.

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# Unofficial translation

## Minutes Agreed to Between Kuwait and Iraq

BAGHDAD, 4TH OCTOBER, 1963

In compliance with the desire being felt by the two parties to remove the factors vitiating the relations between the two countries, the official Kuwaiti delegate now visiting the Republic of Iraq met with the Iraqi delegation at the invitation of its Prime Minister on the 4th of October, 1963, in Baghdad.

The Kuwaiti delegation consisted of :

1. H. H. Sheikh Sabah Al-Salem Al-Sabah, Heir-Apparent and Prime Minister
2. H. E. Sheikh Saad Al-Abdullah Al-Sabah, Minister of the Interior and Acting Foreign Minister,
3. H. E. Mr. Khalifa Khaled Al-Ghonaim, Minister of Commerce,
4. H. E. Ambassador Abdul Rehman Salem Al-Atiqi, Deputy Foreign Minister,

The Iraqi delegation comprised :

1. Gen. Ahmed Hassan Al-Bakr, Prime Minister,
2. Lt. Gen. Saleh Mahdi Ammash, Minister of Defence and Acting Foreign Minister,
3. Dr. Mahmood Mohamed Al-Homsi, Minister of Commerce,
4. Mr. Mohamed Kayarah, Deputy Foreign Minister

The talks were held between the two delegations in a very cordial and fraternal atmosphere, with a full sense of Arab ties, neighbourly bonds and common interests.

Affirming their deep-rooted desire to cement the relations in the interest of both the countries, and inspired by the Supreme Arab objectives;

Believing in the need to improve the factors that had beset the Iraqi-Kuwaiti relations as a result of the stance taken by the extinct Kassimi regime toward Kuwait

before the shining rise of the 14th of Ramadan revolution.

Being convinced of the dictates of the national obligation of opening a new page of relations between the two Arab States, in conformity with bilateral ties that remove the shadow of that alienation which was created by the previous regime in Iraq.

From the standpoint of the two government's belief in the identity of the Arab nation and its inevitable unity.

And after the Iraqi side's cognizance of the Kuwaiti government's statement given in the Kuwaiti Parliament on 9th April, 1963, containing Kuwait's desire to work for ending the agreement signed with Britain a proper time :

The two delegations agreed on the following :-

I. The Republic of Iraq recognizes the independence of the State of Kuwait and its complete sovereignty over its borders as stated in Iraqi Prime Minister's letter of 21-7-1932, and approved by the Ruler of Kuwait in his letter dated 10-8-1932.

II. The two governments shall work to consolidate the fraternal ties between the two brotherly countries, prompted by the national obligations, common interests and the aspiration for a comprehensive Arab unity.

III. The two governments shall work to establish cultural, commercial and economic cooperation and to exchange technical data between them.

In realization of the above, the two countries exchange diplomatic representation at ambassadorial level, with immediate effect.

In testimony whereof, the leaders of the two delegations have their signatures on this minute.

Sabah Al-Salem Al-Sabah  
Leader, Kuwaiti Delegation

Gen. Ahmed Hassan Al-Bakr  
Leader, Iraqi Delegation

From: Nouri Pasha Al-Saeed  
To : Sir F. Humphrey,  
Prime Minister's Office  
Baghdad: 21-7-1932

I believe Your Excellency will agree that the time has come to confirm the borders existing between Iraq and Kuwait.

Therefore, I request you to take the necessary measures to obtain the approval of the responsible authorities in Kuwait over the details of the frontiers between the two countries.

"From the intersection of Wadi Awjaa in Al-Baten and thence northward of Khatt Al-Baten to a point falling south of Safwan latitude precisely. From there eastward passing through the south of Safwan wells, Jabal Snam and Umm Qasr, traversing Iraq and further to the intersection of Khor Zubair, Khor Abdullah.

The islands of Warbah, Bubian, Maskan, Failaka, Aoah, Kibr, Qaro and Umm-ul-Maradem belong to Kuwait.

From: The Ruler of Kuwait  
To: The Political Agent in Kuwait  
Dated: 10-8-1932

We have received with pleasure your confidential letter dated 7-4-1351 A.H. (9-8-1932) and took note of its contents, and of the translation of the letter dated 25-7-1932 sent by H. E. the High Commissioner in Iraq to H. E. the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, together with the translation of the letter dated 21-7-1932 sent by H. E. Nouri Pasha Al-Saeed, Prime Minister of Iraq, regarding the Iraqi-Kuwait frontiers.

We have also learnt from H. E. the Political Resident's letter dated 30-7-1932 that the borders suggested by the Prime Minister of Iraq, have been approved by his Majesty's Government.

We, therefore, wish to inform you of our approval and confirmation of the present frontiers between Iraq and Kuwait, as detailed in the letter of the Prime Minister of Iraq.

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**LETTER DATED 5 AUGUST 1990 FROM  
THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE  
OF KUWAIT TO THE UNITED NATIONS  
ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-  
GENERAL**

On instructions from my Government, I should like to convey to you the following:

The extent to which the Iraqi regime has violated the Charter of the United Nations, international law and custom and the principles of human rights with its aggression against Kuwait and its occupation of the country, which have been condemned by Security Council resolution 660 (1990), has become clearly evident to all. The aggressive and invading Iraqi forces began, from the first hours of their occupation of Kuwait, to adopt a number of inhuman measures and practices against the Kuwaiti people, its resources, those things that it holds most sacred and its property. The pace of these savage practices has increased with the increasing resistance of the Kuwaiti people and its refusal to accept and to co-operate with the occupation forces and their aggressive and expansionist schemes.

The inhuman practices have reached a peak of severity in that they have now become concentrated with evident fanaticism, in an attempt to intimidate the Kuwaiti people for the purpose of compelling them to co-operate with the Iraq government installed by the occupation, forcing citizens to leave their home places of residence. Examples of such practices, which are an affront to man and which violate all the values of Islam and of civilization, as principles of human rights and the relevant Geneva Convention, are as follows:

1. Invasion and desecration of houses of worship.
2. Searching and ransacking of homes and intrusion on the privacy of their occupants.
3. Looting of all public and private facilities, such as the Central Bank, commercial banks and places of public business.
4. Clearing of warehouses and co-operative societies of foodstuffs with a view to causing starvation among citizens.
5. Theft of public and private vehicles and their removal to Iraq.

**LETTER DATED 7 SEPTEMBER 1990  
FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE  
OF KUWAIT TO THE UNITED  
NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE  
SECRETARY-GENERAL**

I have the honour to transmit herewith a letter addressed to you by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sheikh Sabah al-Ahmed al-Jaber al-Sabah.

I should be grateful if you would have this letter circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Mohammed A. ABULHASAN  
Permanent Representative

**ANNEX**

Letter Dated 7 September 1990 from the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kuwait addressed to the Secretary-General.

With reference to the letter dated 4 September 1990 addressed to you, containing the initiative of the Libyan leader, Muammad Gaddafi, to address and solve the problem of Iraq's occupation of Kuwait, the Kuwaiti Government wished to register its comments on that initiative from two perspectives:

**1. WITH RESPECT TO FORM**

The Libyan initiative runs counter to article 5 of the recent resolution adopted by the Council of the League of Arab States, which states clearly that any Arab initiative must be channelled through the League of Arab States. It therefore provides for abstention from any action in that context which might in any way lead to the dissipation of efforts to persuade the Iraqi aggressor regime to abide by the will of the international community. With respect to form, therefore, this initiative runs counter to the aforementioned resolution of the Council of the League of Arab States.

**2. WITH RESPECT TO SUBSTANCE**

Certain aspects of this initiative are evidently incompatible with the will of the international community, which condemned the Iraqi aggression against the independent State of Kuwait, a Member of the United Nations. In this connection, the Security Council has adopted clear and explicit resolu-

tions condemning the Iraqi aggression and calling for the unreserved and unconditional withdrawal of the party responsible for that aggression from all Kuwaiti territory, as well as for the restoration of legitimacy in the form of His Highness Sheikh Jaber al-Ahmed al-Jabar al-Sabah, the Amir of Kuwait, and his Government, headed by His Highness the Crown Prince and Prime Minister, Sheikh Saad al-Abdullah al-Salem al-Sabah.

Some clauses of the initiative also include what might be interpreted as a reward for the aggressor Iraqi regime, by giving it possession of the Kuwaiti island of Bubiyan and the Rutgah oilfield in the north of Kuwait.

We therefore consider this initiative to be inconsistent and incompatible with those Security Council resolutions which clearly and explicitly emphasize condemnation of the Iraqi aggression, call upon the Iraqi regime to comply with the will of the international community and withdraw its forces from Kuwait to the positions in which they were located before 2 August 1990 and provide for the return of the legitimate Government in order that it may resume its normal functions.

We firmly believe you share our view that the Gulf crisis arising as a result of Iraq's occupation of Kuwait can be solved only by the full and complete implementation of the pertinent Security Council resolutions. There can therefore be no question of accepting or discussing any initiatives which lie, whether partially or entirely, outside this framework.

(Signed) Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jaber  
AL-SABAH  
Deputy Prime Minister and  
Minister for Foreign Affairs

LETTER DATED 8 SEPTEMBER 1990  
FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTA-  
TIVE OF KUWAIT TO THE UNITED  
NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE  
SECRETARY-GENERAL

I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of the letter sent by His Highness the Emir of Kuwait, Shaikh Jaber al-Sabah, to His Excellency Mr. George Bush, President

of the United States of America, on the eve of the summit meeting at Helsinki, Finland.

I should be grateful if you would have the text of this letter circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Mohammad A. ABULHASAN  
Permanent Representative

ANNEX

My country, Kuwait, is going through a critical period in its history, straining under the yoke of oppressive Iraqi occupation which seeks with boundless hatred and savagery to bring down the foundations of a State Member of the United Nations and other international organizations, a State which has furthered the development of civilisation through its exemplary relations with the countries of the world.

Today, as you prepare to meet Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, President of the Soviet Union, at Helsinki, Finland, to discuss the grave situation in the Gulf region which results from the brutal occupation of the State of Kuwait by the Iraqi army as of daybreak on 2 August 1990 and from the fact that the occupation authorities, obstinately, boastfully and arrogantly refuse to heed the will of the international community as expressed through resolutions of the United Nations Security Council, allow me to express on my own behalf and on behalf of the Kuwaiti people the esteem in which we hold the positions of principle taken by the United States of America, which have been instrumental in mobilizing the international community for the adoption of resolutions by the Security Council on the occupation of Kuwait, resolutions in which the Council condemned Iraq's aggression in the name of international lawfulness and called upon the Iraqi aggressor to withdraw its forces immediately and unconditionally from Kuwaiti territory and to allow the legitimate Government of Kuwait to resume its functions.

I appeal to you as the head of a great power which lives up to its international humanitarian and moral responsibilities in



order to safeguard security and establish peace in the world in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, which guarantees small States like Kuwait protection and security against being overwhelmed by the forces of evil and aggression, forces which defy, the will of the international community and attack peaceful and peace-loving peoples, exposing the world to war and destruction.

The steadfast people of Kuwait and I myself hope that this important meeting will yield a decisive position that will allow right to prevail and turn back injustice and aggression, this can only be done by taking decisive measures that will compel the Iraqi aggressor to implement the resolutions of the Security Council fully, without delay or equivocation. The fact of the matter is that, given the obstinacy and arrogance of the Iraqi aggressor regime, there is no longer any hope of finding a diplomatic solution to the situation in the Gulf.

I take this opportunity to convey to you, on my behalf and on behalf of the Government and people of Kuwait, my thanks and appreciation for the major and responsible role being assumed by the United States of America, under your leadership, in confronting the treacherous Iraqi occupation of Kuwait.

I hope whole-heartedly that your historic conference will be crowned with success. I wish you success also.

(Signed) Jaber al-Ahmad AL-SABAH  
Emir of the State of Kuwait  
16 Safar A. H. 1411  
5 September A. D. 1990

LETTER DATED 8 SEPTEMBER 1990  
FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF KUWAIT TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

*I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of the letter sent by His Highness the Emir of Kuwait addressed to the President al-Sabah, to His Excellency the President of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, on the eve of the summit meeting at Helsinki, Finland.*

I should be grateful if you would have this letter circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Mohammad A. ABULHASAN  
Permanent Representative

#### ANNEX

Text of a Letter Dated 5 September 1990 from the Emir of Kuwait addressed to the President of the USSR

I am concerned, in the historic and critical moments through which my country, Kuwait, is passing, to address you as you are about to embark on a meeting with the United States President, Mr. George Bush, at Helsinki, Finland to discuss the grave situation prevailing in the Gulf region following the treacherous Iraqi occupation of the State of Kuwait beginning on 2 August 1990 and the attempt of the tyrannical occupier malevolently and arrogantly, to destroy the fundamental structure of the State of Kuwait, thereby defying the will of the international community as expressed in the resolutions of the United Nations Security Council.

As I note with appreciation and pride the positive stand of the Soviet Union in support of the Security Council resolutions concerning the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, I affirm once again that small States such as the State of Kuwait always look to your great State to assume its international human and moral responsibilities for the establishment of security and the spread of peace throughout the world by upholding the Charter of the United Nations and standing firm against the aggressor Iraq, which has flouted the will of the international community as expressed by the resolutions of the Security Council. Accordingly, you share my view that the world would be exposed to disturbances and the scourge of war and destruction if the small, peace-loving peoples were left as a target for the ambitions, tyranny and maltreatment of the forces of evil and oppression that lie outside international legitimacy.

I and the steadfast people of Kuwait, and indeed, all the peace-loving peoples, expect from your historic meeting a decisive position that will restore right and defeat the forces of injustice and aggression. That can only be by the adoption of effective measures that will compel the aggressor Iraq to respect the international will and implement in full the resolutions of the Security Council without prevarication or delay. I am confident that at that meeting you will arrive at all necessary decisions to protect international legitimacy and compel the aggressor to withdraw its forces, unconditionally and unrestrictedly, from Kuwaiti territory, thus enabling legitimacy to function once again as normal, particularly since there is no longer any opportunity for the success of any diplomatic initiative, in view of the obduracy and arrogance of the aggressor Iraqi regime.

I take this opportunity to convey to you, on my behalf and on behalf of the Government and people of Kuwait, my thanks and appreciation for the major and responsible role being assumed by the Soviet Union, under your leadership, in confronting the treacherous Iraqi occupation of Kuwait.

His Excellency  
President Mikhail Gorbachev  
President of the Union of Soviet Socialist  
Republics

I hope whole-heartedly that your historic conference will be crowned with success. I wish you also success.

(Signed) Jaber Al-Ahmed Al-Sabah  
Emir of the State of Kuwait

5, September 1990  
LETTER DATED 8, SEPTEMBER 1990  
FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF KUWAIT TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

We have received information today from Kuwait that the Iraqi occupation forces are savagely intensifying their inhumane practices against innocent civilians in Kuwait, committing the following violations;

- Killings in the streets, in the presence of the victims' families;
- Summary executions;
- Massive random arrests;
- Burning and destruction of homes;

In transmitting this distressing information, I call upon you to take whatever measures you deem appropriate to put an end to these violations.

I should be grateful if you would have the text of this letter circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Mohammad A. ABULHASN  
Permanent Representative

# BACK TO YEAR ZERO\*

**Saddam eradicates Kuwait but Bush must hold fire. First they took the BMWs—now the Iraqis are looting vital medical equipment. Yet as Kuwait dies, writes John Cassidy, Saddam remains unchecked.**

UNTIL two months ago, Entertainment City was the Disneyland of the Middle East, an oasis of American Kitsch 12 miles west of Kuwait City. Tourists from all over the Gulf used to visit Future World, International World and Arab World to ride on the "space needle", the "moon orbiter" and the "atom smasher".

Now the Kuwaiti government-funded \$ 12 m pleasure complex, which took six years to build and aped Disneyland in California lies looted an eerie symbol of what has happened to Kuwait since August 2.

Amid the scaled-down models of Big Ben, the Eiffel Tower and the leaning tower of Pisa, there is no sign of life. Entertainment City's Pakistani workers have fled to Jordan; the roller-coasters, carousels and miniature trains have been dismantled and trucked to Baghdad.

Quite what Saddam Hussein wants with the "moon orbiter" is unclear. But it has become war booty, along with the traffic lights, the lamp posts and crazy-paving stones, the art treasures, newspaper printing presses, forklift trucks, kidney machines, incubators and almost everything else that can be ripped out of the desert kingdom.

Kuwait has fallen victim to the most systematic looting since the 16th century Spanish plundered the New World. According to exiled Kuwait government officials, American experts and other Kuwaiti exiles interviewed by the Sunday Times, the city state is now a mere shell.

Saddam's forces have effectively stripped, depopulated and dehumanised a country which only ten weeks ago vied with Switzerland for the title of the world's richest. They

**London Sunday Times—Oct. 7/1990,**

have also terrorised the remaining Kuwaiti population into submission by carrying out mass arrests and executions at the slightest sign of resistance activity.

Possibly the most inhumane incidents reported were the removal of incubators — after the babies in them had been taken out and left to die. Iraqi soldiers reportedly entered the Al-Adan hospital in Al-Ahmadi, near the Saudi Arabian border, and unplugged incubators supporting the lives of 22 babies many of whom later died. The facts of that alleged incident remain undocumented, but another was recounted in convincing detail in London last week.

Dr. Mohsin Yousof, Professor of Medicine and Cardiology at Kuwait hospital who escaped from Kuwait just after the Iraqi invasion said that twin premature baby boys born to a Kuwaiti woman who had tried for 15 years to become pregnant died after being removed from their incubators by Iraqi soldiers.

Yousof said that a doctor known to him had stated in writing that he witnessed the incident at a maternity hospital. "The mother was told to take the babies home", said Yousof "The day after, the babies died". He said the information was given to him during a meeting with the Kuwaiti doctor in Bahrain.

Yousof said the removal of incubators and other advanced medical equipment such as kidney dialysis machines was part of a move by Saddam to "village the country." The Iraqi's have also taken x-ray machines, surgical equipment, blood banks and radiotherapy machines needed to treat cancer patients. "Doctors are now having to act under the orders of Iraqi soldiers. The military has now taken over all the country's hospitals," Yousof said.

\* Submitted by the Permanent Representative of Kuwait to United Nations as a Document to be Circulated among the members of the Security Council.

Another exiled Kuwaiti doctor produced a written testimonial from a colleague who recounted what happened when he tried to help a young member of the Kuwaiti resistance who had been taken to hospital with multiple injuries.

"The Kuwaiti doctor realised that the boy was gasping for breath — obviously somebody had switched off his oxygen. He quickly switched it back on and the boy improved a little as he sat beside him. An Iraqi doctor observed him doing that. He was taken to a side room and was told quite blatantly, "I advise you not to spread this information to any of the news media, or you will face serious consequences."

"Next morning the Kuwaiti doctor went into the hospital and found the boy dead. The oxygen had been switched off again."

For George Bush, grappling now with tough domestic problems as well as the Gulf crisis, such horror stories are a terrible test of his resolve not to move his troops against the Iraqis in Kuwait until all economic and diplomatic efforts to remove them have been exhausted. His critics complain that by the time he does go to the rescue the last shred of Kuwait national identity will have vanished. And Brent Scowcraft, Bush's National Security Advisor said last week that "there is no question that what is happening inside Kuwait affects the timetable" for deciding whether sanctions have failed.

This comment set off a frenzy of press speculation about whether Bush was on the verge of turning to the military option. But "Scowcraft's comments were not intended to signal a departure from our basic policy," said a senior American official. "That remains same". As revealed in The Sunday Times last week, the White House's strategy is to try to outlast Saddam while sanctions take effect.

Bush's speech at the United Nations last week was interpreted as a further clear indication of his own reluctance to adopt the early use of force. The President told the UN he wanted a peaceful outcome to the crisis, and he raised the prospect of an Arab Israeli settlement if Saddam withdrew from Kuwait.

This was intended as a minor concession to Saddam and a spur to diplomacy, and it was echoed later in the week by Douglas Hurd.

Despite the disastrous situation in Kuwait, Bush's advisers see the next few weeks as a period when diplomacy will be given its head. They consider it exhaust all non-military possibilities before looking at other options.

Even if Bush wanted to consider using force, he could not do so for some time yet. "D-Day", the date at which Bush will have all his military options available, is slipping back by the week.

A month ago, the Pentagon said it would be ready by October 15. This date has now been put back a month, and some are saying no offensive action could be taken before December 1, the date by which the British and French forces will be fully deployed and acclimatised.

The only action likely to be taken against Saddam in the near future is a UN resolution calling for reparations to be paid to Kuwait after any settlement, an idea proposed by Margaret Thatcher in New York last week. But, according to British officials, this resolution will not mention the possible use of military force. If it did, they fear, it would be vetoed.

The Iraqi dictator seems very pleased with the situation. Visiting Kuwait last week for the first time since the invasion, he publicly taunted the American President. "Bush can't do what he says," he told his troops, brushing off threats of an American invasion. "Have you seen anybody walking around here who looks like an American?"

Saddam's portrait appears on most public buildings, and a large statue of him greets visitors at the gateway to Kuwait City — a roundabout just west of the business area.

While his men strip Kuwait of its economic identity, his soldiers and secret police have terrorised the population into submission. According to an Amnesty International report released last week, Saddam's forces are guilty of "widespread arrest, interrogation under torture, summary executions and mass extrajudicial killings."

Kuwaiti officials say the Iraqi resorted to brute force because the Kuwaiti resistance, aided by covert American and Saudi Arabian operations, was initially highly successful each responsible for distributing food and attacking Iraqi forces in its area. According to Kuwaitis they originally fought door-to-door battles, inflicting heavy casualties on the Iraqis. But in the past few weeks the Iraqis have turned their tanks on any buildings from which guns are fired, and have started randomly executing youths from resistance areas. At one point, resistance workers were discovering up to a dozen Kuwaiti bodies each morning, most shot at close range.

Hundreds of Kuwaitis have also been arrested and tortured. According to Amnesty International: "Some have been given electric shocks or suffered prolonged beatings. Others had their limbs broken, their finger nails pulled out, and were threatened with sexual assault or execution."

These Iraqi terror tactics led local leaders to appeal to the exiled Kuwaiti government to call off the resistance attacks because of the reprisals they were provoking, and last week it agreed to order a radical reduction in activities.

Iraqi forces are arresting not only those suspected of armed attacks, but also any men, women and children found with Kuwaiti literature. The Iraqis have ordered each Kuwaiti family to hang a picture of Saddam in its home. Refusal to comply is in some cases being treated as a capital offence.

Iraq's actions have reduced Kuwait's population from 1.9m before the invasion to about 500,000. Some 250,000 of the kingdom's 600,000 citizens have fled, along with the vast majority of the 1.3m foreign residents.

About the only things still working in Kuwait City are the water and electricity plants. Factories and offices are at a standstill. The Kuwaiti currency, the once mighty dinar, is no longer legal tender. Kuwaiti driving licenses, identity cards and car license plates have all been cancelled. Kuwaitis must obtain Iraqi citizenship before the end of this month.

The pillage of Kuwait took place in two stages, in the aftermath of the invasion, Saddam's troops sacked the obvious targets, including the royal palace, the Treasury, the Central Bank, and the Kuwait National

Museum. They also raided department stores and luxury car showrooms.

In the past month, according to Kuwaiti officials and exiles, the looting has become a systematic dismembering of the private and public institutions that used to make Kuwait a modern technological society.

Schools, research institutes, libraries and hospitals have been carried. Kuwait University has been turned into the headquarters of the Iraqi secret police. According to Amnesty International, the campus has become the execution ground for a scores of people suspected of opposing the invasion.

Factories have been looted, as have many office blocks. Kuwait City's seven newspapers — five Arabic and two British — were stripped of printing presses, computers and news-wire machines. Local television and radio stations received the same treatment. As a result, there are no news media in Kuwait. Most residents rely on broadcasts in Arabic by the BBC World Service.

About the only significant industrial structures that have not been plundered are the Kuwaiti oil wells. But there are unconfirmed reports that they have been fitted with plastic explosives in case of an American attack.

With little left to steal that is not nailed down, the Iraqis have turned their attention to Kuwait's fixtures and buildings. According to Kuwaiti sources, at least one oil pot is being steadily stripped.

Meanwhile, thousands of Iraqi and Palestinian families are streaming south to fill vacant Kuwait City apartments.

The exiled government, based in Taif, Saudi Arabia, has a complete copy of its citizenship records but it would still have great difficulty ejecting the "new" Kuwaitis if it ever returned to power. An act of physical and social engineering also means that nothing short of the total reconstruction of the country will be necessary.

"It will be like starting from zero," said Al-Massar, the Secretary-General of the Kuwaiti cabinet. "It will take a hell of a lot of time, effort and goodwill to put the country together again." That is for the future, in the meantime he is waiting to hear if the "moon orbiter" appears in Baghdad. "It will be interesting to see where it springs up." he said.

# THE GULF CRISIS\*

BY  
Justice B. LENTIN

The Gulf crisis is the creation of one man. It has its genesis from the dictators of the recent past.

In 1937, Hitler invaded Austria and annexed it to the greater glory of the Third Reich. Human rights were destroyed. The League of Nations did nothing. The Nazi dictator rejoiced.

Soon it was the turn of Czechoslovakia. Human rights were destroyed. The League of Nations did nothing. The Nazi dictator rejoiced.

Mussolini bombed Abyssinia and annexed Ethiopia to the greater glory of the Roman Empire. Human rights were destroyed. The League of Nations did nothing. The fascist dictator rejoiced.

All this was without ultimatum and declaration of war and in breach of the Geneva Convention. The League of Nations did nothing.

The Nazi dictator over-ran Poland. Human rights were destroyed. The League of Nations did nothing. It was dead. It had died of inertia.

And for 6 long years, the world was plunged in medieval darkness.

On 2nd August 1990, one Saddam Hussein suddenly invaded Kuwait, for the greater glory of Iraq. The United Nations was ignored. Human rights were destroyed, and the world held to ransom. The crisis had begun. The actions of this one man bear an ominous parallel to the actions of the erstwhile dictators of the recent past.

Unlike 1937 and the years ahead, when the League of Nations did nothing, in this instance the United Nations acted on 2nd August 1990 itself, the very first day of the invasion. But for this prompt and timely action of the United Nations world peace would have been shattered.

History teaches us that tyrants cannot tyrannize but by aggression, and in the process destroying human rights; till in the end, they themselves are destroyed by the peoples they sought to enslave.

I do not profess to judge the righteousness or otherwise of the cause of this adventure of this one single man. I leave politics to the politicians and above all to the United Nations, that right is done.

But this I do say: you do not just walk into your neighbour's garden claiming it to be your own. You avail yourself of the legal process. In the international world, the legal process is through the instrumentality of the United Nations. The United Nations was ignored.

This evening I dwell on the consequences the unilateral act of this one man has evoked. In a word, violation of human rights, which this adventure has entailed.

On 10th December 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted and proclaimed the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Perhaps for the first time in recorded history, has there been such a solemn Proclamation running into 30 Articles.

Amongst these articles are that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights, that they are endowed with reason and

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\* Speech delivered at the Symposium on "Gulf Crisis and the U.N." organised by Maharashtra United Nations Association on September 15, 1990.

conscience, and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood; everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person; no one shall be subjected to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment, and that everyone has the right to leave any country.

Unquestionably, *unprovoked, naked aggression*, without an ultimatum, without any declaration of war is a violation of human rights.

In the present crisis, the basic, fundamental human rights, solemnly proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, have been violated in a manner unknown since the days of the infamous Nazi concentration camps. The right to liberty is violated, security of person is sacrificed, and cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment are facts paramount, women and children included.

The degrading, inhuman conditions in which the Asian citizens of free countries, men, women and children, are kept against their will, is a violation of the basic cannons of human rights. There is never a justification for brutality.

Total lack of elementary sanitation, total lack of elementary necessities, virtual starvation of food and water, must make these camps a hell on earth.

Even in the concentration camps of Heinrich Himmler and Adolf Hitler, scraps of food were not thrown to the starving inmates, for them to fight over them like wild animals.

The Neuremberg trials classified this as a crime against humanity, and for which the defendants were imprisoned and the main architects sent to the gallows. Would the United Nations not consider the present denial of human rights also a crime against humanity?

In today's world of aggression, there is no place for chivalry. There is no room for humanity or human rights, unless they are

enforced. They cannot be enforced by resolutions and sanctions alone.

The United Nations is beholden to none—not even to any super power to ensure that *humaneness* is resurrected, and human rights are restored to those deprived of them.

These unfortunates, *the flotsam and jetsam* of power politics, have no yesterdays; time took them away. Tomorrow may not be; they have today.

Even on the razor's edge of war, if today, world peace has been maintained, the credit must go to the United Nations.

It is said, if Hitler had been stopped when he occupied the Ruhr, there would have been no World War II. If there is any truth in this, the lesson history teaches us that naked aggression, howsoever righteously claimed to be, is international brigandry, and cannot be allowed to be substituted for the negotiating table and the world forum which is the United Nations.

Today, when basic human rights have been violated, all eyes are on the United Nations, to find, in its wisdom, the means to restore the status quo ante, in preparation for the negotiating table.

The world demands no more of the United Nations. It expects no less.

The Almighty, in His wisdom, made many rungs in the ladder of endeavour and hope. The first rung was never meant to rest upon, but only to hold a man's foot long enough to enable him to put the other foot somewhat higher, till he reached the top, howsoever steep, howsoever painful, the ascent.

Such is the steep and painful task of the United Nations. If in this it fails, it shall go the way of the League of Nations, and must face the wrath of posterity, and the inexorable verdict of history.

In this critical hour, and in God's mercy, the United Nations shall not fail.

# U. N. AND GULF CRISIS

T. K. Tope, former Vice-Chancellor, Bombay University

United Nations was established in 1945 in order to maintain international peace and security, and to that end to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of peace and to bring about peaceful means and in confirmation with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to the breach of peace.

Primary responsibility of maintaining peace is of the Security Council. When Iraq attacked Kuwait, the Security Council swiftly moved with action and called upon Iraq to withdraw its forces from Kuwait. Such a swift action became possible in the Security Council because of the end of the cold war and dawn of a new era of co-operation between the USSR and the USA. This is a desirable and a welcome consequence of the end of the cold war and the world should be grateful to President Bush and President Gorbachev. A number of resolutions were passed, but Iraq is adamant on this occasion. One is reminded of Hitler's aggression on neighbouring countries and inaction on the part of the League of Nations in 1939. World today is really grateful to the framers of the United Nations Charter for fashioning a new international organisation which has prevented Third World War during the last 45 years. It is a matter of gratification to note that the present Secretary General has been able to bring about peaceful solution to international disputes. I may refer to Geneva Accord on Afghanistan, Namibia's freedom which ended 74 years control of South Africa, end of Gulf War which according to Ayatullah Khomeini was to continue for one thousand years and to prospects of peace in Cambodia.

Rejection of U.N. Security Council resolution by Iraq left no alternative to it but to take further steps under the U. N. Charter. The Charter authorises the Security Council to resort to various steps for

peaceful settlement of disputes. Iraq remained definite and refuses to settle the dispute with Kuwait by peaceful means. Hence the Security Council has no alternative but to take action in this case. The action authorised by the Charter is as follows :

## Article 41

**Measures not involving the use of armed forces.** Such measures may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communication and the severance of diplomatic relations.

The Security Council passed a number of resolutions calling upon the members of the United Nations to enforce blockade against Iraq. It does not respond to the resolution of the Security Council. On the other hand the President of Iraq has

1. seized foreign assets,
2. threatened to bomb oil fields, and
3. threatened to move foreign citizens near the establishments of the chemical weapons.

In this background the Security Council decided to consider further steps. Hence, it has called upon the members of the U.N. to make the blockade as effective as possible. This includes stoppage of all kinds of airlinks. The Security Council then also activated the Military Staff Committee. Under the U.N. Charter, in case further action in the nature of the use of armed forces becomes inevitable, the U.N. Charter authorises the Security Council to resort to such action. Article 42 reads as follows :

“Should the Security Council consider the measure provided in Article 41 i.e. blockade, would be inadequate or has proved to be inadequate, **it may take such action by air, sea or land forces as may be necessary and maintain**



**or restore international peace and security.** Such action may include demonstration, blockade and other operations by air, sea or land forces of the members of the United Nations.

It is hoped the military action may not become necessary in the Gulf Crisis and Iraq would withdraw from Kuwait.

The Charter has provided for other measures for restoring international peace. Regional arrangements are permissible under the U.N. Charter. Hence it would be desirable if the Gulf Co-operation Council is able to solve the problem. He would very much like the Arabs to solve the problem by themselves. However, such a possibility is distant. The Arab League is divided on the nature of action to be taken in this case. Previous history of the relations of the Arab nations among themselves indicate the impossibility of an Arab solution. A few instances would prove this. Iraq was responsible for massacre of 10 lakhs of muslims in Iraq-Iran war. Syria drove out Arafat, and Iraq kept quiet at the time. But when Syria sided with Iran, in Iraq-Iran war, President Saddam threatened to invade Syria. Hence an Arab solution is impossible.

The situation arises as to the alternatives available under the U.N. Charter. They are :-

- I) Iraqi blockade must be made effective. This can be done if the following steps are taken :
  - a) Turkey and Saudi Arabia should shut the pipe lines crossing their country,
  - b) Effective blockade of the narrow shipping lane in the northern Gulf,
  - c) A leakproof embargo on the purchase of oil from Iraq and Kuwait.

A solid alliance of major forces is necessary to make effective above measures of blockade. These steps might impress on President Saddam that aggression does not pay and he may withdraw or the people of Iraq might remove him from his office because of the economic problems arising out of aggression.

II) If these measures fail the Security Council would have no option but to resort to action by air, sea or land forces as may be necessary for forcing Iraq to vacate Kuwait. Such action can only be under the United Nations Flag, and the soldiers from various member states, would be under the command of the General appointed by the Security Council for the purpose. I have no doubt that such an action would succeed. It is true that history of the U.N. shows that U.N. had impact on the process of peace, but the balance sheet in this area points out, that the U.N. could succeed only in those conflicts which had low level of interests, of course Iraq-Iran war is an exception to this statement. However in the changed circumstances created by confrontation between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. and the realisation on the part of all liberal democratic states that the modern international problems are not so much problems of ideology or political conquest but problems of economic nature, the U.N. had a better future than in the past. Iraq should also learn at an early date that it would not benefit any other country to flout the U.N. any more. It must realise even Arab countries like Egypt and Syria are not on its side and that the Security Council is against him and in favour of world peace. If Iraq does not withdraw under the U.N. pressure, it is likely that the people of Iraq would either bring pressure on President Saddam to accept the U.N. resolution or leave the office. No dictator has survived the world pressure. This is the verdict of modern history. Let us hope that military action under the U.N. flag will not be necessary but at the same time, the world must be prepared for such an action, in case it becomes inevitable. Under any circumstances history of 1939 must not be allowed to be repeated and the world must be saved from the scourge of war which has brought untold sorrow to mankind.

# Speech of Mr. M. V. Kamath, Columnist

Would you mind to putting the lights off please! I can't see. It hurts my eyes. Please put it off.

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I think I probably lose more friends today than I ever made in my life. I strongly oppose and condemn some of the statements made here. But as Mr. Jethmalani has said, here a spade is a spade: Certain facts that are made about Human Rights, about countries attacking other countries, but I would like to ask certain questions and I would ask them because I have not been introduced to this audience. I have spent about 12 years directly in United Nations and another directly 8 years dealing with United Nations in Europe, about 20 years of my reporting life. I have spent watching International Affairs.

If I say any thing now with due sense of responsibility, a great deal of NONSENSE has been spoken here about nations being attacked. In 1948, Pakistan attacked India and to this day a part of India in Jammu and Kashmir is occupied. The United Nations did nothing.

I think, Mr. Jethmalani, somewhere forgot this incident. Israel has occupied the West Bank, one time it was occupying three times the size of Israel after 1962 World War. What did the United Nations do? DAMN ALL. Britain holds Falkland Islands under what right? A war was fought, and what did the United Nations do? Nothing. A war was declared against Vietnam. I want Justice Lentin to remember this. Without a War being declared and for 12 whole years a nations was pounded to pieces. What did the United Nations do? DAMN ALL. The United States supported Pakistan to attack Afghanistan and what did the United Nations do? DAMN ALL. The C.I.A. encouraged the Generals in Chile to murder an extraordinary fine man Alande and what did the United Nations do? DAMN ALL. Time and time and time again the Western Powers

are using double standards. Mr. Jethmalani was voicing with great pleasure the fact the Israel bombed Iraqi Nuclear Stations. Jolly good. **Why hasn't Israel attacked the Pakistan Nuclear Land?** If you are that brave, if you are that anxious to keep your Nuclear things very clear, **Israel should have bombed the entire Pakistani Nuclear establishment into pieces.** Has any thing being done? Israel itself is a most guilty party. It has more Nuclear Arms that anybody else does? Mr. Jethmalani what is the United Nations doing? **Sickening.** I speak with anger in my heart that I have been watching for 20 years the whole world being bamboosing. Our people have been starving — Yes! The first thing the United States should have done was to feed the people which we do not mind. But 12 to 15 days they have been dodging and they have been saying that the United Nations agencies must see who will distribute the food. If I were an Iraqi, I would side Iraq. In my country I will not allow anybody else. Either you trust me or you don't do it. You are insulting the Iraqis. I want to ask Mr. Jethmalani. **DIDN'T WE TAKE GOA?** At that time I was in Germany and the amount of abuse that we had day in and day out against Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and against India in the most filthy language possible, what did anybody do?

**WE TOOK HYDERABAD** — Yes, it is our country. Mr. Jethmalani, the Hyderabad issue is still inscribed on the Agenda of General Assembly. Still inscribed. **WE TOOK GOA. WE TOOK HYDERABAD and THE KINGDOMS OF JAIPUR, JODHPUR, BIKANER AMBER, AND SO ON** which are of longer duration than the Emirate of Kuwait. It was a time memorial. We took that because that they were part of our Kingdom. **IN SUCH A SITUATION HOW CAN WE EVER DARE TO THROW A STONE AT IRAQ?** I tell you what's happening is today, there is a crusade going on, **ISLAM VERSUS CHRISTIANITY** and George Bush is playing a role of Richard. Who didn't know Richard the Lion Hearted. It was Jerusalem at that time, it is all. Both are holy. Don't be

mistaken it is not Kuwait which is involved, it is not the right of people to be involved, WHERE ARE THE HUMAN RIGHTS IN SAUDI ARABIA? What are you talking about? The other day there was a case in which a Hindu was involved. The Hindu was legitimately entitled to about 5 million Dinars (Sick) or whatever and he was given Ten thousand, because the **Shari-at Laws** says that you can't have fate. Is that what you call human rights? **PEOPLE'S HANDS ARE CHOPPED OFF IN SAUDI ARABIA, YOU CALL THAT HUMAN RIGHTS?** What **NONSENSE** are you talking? (Audience laughed) There are in every country problems. Today the issue is that the Arabs are becoming conscious of who they are. They are great people. For about a thousand years they have given the entire world Chemistry, Mathematics and everything else. Today they are burning with anger that the Americans and the British and the French are using their properties. The man to be blamed is not Saddam Hussein. The man the people to be blamed are the Oil Companies, let them go out, there will be peace. You have no idea. One day, I hope you will invite me. I AM

**SHOCKED AND ASHAMED THAT IRAQ WAS NOT INVITED HERE TODAY.** Mr. Sathe, I want to tell you one thing: **THE UNITED NATIONS IS NOT A PRIVATE CLUB WHERE YOU CAN BLACK BALL A MEMBER OF THE COMMUNITY** (audience: "shame for you") Doesn't matter, whatever you call me. I am telling you at the United Nations no matter how deeply we might disagree with each other, they are all there. At the delegate lounge they shake hands. Its a very civilised community. **YOU HAVEN'T ASKED THE IRAQI DELEGATE.** If you were going to attack them attack them on their face, don't attack them on their back. Call them over here and say we condemn you (audience: Please stop. We don't want to hear him, Mr. President tell him to stop. He is Iraqi Agent Mr. Saxena it is very wrong". Mr. Saxena spoke. **"IT HAS BEEN CLARIFIED THAT ALL RESTRICT TO SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS. NOBODY IS HERE TO ADVOCATE FOR IRAQI CONSULATE. I AM SORRY TO SAY HE DOESN'T KNOW THE FACTS"**. Public shouted "Go away (shouts). Am I to speak or should I go away? Public — "go away".

Your Excellencies, the Ambassadors, the Consul Generals, Distinguished guests on the dias and ladies and gentlemen,\*

You have heard the speeches of eminent speakers on the issue of "Gulf Crisis and United Nations". It is now left to me to conclude these deliberations by summarising the speeches in a nutshell. Notwithstanding some dissents here and there and differences of focus on different aspects of the problems by the different speakers, there is unanimity in condemning Iraq's aggression and occupation of Kuwait as also in supporting the UN Resolutions in this behalf and the steps taken by its Secretary General to implement the same.

Iraq's occupation of Kuwait has adversely affected our oil supplies as also disrupted our economy in more than one way. The plight of Indian refugees from Kuwait is simply undecipherable. More important, this act of Iraq has also created a world wide situation reminiscent of Hitler's actions, preceding the outbreak of Second World War in September 1939. People no doubt looked to the League of Nations, created at the end of First World War, to prevent such aggressive designs of Hitler and attempts of similar powers to solve their claims against other nations by resorting to naked force. But it was discovered, to the dismay of the entire world, that the League of Nations had become ineffective instrument in this behalf. The disillusionment was mortifying indeed.

It is pertinent to note in this context how Hitler's expansionist designs were acquiesced by great powers. This encouraged him to indulge in occupying the areas of small neighbours without any worthwhile opposition. British Prime Minister Chamberlain thought that some pact with Hitler could be of some help to the world. He went out of the way to MUNICH to work out some such settlement and trammed out one known as 'MUNICH PACT' and actually succeeded in persuading Hitler to sign it. He however, did not realise how this Pact itself sharpened Hitler's appetite and also enabled him to discern the weakness of the

great powers. In fact, as was later discovered, the Pact virtually exposed the weakness of England. The full implications of this event were not even grasped by the British people on the whole. Notwithstanding the strong dissent of the politicians of the stature of Churchill and Eden on this point, many leading British politicians were then behind Chamberlain. On return of Chamberlain from Munich, he was given a rousing reception at the airport befitting of a triumphant leader and he was lustily cheered by the crowds while on his way from the airport to Buckingham Palace to convey his achievements to the King.

Against this background, it is encouraging to notice how the great powers today have not lost any time in condemning Iraq's occupation of Kuwait in clearest possible terms. America actually did not waste a single minute in sending its army in aid of Saudi Arabia, another neighbour of Iraq, apprehending possible occupation of its territory by Iraqi President. The UN which has been brought into existence after Second World War to prevent aggression and ensure settlement of disputes by negotiations, condemned the act of Iraq and on the failure of any response from it, decided to ensure stopping supplies to Iraq by way of enforcing international sanctions against it. Secretary General of UN has been good enough to initiate the talks with the representatives of Iraq as to enable it to see reason even at this late stage.

It is true that UN has failed many times in preventing the designs of aggressors during its existence of about 45 years. Even so its pursuit of peace has not been without some gains. There is also some change for the better on the world scene which can create confidence in the UN to do something effective. There are indications that the cold war between the two great super powers i.e. United States and Soviet Union is coming to an end and both these powers have condemned Iraq and are working together so that the dictator's designs are frustrated effectively and foundations for peace and prosperity of the world are firmly laid.

Thank you very much.

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\* Speech delivered by Justice V. S. Deshpande, Former Chief Justice and Lok Ayukt.

# ARTICLES

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# HUMAN RIGHTS

BY

DR. NAG CHAUDHURI

The many dimensions of human rights have evolved more or less in step with the evolution of human society. There has been periods of advance and regression within this overall pattern. The assertion of human rights has appropriately taken new content and perspectives with the growth of technology because technology to a large extent has conferred new freedoms and consequential rights to man and given him new responsibilities. Until two or three hundred years ago, human rights were confined to those in a society who were accepted members, these rights, for example, did not extend to slaves. The current concepts of human rights date back in many particulars, to the Greeks and codified in Lex Romana, but these were for citizens only. The evolution of these concepts in Europe based on Roman and Greek antecedents followed a twofold path with inevitable ups and downs. One was the legal path which the Romans enunciated and passed on to Europe, the other was religion, evolving mainly through the Church of Rome. However, the protestant movements of Martin Luther and others from sixteenth century and the rediscovery of Greek thought by the newly arising intellectual community drawn from commerce and aristocracy enriched these concepts by adding freedom to hold beliefs other than those propagated by the Church of Rome as a new dimension of freedom.

The religious concept of human rights probably dates back to the ancient Hindus in their efforts to endow all religions, with some validity, although not necessarily of equal validity. The curious nature of the Hindu dogma evolved out of the struggle to find a viable equation with the Buddhist and Jain thoughts led to a more flexible approach to religions and philosophical freedoms which was countered by insistence on rigidity on social rights. The concept of social rights amongst Hindus did not prevent slavery nor did the concept of near equal validity of religions prevent religious strife. The assimilation of Islam proved difficult and led to further infringement on social rights, partly

as a measure of survival against Islamic penetration.

The political rights of man is comparatively a new thought. When the Greeks talked of democracy, the demos and the helots were clearly distinct and the helots were not a part of those who had rights or a share in the power. The concept of social rights of man developed gradually during the eighteenth century due to a combination of growth of scientific and philosophical rationalism a broadening of the consciousness of the futility of religious strife and psychological need of those times to think about intrinsic equality of men. This was particularly a strong intellectual need which grew rapidly after the French Revolution.

The psychological, social and political concepts of human rights thus evolved mainly during the last century leading to many actions such as abolition of slavery, improvement of conditions of labour and so on. The evolution of science and scientific thought played an important role in these changing concepts. For example, Darwin's book "Evolution of species" and Huxley's espousal of evolution not only of the biological phenomenon but also of the human phenomenon, led to stimulation of the intellectual towards thinking of implications of the theory of evolution for human societies. For the first time somewhere during the end of the last century and the beginning of this century scientists began to realise that the biological evolution put all men as basically equal. Religious sanction was thus strengthened by a new kind of a sanction which promoted equal rights to all human beings. The same theory of evolution however, also included the fact of individual differences within a population of human beings with regard to abilities, talents and capabilities which only enriches the total population without denigrating individual or collective group rights, political or social. The Nazi myth of superiority, the Second World War and its consequences was a strong reminder of the dangers of going

against what scientific knowledge and human emotions can exert.

In 1948, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) was founded due to the leadership of some of the great intellectuals of the world and these included Pandit Nehru. As a part of its Charter was the statement about the international political, scientific and cultural rights of man. This was to give sanction to the gradually evolving concept of basic rights of man. Enormous progress has been made, since then as perhaps in no time of history, in defining and extending basic human rights. There has been set-backs and there has been stagnation; but in its totality the progress has been most heartening. Dignity has been most heartening. Dignity has been restored to many people and this is an elementary human right. The rights to culture and to science have been not only accepted but expanded and promoted by the UNESCO and by many nations, societies and international organisations. The very dynamics of the current situation will extend this further in a variety of directions.

We now conceive of other rights—right to education, right to information, right to health, and right not only to science but to

technology which is gradually being recognised as a human heritage. Some of these new rights have still not been clearly enunciated. We expect that this too will go through the process of clearer and purposeful enunciation. We already note the dynamics of the growth of human rights in the claims of the economic rights of man—the right not to be exploited—in the debates in the United Nations General Assembly, in the UNCTAD and in the plea of the Group of 114 for a new economic order. The economic rights of man has become largely transnational and a demand for prevention of exploitation of individuals and nations. With many achievements in human rights we are still far from what exists as basic human rights in many parts of the world. Ignorance and poverty are great hindrances to most of our people for assertion of these rights. The right to health is accepted socially and governmentally; but the achievement of it goes very slowly. The right to education is enshrined in the directive principles of our Constitution but remains unfulfilled. The right to information has been technically restored but far from achieved by the media, either public or private. The economic rights have become transnational in the claim for a new economic order. Many nations including our own, have still to achieve it internally.



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# DISARMAMENT

THE UNITED NATIONS' RESPONSIBILITIES CONCERNING DISARMAMENT ARE EMBODIED IN THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER AS FOLLOWS :

Article 11 :

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

Article 26 :

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

In addition to the Charter, the Final Document of the first special session on disarmament made the following references to the responsibilities of the United Nations in the field of disarmament :

"....In accordance with the Charter, the United Nations has a central role and primary responsibility in the sphere of disarmament. In order effectively to discharge this role and facilitate and encourage all measures in this field, the United Nations should be kept appropriately informed of all steps in this field whether unilateral, bilateral, regional or multilateral, without prejudice to the progress of negotiations.....

....The First Committee of the General Assembly should deal in the future only with questions of disarmament and related international security questions.

The General Assembly establishes, as successor to the Commission originally established by resolution 502 (VI) of 11 January 1952, a Disarmament Commission composed of all States Members of the United Nations, and decides that :

(a) The Disarmament Commission shall be a deliberative body, a subsidiary organ of the General Assembly, the function of which shall be to consider and make recommendations on various problems in the field of disarmament and to follow up the relevant decisions and recommendations of the special session devoted to disarmament. The Disarmament Commission should, inter alia, consider the elements of a comprehensive programme for disarmament to be submitted as recommendations to the General Assembly and, through it, to the negotiating body, the Committee on Disarmament;....."



# Statements by the Secretary-Generals of the United Nations on Disarmament

*Excerpts from statements of the Secretary-Generals of the United Nations related to the problem of halting the arms race and achieving disarmament:*

## **Trygve Lie**

Even the preliminary experience of the past four years has shown that the member nations, both large and small, are extremely sensitive to the judgement of public opinion as it has been evoked by public discussion and consideration of the merits of their respective claims by both the Security Council and the General Assembly. Unjust or untenable positions cannot long be maintained in the face of this public scrutiny, and on a number of occasions such positions have already been modified or abandoned with or without the benefit of any formal decision or recommendation by either body. Public opinion is not the same thing as law, but a body of precedents is beginning to be built up in this way that will progressively acquire the force of law in regulating the conduct of nations."

## **Dag Hammarskjöld**

"....The statement in the field of disarmament has been permitted to last for far too long. Attempts to break it through negotiations have so far proved of no avail. I think there are reasons of different kinds behind this deeply worrying failure. One is that in a sense Governments have been too ambitious, not being satisfied with just making a dent in this intricate and vital problem from which a rift could develop, opening up the possibilities of a true exchange of views. Another reason has been the tendency for each government to wait for others to take the first step. Still another reason and, of course, the basic one, is the crisis of trust from which all mankind is suffering at the present juncture and which is reflected in an unwillingness to take any moves in a positive direction at their face value and a tendency to hold back a positive response because of a fear of being misled."

".... Each government is in close contact with the opinion of the man in the street in its own country. For that reason, I am sure that all governments are in a position to confirm my statement that the peoples are eagerly and anxiously expecting leadership bringing them out of the present nightmare. The government taking a fruitful initiative will be hailed as a benefactor by the peoples. The governments responding in a positive spirit so as to give effect to such an attempt to turn the development, will share the merit with the one who took the first step."

## **U Thant**

"....disarmament is a subject in which all nations, big and small, are concerned, and not just the great military Powers. Further, the non-aligned States have been an important element exercising a moderating and catalytic influence in helping to bridge the gap between extreme positions of either side."

"....I feel that, in this field as elsewhere, certain steps have to be taken first. It is my conviction that to facilitate progress in the field of general disarmament, the first step has to be a cessation of nuclear testing. This question therefore deserves priority and I hope that the suggestions of the non-aligned countries.....will provide a practical basis for a solution of this problem ....."

## **Kurt Waldheim**

".....It is perhaps the distinctive mark of this generation that we are aware of our capacity for self-destruction. We also know that the diversion of such a significant percentage of the world's human and material resources for arms delays and inhibits the elimination of poverty, hunger and economic inequity. I believe it is this awareness which

brings us together here, and from this awareness and this gathering we can derive great hope....."

"...The past years have revealed the difficulty of halting an arms race, the momentum of which has seemed until now to be beyond the capacity of man to control. Nations acquire arms because they distrust each other and because they hope to gain protection from attack. But a security based on arms is precarious at best, since arms perpetuate distrust and fear among nations and create permanent risk of war. Mutual confidence and shared objectives are the only means which will serve in the place of arms to attain the security which every nation and all peoples rightly demand.

The extent to which the United Nations is effective in resolving conflicts, in alleviating economic inequities and human suffering and in building the elements of a consistent world order will determine the growth of trust essential for the success of a disarmament programme. Let us, therefore, at the outset of this historic session, resolve to formulate a strategy on this, the most vital of all our problems with the aim not merely of arms control but of meaningful disarmament.

How then can the enormous challenge that stands before us be met?

I believe that an effort of totally new dimensions is required, of a scope commensurate with the task at hand :

— It must encompass a broader and longer-range perspective than any previous effort.

— It must be more deeply rooted in the democratic involvement of peoples and nations—all nations—than any effort that has gone before.

— And it must rally an unprecedented measure of the world's reserves of talents and resources to the risk.

This is the test we must pass. Let us determine to meet it in a constructive spirit and thus contribute to a future worthy of the human race."

### Javier Perez de Cuellar

"... The more basic premises of the arms race deserve continual reiteration the fundamental fact about the present arms situation is that neither in quality nor in quantity can it be compared with any faced in the history of mankind before. National security, of course, has always been, and will continue to be, the foremost concern of Governments everywhere. The search for security through strength is as old and as deeply rooted in the life of nations as the desire to live in peace. But what puts the present arms race in an altogether different category are two of its basic characteristics : first, it derives its momentum, not so much from well-considered security goals, as from the inexorable advance of military technology, and, second, it is a pursuit whose consequences do not accord with its assumed aims. This holds true, in one degree or another, in the fields of both nuclear and conventional weapons.

Before the invention of the nuclear weapon, man was concerned with the death of the individual, alone or in groups. In the nuclear age, however, he is faced with the very real and mounting threat of the death of the whole species. Apocalypse is today not merely a biblical depiction; it has become a very real possibility. Never before in human experience have we been placed on the narrow edge between catastrophe and survival....

All decision-makers know that, by its very nature, a nuclear war cannot remain limited. Once a nuclear exchange begins, there will be no way to contain it within a pre-determined framework. It will not be a two-sided battle after which the survivors will gradually emerge from their shelters and painstakingly build a new world on the ruins of the past. It will not be a situation which people in the more remote places of the world would watch unhurt, and then subsequently be able to repair. An all-out nuclear confrontation would affect the entire world, the entire ecosystem.....

While the nuclear arms race threatens mass self-extinction, the drive for accumulation of conventional arms also wreaks havoc

with the life of societies in several respects. It drains resources which are badly needed for social and economic development. As each new generation of weapons is always more costly than the old, the burden of the arms race becomes progressively heavier, particularly in developing countries, in view of their scarce resources. Instead of easing local conflicts, it tends to exacerbate them. Moreover, by causing a militarization of societies, it jeopardizes their political stability and progress and creates a threat to both national and international security. Since 1945 no nuclear bomb has been used in military action, but the world has experienced well over a hundred wars fought with conventional weapons. These have caused vast suffering and destruction and the loss of an untold number of human lives. I do not, therefore, support the opinion that disarmament is a problem exclusively for the industrialized countries. In developing countries, military spending stands in stark contrast to the resources devoted to health, the production of food, education and other life-related goals.

In fact, even apart from the disasters which it portends, the arms race is already imposing an insupportable economic cost on the world as a whole. It is evident that no country or any group of countries can, in the long run, hope to solve the problems of inflation, recession, unemployment, depletion of energy resources and the international economic imbalance while it incurs the increasing expense of the arms race....

.... In sum, whether in the nuclear or in the conventional field, the arms race represents an abdication of our responsibilities for human welfare, a perversion of ingenuity and an offence against the dignity of man. Some 500, 000 scientists all over the world are devoting their knowledge to the search for weaponry more sophisticated and more deadly. Unless it is restrained by political decisions backed by a moral will, the advance of military technology is a process that, by its very nature, can never exhaust itself. At present, it is always creating new possibilities, new break-throughs leading to new applications, strategies and doctrines, paving the way to the point of no return....

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## Comprehensive approaches to disarmament

In 1959, the General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution calling for general and complete disarmament (GCD) under effective international control. General and complete disarmament came to represent the ultimate objective of the efforts of the United Nations in the field of disarmament. At the same time, however, the Assembly called for working out in detail partial measures leading towards that goal. An approach to GCD was also developed in the 1961 Joint Statement of Agreed Principles which was negotiated between the Soviet Union and the United States and endorsed by the General Assembly. The Statement, also known as the McCloy-Zorin accord, indicated that GCD would make it possible for States to have at their disposal only such non-nuclear armaments, forces, facilities and establishments as were agreed to

be necessary in order to maintain internal order and security and to provide manpower for a United Nations peace force. National military establishments beyond the permitted limit were to be disbanded, therefore, and military expenditures accordingly discontinued. This disarmament programme was to be implemented by verified and balanced stages, under "strict and effective international control". The parties, however, could not reach agreement on how to bring it about. The 1978 Final Document reaffirmed the conclusions of the 1961 Joint Statement and reiterated that "the ultimate objective of the efforts of States in the disarmament process is general and complete disarmament under effective international control".

The Final Document of the 1978 Special Session on Disarmament asked the Conference

on Disarmament to elaborate a comprehensive programme of disarmament "to ensure that the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control becomes

a reality". The Conference has examined various proposals over the years, but has not been able to agree on a single text acceptable to all parties.

## Disarmament Machinery

The General Assembly is the main deliberative organ of the United Nations in the field of disarmament, and it has the mandate to consider and make recommendations on all international security and disarmament questions. In recent years, the General Assembly has adopted some 60 resolutions per year on disarmament issues.

The First Committee, one of the seven main committees of the General Assembly, consists of representatives of all Member States and, since the 1978 special session on disarmament, has dealt almost exclusively with disarmament and related international security issues. Its recommendations are made by a majority of the members present and voting, and are sent as draft resolutions or decisions to the plenary meetings of the Assembly for consideration and adoption. The work of the First Committee includes the review of the implementation of the decisions and recommendations of the special sessions of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, as well as consideration of such topics as the prevention of nuclear war, a comprehensive test ban, a nuclear-weapons freeze, the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones, a reduction of military budgets, chemical and biological weapons, the prevention of an arms race in outer space, the conclusion of an international convention to strengthen the security of non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons, and conventional disarmament.

The Disarmament Commission is a subsidiary body of the General Assembly consisting of all Member States which provides an annual forum for discussion of disarmament issues when the General Assembly is not in session. It meets in New York, usually in May. The Disarmament Commission operates under the rules of procedure of the General

Assembly, but has agreed to make every effort to ensure that as far as possible, decisions on substantive issues be adopted by consensus. Since the Disarmament Commission was re-established in 1978, its agenda has included: elements of a comprehensive programme of disarmament, nuclear disarmament, the relationship between disarmament and development, conventional disarmament, the elaboration of guidelines for confidence-building measures, issues of verification, the overall question of the reduction of military budgets, and the question of South Africa's nuclear capability.

Various committees of the General Assembly and working groups currently active include the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean and several study groups of experts on subjects such as nuclear weapons, the role of the United Nations in verification of arms limitation and disarmament agreements, and certain aspects of arms transfers. Also within the United Nations system are various groups of consultant experts established from time to time by the Secretary-General at the request of the General Assembly, the Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters, the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research and a variety of specialized agencies which, as part of their substantive work and to the extent that this is within their area of competence, also deal with disarmament-related topics. The United Nations Secretariat has its own Department for Disarmament Affairs at Headquarters in New York. The Department maintains a branch in Geneva and three regional centres in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Disarmament measures are negotiated in both bilateral regional and multilateral forums. Bilateral talks between the two main nuclear-weapon Powers have been conducted

in special conferences. For example, the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I and II), and the INF negotiation, have taken place at Geneva between the Soviet Union and the United States, as do their ongoing negotiations on strategic nuclear weapons.

In the 1980s, important multilateral negotiations have taken place at the regional level, as for instance those for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the South Pacific, and the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. The negotiation on conventional armed forces in Europe (CFE) is taking place in Vienna. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe dealing with confidence and security-building measures, which in the past has been convened in Helsinki, Belgrade and Madrid, is also currently taking place in Vienna.

Multilateral disarmament negotiations, for instance on a comprehensive ban on chemical weapons, take place in the Conference on Disarmament, which meets at Geneva.

The Conference on Disarmament was established in its present form in 1978 following the special session on disarmament which designated it the single multilateral disarmament negotiating forum of the international

community. It carries forward the negotiating efforts of its predecessors, the Committee on Disarmament (1979-1983), the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (1969-1978), the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament (1962-1969) and the Conference of the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament (1959-1962). The 40 members of the Conference on Disarmament include all 5 nuclear-weapon States, 7 Western States, 7 Eastern European and Socialist States and 21 neutral and non-aligned States. The Conference on Disarmament meets in Geneva for *approximately* six months each year. It develops its own agenda, taking into account recommendations made by the General Assembly and reports to it annually, or more frequently as appropriate. All decisions, both substantive and procedural, are made by consensus. Recent sessions of the Conference on Disarmament have considered the following topics: a nuclear-test ban; the cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament; the prevention of nuclear war, including all related matters; chemical weapons; the prevention of an arms race in outer space; assurance to non-nuclear-weapon States; new types of weapons of mass destruction; radiological weapons; and a comprehensive programme of disarmament.

## General Assembly special sessions on disarmament

In line with the desire of the Organization to strengthen its role in the field of disarmament, in 1976 the General Assembly, at the initiative of the non-aligned countries and with widespread support from other Member States, decided to hold a special session devoted to disarmament. The special session was intended to set a new course in international affairs and turn States away from the nuclear and conventional arms race by means of agreement on a global strategy for the future course of disarmament.

The session was held in New York in June 1978. It was the largest, most repre-

sentative meeting of nations ever gathered to consider the question of disarmament.

In the Final Document of the session, it was pointed out that the United Nations has a central role and primary responsibility in the field of disarmament. It also contained specific measures intended to strengthen the machinery that dealt with disarmament issues within the United Nations system, and set out the priorities and the measures that States should undertake as a matter of urgency in the field of disarmament: "Priorities in disarmament negotiations shall be: nuclear weapons; other weapons of mass destruction,

including chemical weapons; conventional weapons including any which may be deemed to be excessively injurious or to have indiscriminate effects; and reduction of armed forces". The Programme of Action enumerated a number of specific measures to be pursued in various areas.

The second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament was held in New York in 1982 with participation at a high political level which included statements by 18 heads of State or Government and 44 Foreign Ministers.

Over 3,000 representatives from 450 non-governmental organizations in 47 countries around the world also attended the session. Thousands of communications, petitions and appeals with many millions of signatures were received by the United Nations from organizations, groups and individuals all over the world and unprecedented numbers of people marched past the United Nations through the streets of Manhattan to rally for disarmament in Central Park.

Over 60 proposals and position papers by Member States were circulated. In contrast to its experience at the first special session in 1978, the Assembly was unable to reach consensus on any specific course of action.

In the Concluding Document of the session, nevertheless, the General Assembly reaffirmed the continuing validity of the 1978 Final Document. It expressed its profound preoccupation over the danger of war, particularly nuclear war, and urged Member States to consider as soon as possible proposals designed to secure its avoidance. The Assembly

stressed the need for further strengthening the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament and enhancing the effectiveness of the disarmament machinery. The Assembly was also able to agree on two items, namely, the launching of the World Disarmament Campaign and the continuation and expansion of the United Nations programme of fellowships on disarmament.

The third special session devoted to disarmament was held in New York in June 1988. All 159 United Nations Member States participated and statements were made by 23 heads of State or Government, 1 vice-president, 6 deputy prime ministers and 61 foreign ministers. Over 1,500 representatives of non-governmental organizations and research institutes from all parts of the world also attended the session. More than 100 NGOs made presentations and put forward a number of proposals that were subsequently included as important topics in the continuing multilateral debate on disarmament.

Although the session was marked by a constructive and non-polemic atmosphere and by many statements in support of concrete measures of arms limitation and disarmament, it was not possible to reach consensus on a text for a concluding document. The session nevertheless produced a clearer understanding of the desire and need for multilateralism in disarmament and also a better appreciation of the limits for the solution of specific disarmament questions in a world of sovereign States, concerned with individual and regional security as well as the security of all. A number of the proposals made at the special session were negotiated and adopted at the regular session of the General Assembly later that year.

# The United Nations Role in International Society

By

ED LUCK, President of UNA, USA

I thought perhaps the best thing that I could do was to deal a little bit with the trends I see now in the international system and the implications of those for the peace and security work of the UN... Now it seems to me that we all have reason to celebrate the sort of macro global trends now that we see in terms of much more accommodation and understanding and communication among the major powers. That obviously has been the key blockage in the past to progress in any number of things which we value. So that is something to celebrate, I think.

But at the same time we have to recognize that does not guarantee peace on earth. What it does is add another element of stability and makes it less likely that we would have a nuclear war. But we have seen it doesn't stop conflict in any number of parts of the world. In fact, what we have, and perhaps are approaching, is an era of tremendous instability in a micro regional level with an overlay of relatively decent relations among the major powers. Now we may say that is a good thing on the whole, and it may be, or it may be a rather troubling combination.

For one, trouble on the micro level, on the regional level, could, over time, exacerbate relations and tensions among the major powers. We saw, for example, during the detente era, over those few years, many of the troubles, east and west, resulted over misunderstanding and different interpretations about what Soviet and American policies and involvements ought to be in the Third World. It is not possible forever to insulate the relationships among the major powers from what is going on in the world. Whatever new shifts, and whatever new thinking you might have in Washington and Moscow and other places, there are still global interests which these global powers have, and there are real problems that could then ensue from something small becoming something big, if not militarily, than politically, clouding the atmosphere and making communication difficult.

There have been a number of transnational and subnational conflicts or disputes that we

are now seeing in the world. It does seem to me that this is a tremendous challenge for the UN, an institution which was built very much on the theory of interstate conflict of a very traditional sort, something that was rather measurable, definable, in many ways almost static, that one could deal with in a rather procedural sort of way. You could tell some guys were the good guys, some were the bad guys. There was something called aggression, something called national defence.

Those kinds of terms lose their meaning when you think of religious conflicts, when you think of tribal conflicts, when you think of disputes that may actually be subnational. In many parts of the world there are problems of defining nationality and the extent to which one entity or another is a nation. For me it is a wonderful relief to discover that people were still interested in topics in the UN other than the PLO and the WHO, where the question of statehood and definition of what makes a state is tremendously important. I think it is going to be a very difficult problem for the UN. More and more the kinds of conflicts that it will be called to resolve or to try to limit are going to be ones that do not fit the traditional modes. Terrorism, for example, in and of itself, is something which the UN has only been able to deal with on the margins. It is very difficult for an organization of this sort to try and handle a problem which may be multilateral in the sense that it affects every country but which is very hard to handle in an intergovernmental organ.

There is also a paradox that I think we have to face up to. That is, while the cooperation and the better feeling among the permanent members may be a necessary condition for peace because it makes the threat of escalation lower, it makes the concern, and the attention focused on regional conflicts that much less as well. Obviously the Secretary-General and the Security Council are supposed to deal with threats to international peace and security. Well, if there is a local conflict of some sort, maybe largely within the borders of a country,

that does not necessarily anymore threaten to escalate into a global conflagration and therefore people in the northern hemisphere may not be that interested or that moved in getting involved in resolving them because ultimately they are not going to represent threats to life in the northern hemisphere. Very much these are South-South conflicts of one sort or another.

Also they are not generally East-West conflicts. There may be interests of the major powers involved, but if both the US and the USSR continue on the current trend of getting somewhat less engaged, and feeling a little bit less emotional about these conflicts, it also means that they may not care as much about the outcome. They may not see it anymore as a zero sum game where either their interests are served, or the other side's interests are served. In fact the interests that are served may not be well defined at all. It is not always clear if there are victors or vanquished in these conflicts. They may fester for years and years, simmering along at a low level. But if they do not reach a boiling point where it is going to change relationships among the major powers, and lead to a major war, lead to nuclear involvement, then it becomes rather easy to ignore them. They become back page news... So it is a very difficult paradox.

In that sense it seems to me that what we have to look at very clearly, and there has been very little work on this, is what to do to improve cooperation between the UN as a global organization and various regional bodies, ad hoc or of a more permanent nature, to try to resolve these conflicts. Second of all, it requires strengthening of local remedies and institutions, because this linkage has not been a very good one. If we remember the Charter it never suggested that the Security Council should get involved in all conflicts around the world. The first recourse the parties were supposed to try was to resolve it themselves, and hopefully peacefully.

If that didn't work, the second remedy was to have a regional settlement of one sort or another. Finally, if that didn't work, it was to come to the UN. Well, those lower linkages don't necessarily work very well. To the extent we have regional institutions in the world they tend to be in the places where they are least

needed, in terms of conflict. There are no effective organizations in the Middle East, for example. In Central America it has had to be an ad hoc mechanism because the OAS is really not effective with most of those issues. The OAU is very weak in Africa and that has been proven time and again. In Southeast Asia, the Asean countries, have basically an economic linkage, it is not really a political or security one. Most of the strong regional organizations we have had in the past have really been alliances, which were dependent upon some kind of a cold war mentality and image in the world. As that begins to melt away even those organizations, both East and West, have become less and less effective.

Now it seems to me that all this poses quite a challenge for the UN. It poses a challenge for its structure, in terms of how many issues can it handle. It poses problems in terms of its ability to provide peacekeeping forces and observers for many of these conflicts. More and more people are coming to accept the fact that the UN can be an important catalyst for peaceful change, and so they are bringing more and more problems to the UN, but that does not mean that the UN is any more capable of handling these problems. We have seen the difficulties in Namibia with the peacekeeping forces there which were completely avoidable if you had not had some of the budgetary, political and logistical problems in getting them set up to begin with. Even with Iran and Iraq you had a lack of funds for the UN Observer forces there. That had to be taken out of the regular budget, out of salaries at the end of the year, until you had funds to cover that.

So there are very serious financial problems. Already Congress is raising questions about some of the requests for UN peacekeeping. The Soviet Union is facing enormous economic and financial constraints and it is only in the relatively recent past that it has begun to finance peacekeeping operations. Therefore one has to begin to wonder where the funds are coming from, whether we can set up some kind of permanent reserve, something that is there all the time so we don't have to deal in an ad hoc way each time, and then to find someone to cover the cost. Forty percent of the cost of peacekeeping now is not covered by the central UN, but rather is funded by those very



countries which are providing the peacekeeping forces, so they have a double financial and political jeopardy in that sense.

I think perhaps the most difficult challenge for the UN in this whole regard is learning to say no, learning to say there are some cases that we can't handle effectively, but there are many others that we can. We know that if we get stretched too thin then we won't be able to handle any of them effectively. Our own credibility will come into question as people's expectations rise and performance falls. I think even if we look at the number of peacekeeping operations either the UN is engaged in or could very quickly be engaged in the next year or two, it simply is not now capable of covering them. There are not enough people in this building with the expertise. There are not enough mediators who are respected by various parties and who are confidants of the Secretary-General to carry out much of the mediation effort. There just are not enough people.

In Namibia who had to be sent but Martti Ahtisaari who was supposed to be in charge of management in this organization. So now we don't have an Undersecretary-General for Administration and Management, another problem for this Organization. So the UN is stretched very thin.

I think we have to develop some sense of what this Organization's comparative advantage is. It cannot be all things for all people. That is not a success formula. That is going to send us into ruin, because the UN is going to take on things it simply cannot perform... Already a lot of deep questions and doubts are being raised about its effectiveness... It seems to me it is our job as NGOs to try to help build a public understanding of what the Organization's potentialities and capabilities are rather than building illusions of what we would like those capabilities to be... It seems to me we have to be very very careful in separating the rhetoric about what this Organization ought to be, and to look very practically and in a very hard-nosed way about what its capabilities are and to what extent our own countries are willing to make the sacrifices in terms of money, politics, sovereignty, etc., to make this system more *effective than it is*.

Now it seems to me that there are some new dimensions that are now being imposed on the UN, in addition to the things I have already mentioned. These may be exciting in some ways but in other ways represent very serious challenges.

First of all, a lot of the operations that the UN is being called upon to resolve, Namibia being a clear case, Western Sahara quite possibly, Kampuchea-Cambodia, are really nation-building exercises. It is not a question simply of separating two nation-states, as in Iran-Iraq, it is a question of creating a nation-state that is viable. It is an extraordinarily messy kind of situation to get into.

When we think of the situation in Lebanon we find how relatively marginal the UN has been able to be, or any outside power has been able to be, to resolve that kind of a situation. It is not just a question of the blue helmets of the peacekeepers, or even those who are supervising elections in Namibia. It is a question of the ILO going in and trying to train a bureaucracy in that country. There are tremendous financial needs. There are problems of refugees, poverty, illiteracy, disease, etc. which may have been exacerbated by civil war conditions in the past.

Obviously in Afghanistan we have only scratched the surface of what needs to be done in that country. To the extent that the Soviets have withdrawn, and it has gotten off of the central East-West burner, people are now treating it as a back page issue. For the Afghan people the problems have just begun, and the UN involvement is extraordinarily important. The outside powers have at least withdrawn their forces, but that does not mean that we have anything close to peace in that country, or will anytime soon. So it seems to me the question of nation-building, and in that case, rebuilding, is a very serious enterprise that involves many aspects of the UN.

This idea of comprehensive security comes home to roost in a very different way when we look at a situation like Afghanistan, when we have to look at every piece of human welfare there that has to be repaired and returned to *something closer to normalcy*.

Some of these questions are going to be *enormously controversial*. The UN was called

upon to supervise elections in Nicaragua. We have seen, how controversial elections were in Central America with the Panama situation. I can assure you there are a lot of people in Congress who are not going to be satisfied with one outcome or another outcome of that election. If it is the UN which is putting its good housekeeping stamp of approval on the election there are going to be a lot of charges of fraud, and violations, because some people are not going to be happy with the outcome.

That is certainly going to be true in Namibia as well. So the fact of UN involvement does not mean that this house becomes insulated from criticism, or that all of a sudden its work is going to be accepted as automatically successful. It is a lot harder to install a democratic regime or to oversee a democratic election or to restore the welfare of people than it is to keep two large well-defined armies apart which have decided they no longer want to fight each other anyway. That is a relatively simple task compared to some of these that we are talking about now.

There are various proposals, including from our UN Association and from the Soviet Government and various other places, that the UN ought to become involved in naval peacekeeping. No one seems to have the slightest idea of what that entails, and I have been trying to do some research looking at that question. If you all of a sudden think of the UN moving from the traditional kind of a landlocked peacekeeping force to taking on some even limited form of a naval presence, somewhere on two thirds of the earth's surface, it is a completely different set of needs and expectations and the kinds of forces required are completely different.

Now one final note in terms of a bridge between disarmament and arms control on the one hand, and peacekeeping and peacemaking, i.e., the general mediation efforts of the UN in resolving conflicts. These have always been treated as two completely different topics. We do disarmament and arms control here, and then somewhere else people deal with conflict. There is really no connection, since it is treated as if disarmament is going to get rid of the weapons, and therefore there isn't going to be any conflict.

The fact that conflict is going on all over the world is somebody else's business. People get excited about disarmament. Whereas the work of the Security Council, the Secretary-General, is seen as dull, boring diplomacy, and never the twain shall meet. It seems to me that the kinds of issues that the UN is going to be facing demand a rather different kind of conception of what is important in arms control and disarmament, particularly if we are worried about what the UN can do and what the UN can contribute.

What the UN can contribute to the Soviet-American dialogue on nuclear arms control is extraordinarily marginal. It is important that every country be able to express its view in the UN. If things get out of control, obviously everyone all over the world is involved, so everyone has a right to express a view. But for too many years that was almost the sole focus of disarmament discussions in the UN. The majority of countries find it extraordinarily convenient to talk about all the wrongs of the Big Boys, and they don't want anyone to focus on their regional arms races, on conventional arms transfers, on the transfer of chemical weapons and now the transfer of ballistic missile technology to many parts of the world.

Global interdependence is not always such a positive concept. There is a global interdependence on security by which some of these seemingly far-off Third World conflicts that people did not think would immediately affect our security did so in ways that were quite unpredictable. When countries in the Middle East acquire missiles capable of reaching the Soviet Union, when various countries in the world acquire submarines with nuclear potential which could threaten any country at any time — we are not quite there yet, but we are not far from it — when we have the question of chemical weapons, we begin to recognize that this is all tied into a single piece.

Therefore what the UN agenda should be focusing on, it seems to me, is upon global aspects of arms control and disarmament, basically the question of the spread of arms around the world and what one should do about it. These are not two separate phenomena, one of which we can leave for tomorrow, and the other we have to deal with immediately. The weapons that are being used are those in the

Third World, not the strategic weapons of the US and the Soviet Union. We need to work on both fronts, but my only plea is balance.

When we begin to look at regional conflicts let's not assume it is simply a matter of the Secretary-General doing some mediation, the Security Council backing him up, and sending peacekeeping forces. There also should be an arms control and disarmament component to that. It is the constant importation of arms, even during cease-fire periods, that then provides the fuel and the wherewithall for a renewal of the conflict later.

Yet very rarely are these put together. There is no kind of arms control regime whatsoever in terms of what is transferred to Iran and Iraq, for example, or to different parties in South East Asia or in Latin America or very obviously in Afghanistan. So trying to treat these as two separate issues is ignoring the fact that they are very directly, organically interrelated and should be treated as one piece. If we are busy talking about comprehensive approaches to security we certainly should recognize that the traditional approaches ought to be worked on as one whole piece of cloth. Otherwise you are not going to get where you want to be.

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# INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND THE U.N.

By

DR. GENNADY VORONTSOV, UNA OF THE USSR

It is well known that USSR has transformed its attitude towards the activities of the UN. It is now strongly supporting the process of enhancing the role of the UN in all fields. The UNA of the USSR has made its modest contribution into these changes. We do regard the UN as a unique instrument for peace, security, and multilateral cooperation in many fields. I may be critical of some activities of the UN but still I am very optimistic.

The main feature of our modern world is interdependence. This is reflected in UN activities. The UN is a unique international instrument of universal character. In it one could find a real balance of interests of all the countries of the world, big or small, members of military alliances or nonaligned countries, socialist or western...

In the variety of opinions of the international community one would like to find common points, joint approaches, a facing together of the hard challenges of the modern world. What do we need? In the first place I would put political will. I am sure that the presence or absence of political will will be of great and primary significance for solving all the problems of disarmament and a number of other issues.

The UNA of the USSR is involved in researching the role and the activities of the UN.

Now I would like to pass on to the issues of disarmament. I see a new situation now. We are witnessing a certain progress, some practical steps in real disarmament, practical measures in the nuclear field. If I had been asked five or six years ago whether the double zero option were possible I would have said 'no', it is impossible. But later on it became reality. I highly assess the INF Treaty. The significance of this particular treaty is not only in the fact that it eliminates the whole class of nuclear weapons, of nuclear missiles. *The political side* is even important. Why?

Because it was the first real and unprecedented breakthrough in the political-military thinking. That is an important step, along with parts of the new political thinking, which is based not on the balance of terror, not on the balance of power, but on the balance of interests of states.

The next step is expected to be the fifty percent cut in the field of strategic armaments. I highly assess also a number of Soviet and American documents. Both sides acclaim that a nuclear war must not be unleashed and no one could gain victory in it.

There are also the successful Stockholm and Vienna conferences.

To make our future more stable I think we should reconstruct military doctrines and the whole military posture. In connection with this transformation I would like to draw your attention to the principle of sufficiency and alternative defense concepts. I would like to answer the question which was put by the Ambassador of Italy to the UN.

A number of experts throughout the world are researching sufficiency and alternative concepts of defense. We are also dealing with these particular problems. I would like to define at least three interpretations of sufficiency.

The first one is "unlimited sufficiency". For many decades some states and governments used "sufficiency" to stimulate the arms race. They explained it as a necessary step for strengthening security. I would categorize it as an uncontrolled arms race.

The second interpretation is "coordinated sufficiency". It was reflected in some treaties, like the SALT I and SALT II Treaties. These particular treaties limited the growth of numbers, for example, of launchers.

*The third interpretation of sufficiency is* "defensive sufficiency". Defensive sufficiency

and nonoffensive defense concepts require radical cuts, a change of the whole structure of military forces. That could be taken in a number of steps, symmetrical, multilateral, bilateral, or unilateral. The principle of reasonable sufficiency needs also a philosophical transformation in political and military thinking.

I think that there is a certain change in the correlation between factors of security, between military and non military dimensions of security. For many decades primary importance was given to military factors, to the military mind, to military power. Now I think it is high time to give primary importance to political factors.

There are some experts and politicians throughout the world who are thinking that nuclear weapons are a guarantee for peace. I do not think so. If it is really so it is a very dangerous guarantee, for they could eliminate the whole of humanity. We see also that the improbability of a nuclear winner stimulates arms race in the field of conventional armaments and armed forces. A conventional war could be easily transformed into nuclear war.

I would like to draw your attention to possible ways to implement the principle of reasonable sufficiency. First, get rid of offensive capabilities. Second, decrease the concentration of forces on the front line. Third, withdraw military forces from the forward-based line....

I would like to say a few words about the unilateral steps taken by the USSR. They were followed by the other Warsaw Treaty countries ... 500,000 men, 10,000 tanks, 8.5 thousand artillery pieces, 800 combat aircraft, and 6 divisions will be withdrawn from the GDR, Hungary and Czechoslovakia together with their armaments, including their tactical nuclear weapons. These divisions will be dissolved. Other military forces in these countries will be restructured on a defensive basis.

In the final analysis the Soviet Union will cut its military forces by 12%, its military budget by 14% and military production by 19%.

These measures are taken outside of the framework of the Vienna talks. The Soviet Union has started to implement these particular cuts. The first Soviet forces and tanks were withdrawn from Hungary.

Other steps could be taken in the field of disarmament. I am a proponent of disengagement zones. They could be fully demilitarized, or partially demilitarized, with the withdrawal of offensive weapons on both sides. There are a number of opinions concerning the depth of these zones. That is a task for the negotiators.

A few words about the control and verification measures. We should have strict control and verification measures. We should establish control points in the communication centers such as railway stations, seaports, airports. Verification bodies could be established on a national and international basis including also on site inspection.

We need openness and transparency in the field of military activities. It is not only openness in itself but the predictability of the behaviour of the other side. More openness and transparency will allow us to have a real picture of military activities throughout the world.

I would like to stress that the UN should be more active and more significant in disarmament issues.

NGOs should be more active in the field of negotiations, especially concerning disarmament issues. Why? First, these issues are too significant for all of us. We cannot rely only on government officials or bureaucrats. Second, these issues are negotiated too slowly. Take for example the CD experience. Or the experience of the Vienna talks which lasted for 15 years with no results. That is another record... Third, we have a unique chance because we are facing the process of democratization in international relations. That is why, I think, we in our NGOs have people encouraging us to enhance the influence of public diplomacy in our international community.

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# United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) — Functions and Activities in India

## Responsibility of the United Nations for refugees

From the very outset, the United Nations recognized that the task of caring for refugees was a matter of international concern and that, in keeping with the Charter, the community of States should assume collective responsibility for those fleeing persecution. Accordingly, the General Assembly of the United Nations at its first session, held at the beginning of 1946, adopted a resolution 1/ that laid the foundation for United Nations activities in support of refugees. In this resolution, the General Assembly stressed that no refugee or displaced person who had expressed valid objections to returning to his country of origin should be compelled to do so. The Chairman of the Special Committee on Refugees and displaced persons 2/ confirmed that objections of a political nature would be considered valid. However, the General Assembly stated that displaced persons who had expressed the wish to return home were to be given every assistance to do so.

## Establishment of the International Refugee Organization

In accordance with the recommendations of the Special Committee, the General Assembly, at its second session held in the latter part of 1946, established the International Refugee Organization (IRO) to succeed the existing international organizations 3/ engaged in assisting and repatriating refugees, displaced persons and prisoners-of-war, of whom there were, initially, some twenty-one million scattered throughout Europe. The tasks of the IRO were mainly the protection and resettlement of 1,620,000 persons who were reluctant to return to their homelands either because they had lost all ties there, or because of a well-founded fear of persecution.

The IRO was intended as a temporary specialized agency of the United Nations whose

primary objective was to seek solutions to the problems of refugees and displaced persons still living in camps, mostly in Austria, Germany and Italy. Like the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), it was essentially a field agency conducting its own assistance activities with the help and support of local authorities and voluntary agencies. However, it quickly became clear that the refugee problem was not a temporary phenomenon and that some further organized international effort would have to be made. The member States of the IRO 4/ considered it appropriate that the responsibility for refugees should be taken over by the United Nations itself. Their main considerations were that the time had come for all member States of the United Nations to share the expenditure involved in aid to refugees, and that, since conditions had improved in many reception countries, the United Nations was in a better position to provide refugees with the necessary assistance.

## Establishment and subsequent prolongation of UNHCR

In 1949, when the United Nations decided to assume more direct responsibility for international action in favour of refugees, upon the demise of the IRO, two possibilities were open to the Assembly: either to entrust this task to a department of the United Nations Secretariat, or to establish, within the administrative and financial framework of the United Nations, an *ad hoc* body capable of acting independently. On the proposal of the Secretary-General, the latter formula was adopted. In so doing, the General Assembly felt that it was preferable for the future body to remain as far as possible outside the political considerations with which the United Nations Secretariat had to deal. It also felt that a United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees would have the independence, authority and prestige required to enable him to

1/ Resolution A/45 adopted on 12 February 1946.

2/ Established by the Economic and Social Council under the terms of resolution No. 3 adopted on 16 February 1946 (Doc E/15 Rev. 1).

3/ i.e. United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), the Inter-governmental Committee for Refugees (IGCR) and the Office of the League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

4/ Eighteen out of a total number of 42 members of the United Nations at that time.

intervene with Governments, especially in the task of ensuring the international protection of refugees.

The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was set up on 1 January 1951 for a period of three years in accordance with General Assembly resolutions 319(IV) of 3 December 1949 and 428(V) of 14 December 1950. The Office was established as a subsidiary organ of the General Assembly, under Article 22 of the Charter, on a basis similar to that of other Programmes of the United Nations, such as UNICEF and UNDP. It soon became clear that refugee problems required the continued attention of the United Nations: thus, the General Assembly decided to prolong UNHCR's mandate for a period of five years, renewable, beginning on 1 January 1954. At its forty-second session, the Assembly adopted resolution 42/108 by which the Office was continued for a further five-year period from 1 January 1989 to 31 December 1993.

Under paragraph 13 of UNHCR's Statute, the High Commissioner is elected by the General Assembly on the nomination of the Secretary-General. The present High Commissioner is Mr. Thorvald Stoltenberg (Norway) 5/ who was elected to the post by the General Assembly for a four-year term beginning 1 January 1990. At the time of his election Mr. Stiltenberg was his country's Permanent Representative to the United Nations in New York. He had had a long career in Norway's public service, and, *inter alia* had held the portfolios of Minister of Defence (1979 to 1981) and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1987 to 1989).

Under the terms of Chapter I of the Statute, the High Commissioner acts under the authority of the General Assembly and follows policy directives given to him by the Assembly

and ECOSOC. He also reports to the Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme.

#### Persons of concern to UNHCR

Paragraph 2 of the Statute declares that

"The work of the High Commissioner shall be of an entirely non-political character; it shall be humanitarian and social and shall relate, as a rule, to groups and categories of refugees."

Its universal nature is reflected in the fact that UNHCR is called on to protect refugees wherever 6/ and wherever they may be. In order to fulfil these world-wide responsibilities, the High Commissioner is represented by some 90 representatives, including nine Regional Representatives, accredited to over 120 countries.

Persons of concern to UNHCR are those defined as refugees under the Statute annexed to General Assembly resolution 428(V) of 14 December 1950, as well as persons whom UNHCR may be called upon to assist, mainly through the provision of material assistance, pursuant to resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC).

Under the terms of paragraphs 6 and 7 of the Statute, a refugee falling within the mandate of UNHCR is defined as:

"Any person who, owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear or for reasons other than personal convenience, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside

5/ Previous High Commissioners were :- Mr. G. J. Van Heuven Goedhart (Netherlands), December 1950 - July 1956, Mr. A. R. Lindt (Switzerland), December 1956 - December 1960, Mr. F. Schnyder (Switzerland), December 1960 - December 1965, Sadruddin Aga Khan (Iran), December 1965 - December 1977, Mr. P. Hartling (Denmark), January 1978 - December 1985, Mr. J. P. Hocke (Switzerland), January 1986 - November 1989.

6/ With the exception of persons who continue to receive humanitarian assistance from the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). UNRWA was established in 1949 and provides essential services for Palestine refugees living in Lebanon, the Syrian Arab Republic, Jordan and the Gaza Strip.

the country of his former habitual residence, is unable or, owing to such fear or for reasons other than personal convenience, is unwilling to return to it.”

The emergence of new and large-scale problems of refugees, notably outside Europe, led Governments to adopt a more flexible interpretation of the criteria to be applied by UNHCR, especially with regard to uprooted persons qualifying for material assistance. Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and ECOSOC 7/ have requested the High Commissioner to assist specific groups of refugees and displaced persons of a particular origin or located in a particular area. UNHCR has thus provided emergency relief and other forms of material assistance to uprooted persons for whom individual determination of refugee status would be impracticable on account of such factors as the size of the group, its rapid rate of influx and the urgency of its needs.

Some of the above-mentioned resolutions also call upon the High Commissioner to concern himself with displaced persons, often within the framework of United Nations agencies, as required, at the invitation of the Secretary-General or the General Assembly. UNHCR can be authorized to act on behalf of persons who are displaced as a result of man-made disasters and who are in a situation analogous to that of refugees. In other instances, UNHCR is called upon to assist persons displaced within their own country. This is the case, for example, when assistance to reintegrate into their countries of origin is provided to refugees who repatriate. Such measures may be equally necessary for internally displaced persons returning to their homes after independence or the cessation of hostilities.

### **Functions of UNHCR**

The **protection** of refugees and the seeking of **durable solutions** to their problems are the two main functions of UNHCR. This is reflect-

ed in the wording of the first sentence of paragraph 1 of the Statute which states :

“The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees acting under the authority of the General Assembly shall assume the function of providing international protection, under the auspices of the United Nations, to refugees who fall within the scope of the present Statute and of seeking permanent solutions for the problem of refugees .....”

In discharging the first function, UNHCR seeks to promote the adoption of international standards for the treatment of refugees and the effective implementation of these standards in such fields as employment, education, residence, freedom of movement and safeguard against being returned to a country where a refugee may have reason to fear persecution. In discharging its second function, UNHCR seeks to facilitate the voluntary repatriation of refugees, or, where this is not feasible, to assist Governments of countries of asylum to enable the refugees to become self-supporting as rapidly as possible.

UNHCR has a major role in co-ordinating aid to refugees. Except in special circumstances, its material assistance activities are conducted through national or local authorities of the country concerned, other organizations of the United Nations system, non-governmental organizations, or private technical agencies.

### **Financing of UNHCR activities**

UNHCR expenditure is financed by a very limited subsidy from the regular budget of the United Nations (to be used exclusively for administrative costs) as well as by voluntary contributions from Governments, non-governmental organizations and individuals. Under paragraph 10 of the Statute, the High Commissioner administers any funds, public or private, which he receives for assistance to refugees.

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7/ See United Nations Resolutions and Decisions relating to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (HCR/INF/49).



**UNHCR EXPENDITURE 1967 - 1989**

(in US dollars)

<b>Year Programmes</b>	<b>General Programmes</b>	<b>Special</b>
1967	4,885,000	1,345,000
1968	4,880,000	2,161,000
1969	6,240,000	2,411,000
1970	6,410,000	1,898,000
1971	7,086,000	2,341,000
1972	8,284,000	15,803,000
1973	8,408,000	16,048,000
1974	12,053,000	22,773,000
1975	14,147,000	54,859,000
1976	15,696,000	75,166,000
1977	24,120,000	87,316,000
1978	40,487,000	94,194,000
1979	162,323,000	107,672,000
1980	281,885,000	215,071,000
1981	318,878,500	155,378,000
1982	318,883,800	88,076,200
1983	316,203,200	81,460,600
1984	345,953,900	98,246,400
1985	281,903,300	175,945,700
1986	281,078,800	159,646,200
1987	335,549,900	124,836,200
1988	395,295,200	150,202,200
1989	385,853,000	183,743,000

**Breakdown of expenditure in 1988 by region**

	<b>General Programmes</b>	<b>Special Programmes</b>
Africa	175,305,100	74,305,100
Asia & Oceania	64,316,900	18,225,400
Europe & North America	19,056,200	1,320,300
Latin America & Caribbean	32,852,400	6,497,100
South-West Asia, North Africa & Middle East	70,917,200	43,249,600

## Activities in India

At the end of 1987, 6,713 refugees were benefiting from UNHCR's assistance programmes in India, comprising 5,175 Afghans, 1,440 Iranians and 98 refugees from various other countries, compared to 6,442 at the end of 1986. During 1987, 2,256 new arrivals were recorded against 1,068 departures for resettlement, about 1,000 spontaneous departures, 132 voluntary repatriations to Afghanistan and 12 to the Islamic Republic of Iran. The first five months of 1988 witnessed the arrival of 1,218 persons, while 404 departed for resettlement and 18 repatriated voluntarily, resulting in an overall increase in numbers to 1,194. These movements underlined the high mobility of the refugees, as was observed in 1986.

The majority of the refugees in India, as already noted in the past, are of urban background, concentrated around New Delhi, especially in the case of Afghans, while Iranians (mostly students) live in the surrounding university towns. For many of these refugees, the UNHCR assistance programme provides the only aid they receive. UNHCR continues to implement its assistance programme in the absence of participation of voluntary agencies. The four counselling centres established in 1986 in areas of high refugee concentration received encouraging response with an average attendance of 400 each daily. Service provided include information on government and non-government facilities available to the refugees, vocational training and language classes.

Since 1987, Afghan refugees are given a one year residence permit by the Government which facilitates their access to the national education system and medical services. In early 1988, similar facilities were granted to Iranian refugees. While generally not permitted to seek jobs in the labour market, a limited degree of self employment is possible.

A sizeable portion of UNHCR assistance continued to be provided under a **multipurpose assistance programme** covering bimonthly subsistence allowances, medical care, primary education and other essential needs. Following recommendations of an evaluation mission in

February 1987 to streamline the coverage to beneficiaries, efforts were started, **inter alia**, in reviewing the caseload with a view to cutting off assistance to non-deserving cases. This screening, which has been adopted as an ongoing procedure to evaluate actual needs of recognized refugees, has resulted in a 14 per cent reduction in the assisted caseload. On the other hand, a survey in areas of refugees concentration in New Delhi revealed a common situation of refugees trying to make ends meet in the midst of an average 30 per cent increase in the cost of living. Accordingly, the rate of the subsistence allowance was increased by 15 per cent in November 1987. The increase in the revised allocation for 1988 is sought in view of implementation of the new rate in allowances as well as the increase in the average assisted caseload from 6,350 to 7,100. The proposed appropriation for **care and maintenance** for 1989 is higher than the revised requirements for 1988 due to the inclusion of counselling, legal assistance activities, assistance to the handicapped and secondary education. This allocation may need further adjustment depending on the actual caseload response to the option of voluntary repatriation to Afghanistan.

The requirement for self-sufficiency projects under the local integration allocation in 1988 has been increased on account of the need to employ a caseworker to facilitate the transition to self-sufficiency. The increase foreseen for 1989 is to cater for a larger number of beneficiaries (from 130 in 1988 to 211). No change is proposed for **legal assistance programmes** in 1988, while for 1989 this assistance is included under the care and maintenance appropriation. The increased allocation for counselling programmes in 1988 is needed to meet the increase in language classes from 38 to 42, in addition to the increase in administrative expenses. A slight increase is proposed for 1989, which will be included under the care and maintenance allocation, in anticipation of increased demand for repatriation. A small increase in the allocation for assistance to the **handicapped** in 1988 is due to an increase in the number of beneficiaries, while the needs for 1989 have been included under care and maintenance allocation.

A slight decrease is proposed in the Annual Programme for assistance for **lower secondary** education in 1988 in view of the reduction in student beneficiaries from 1,200 to 1,000, while for 1989 an increase is proposed due to increases in school registration and tuition fees. These requirements are also included in the allocation for care and maintenance in 1989.

The funds made available under the **Education Account** for scholarships at post-secondary and university levels have been revised downward for 1988 based upon an anticipated reduction in beneficiaries from 200 to 130. A further decrease is projected for 1989 mainly due to the reduction in the number of beneficiaries to 105.

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# World Food Programme — INDIA

BY

DIANA DIXON

WFP and India signed their first project agreement in 1963 — the same year the Programme was formed — and have progressed together. In the last 25 years WFP has supported Indian projects for livestock and fisheries development, forestry, irrigation, watershed management, rural development and resettlement; school feeding; assistance to women and children; and disaster relief.

WFP is helping India to fight soil erosion and deforestation. Many of the disasters that India faces stem from the damage to the environment caused by the loss of forests. Only 19.5 percent of the land is under forest cover, compared to the 33 percent needed to maintain an ecological balance in the country.

To reverse this trend the Government has launched large-scale tree-planting and afforestation programmes. WFP supports these by giving food to workers engaged in planting, nursery and forest management tasks. In return, the workers make a small contribution from their wages to a fund to provide schools, clean drinking water and other community services.

Government irrigation schemes aim to increase agricultural output. Workers on the Indira Gandhi Nahar canal have been receiving WFP assistance since 1968. This canal, which stretches across the Thar desert in

Rajasthan, will eventually bring more than 1.5 million hectares of land under irrigation.

Food rations are also distributed throughout the country by the Integrated Child Development Services which provides immunization, health check-ups, nutrition and health education for women, and non-formal education for 3-6 year olds. The women and children who attend the centres are given cooked meals to improve their nutritional status and act as an incentive to attend and benefit from the health services offered.

India is not just a recipient of WFP food aid but also an important donor. In the last 25 years India has supplied US \$11 million of tea, sugar, dried fish and rice to WFP to help the people of other countries.

The problems remaining are enormous; the population is more than 750 million and if the current growth rate continues, by the year 2112 India will have overtaken China to become the most populous country in the world.

To provide the minimum requirements— jobs, food, housing — for this number of people is a daunting task that will need the continuing help of organizations such as WFP for many years to come.

# ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK AND NGOs

## **New Approaches in Development Thinking**

As the awareness grows that development is a participatory exercise — be it the alleviation of poverty, the provision of social services, the development of local institutions and self-help groups, the improvement of the natural environment or policy discussion on development issues — and that project benefits are not always easily sustainable without involving beneficiaries, the Bank as well as other development financing institutions have been searching for new mechanisms to deliver their services.

One such mechanism is to involve non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in project design, implementation and evaluation. It reflects the general belief that such organizations have, for certain types of projects, a comparative advantage over government aid agencies. For their part, NGOs which are private, voluntary and non-profit organizations that aim to improve the quality of life and the standards of living of the people, recognize that there are certain areas in which they can cooperate with government aid agencies and provide their special know-how and experience without giving up their independence.

The 1980s saw a trend toward participatory approaches among a number of developing member countries (DMCs). This was partly in response to implementation problems that crept into official programs designed without consultation with beneficiaries. Also, because of the financial constraints that cropped up in the 1980s, governments nowadays often expect communities to help pay for services. That makes more obvious the need to ask communities what they want. The Bank has contributed to this worldwide change in development thinking, arguing that continued efforts to promote growth should be complemented by focused efforts to reduce poverty. Thus, there is now an increasing emphasis on targeting project benefits to well-defined groups which are actively involved in project design, implementation and evaluation. Popular participation in development decision-making has become a desirable objective.

Some DMCs have attempted to improve the direct distribution of benefits to the poor by specifically targeting programs at them, by decentralizing rural administration and by according high priority to sectors and activities which can offer immediate productivity gains or essential services to the poor. However, many of these initiatives have been beset with difficulties. As the Bank's Sector Paper on Rural Development points out, although several DMCs have decentralized their rural development planning procedures in order to establish closer links with local communities, manpower constraints have inhibited their efforts.<sup>1</sup> Government agencies often do not have people with enough motivation, training and ability to assist local communities to articulate their needs and develop a coherent focus for a rural development program. Besides, as the Bank's Sector Paper also notes, the poor are not represented on local planning bodies and, therefore, DMCs have particular difficulties in involving the poorest communities in rural development planning. Motivated as they are and being closer to the communities they serve, NGOs can be a useful link in the development process. A coherent and systematic approach to involve intermediaries like NGOs between the government and self-help groups is, therefore, essential if the poor are to take advantage of government programs.

## **Comparative Advantages and Limitations of NGOs**

It is, however, difficult to make a comprehensive assessment of the overall role and contribution of NGOs to socio-economic development. For one thing, the operations of NGOs are diverse in nature. For another, there are not enough relevant data on their activities. Still, within these limitations, there are major comparative advantages to be derived from working with NGOs. Mostly, they derive their success not from their association with any political grouping but from the vision of their individual leaders and the dedication of their self motivated

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1. Asian Development Bank. Sector Paper on Rural Development (1988).

staff. They are involved at the grassroots level and are familiar with the specific needs of the poor. They are committed to the betterment of the neediest, the protection of the environment, the welfare of the community. They emphasize self-help and self-reliance. In their operations, they have no bureaucracy to contend with and so can be flexible and innovative. They work directly to develop skills through training and other technical assistance programs; support institution-building; and help design, prepare and implement development activities.

It is important to note that NGOs have their limitations, too. They are small in size and scope, and, thus, can have only a limited impact. Frequently, they lack a broader economic and social perspective. Their financial and technical resources are not large either. They are loosely structured, sometimes without real accountability. And they are often weak (or excessively flexible) in management and planning. To achieve the optimum balance between, for example, flexibility and planning capacity requires a high level of experience and maturity. It is thus not surprising that the number of efficient and effective development NGOs still relatively small.

#### **Government Policies and Relations with NGOs**

At times, the relationship between NGOs and DMC governments poses legal and administrative problems. While some NGOs have a legal status, others are less formally organized. In the absence of specific policies or guidelines, their cooperation with governments depends on the relationship they have with particular government ministries and agencies. It is also recognized that a close embrace of NGOs by governments would be detrimental to some of their comparative advantages.

Occasionally, there could be NGOs who would take their concern for particular causes almost to the point of being biased, ignoring the broader socio-economic considerations of the government. When such a conflict of purpose and priority arises, cooperation with NGOs is not going to be easy.

Nevertheless, NGO involvement in government projects has increased in recent years.

Sometimes, governments use them as sources for information on local conditions and as vehicles to deliver inputs, offer extension services and provide training. Likewise, NGOs in some DMCs have sought to coordinate their activities in consultation with governments so as to avoid fragmentation and duplication of effort.

A few DMC governments, in cooperation with NGOs, have themselves directly sought to develop self-help groups to improve the distribution of inputs and services. Some have acted to boost manpower and strengthen skills at the grassroots level. Others, such as the Philippines, have recognized the need to actively encourage the development of NGOs and use them as the final link between government services and beneficiaries, either formally or informally.

In general, the degree to which a DMC is concerned about increasing beneficiary participation in rural development projects and poverty alleviation will influence the degree to which the Government is prepared to encourage the development of NGOs and collaborate with them. This, in turn, will affect the degree to which the Bank can look to NGOs to address the question of increased beneficiary participation in development projects. This will also, naturally, influence the nature of Bank loans and technical assistance projects to improve such participation.

#### **MAIN OBJECTIVES OF THE BANK'S POLICY**

The main objectives of the Bank's cooperation with NGOs in its operational activities are to assist the poor in improving their living standards effectively, and to support improved natural resource management and conservation in the DMCs. In July 1987, a policy framework for cooperation with NGOs was established and approved by the Board of Directors. In August 1988, a task force on the Bank's role in poverty alleviation recognized that, for the Bank to be effective in implementing its objective, it would be necessary to utilize channels and mechanisms for transferring resources and technical assistance directly to the poor.

Within this policy framework, the Bank cooperates selectively with NGOs which are well established and have experience in socio-econo-

mic activities. Such cooperation is based on the merits of individual cases, with prior concurrence of DMC governments.

There are a number of sectors and sub-sectors where the Bank can work together with NGOs. Among them are agriculture and rural development; social infrastructure; urban development; water supply and sanitation; health and population; education and training; small-scale industry and, of course, environmental protection in specific geographical regions, which has become a major concern for the Bank. So far, on the project level, the Bank's cooperation with NGOs has concentrated on agriculture/rural development, irrigation, health, micro/cottage industries and environmental protection.

There are several ways the Bank can cooperate with NGOs. It can work with them as sources of information, as consultants or contractors, as executing or operating agencies or as co-financiers.

Where NGOs have been active at the grassroots and have gained development experience, the Bank can draw on their knowledge and expertise to identify, prepare and appraise its projects; monitor and evaluate benefits; and facilitate its post-evaluation work.

Applying the usual Bank procedures, NGOs can also be recruited as consultants, either directly or in collaboration with other consultants and executing agencies because of their particular familiarity with local conditions. Moreover, with the governments' concurrence, they can be used as executing agencies for certain components of Bank-financed loan and technical assistance projects.

NGOs may also be co-financiers of Bank-financed loan and technical assistance projects, though amounts would generally be modest. NGO financing could certainly complement and enhance the effectiveness of the Bank's assistance. They can either put up cash or, which is mostly the case, provide the necessary training and advisory assistance. However, since the development approach of NGOs and their criteria and procedures for procurement of goods and services could differ from those of the Bank, parallel financing arrangements would

normally be the most appropriate involvement for NGOs.

The Bank continues to identify NGOs which might be interested in cooperating with it. It maintains proper records and information about such NGOs and their activities. In order to enhance NGOs' understanding of the Bank's operational policies, strategies and procedures, it keeps NGOs regularly informed on projects under consideration in the various DMCs. It also discusses with executing agencies possible areas of cooperation with NGOs and encourages contacts between them. It consults and, where appropriate, coordinates with other major bilateral and multilateral aid agencies (especially the World Bank) on how to cooperate more closely with NGOs. In addition, it organizes symposia/conferences where NGOs and DMC governments exchange views on development and environmental issues.

#### Status of Bank's Efforts

Between 1987 and 1989, the Bank participated in various symposia/conferences which were organized by NGOs or which addressed NGO issues. These symposia and conferences presented an excellent opportunity for the Bank to explain its new policy measures to a large number of NGOs and DMC governments. The Bank also kept in close contact with the newly-created NGO Division at UNDP as well as with the World Bank's NGO team.

Besides, the Bank commissioned a study on cooperation with NGOs in agriculture and rural development, which identified, assessed and suggested working arrangements with specific NGOs in seven DMCs (Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines and Sri Lanka).<sup>1</sup>

Since the policy framework for cooperation with NGOs became effective in 1987 a number of loans and technical assistance projects involving NGOs have been approved. The Chitral Area Development Project in Pakistan, approved in 1987, was designed on the basis of close collaboration and cooperation with the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme, an NGO with considerable

1. Asian Development Bank. Cooperation with NGOs in Agriculture and Rural Development (1989)

expertise in the project area. Another example of Bank-NGO cooperation is provided by a technical assistance grant to Indonesia, which seeks to study how to improve the efficiency of irrigation and management systems in selected areas of West Java and West Sumatra. The Bank has joined the Ford Foundation and the International Irrigation Management Institute (IIMI) in sharing the cost of the study. In the Philippines, in conjunction with the Sorsogon Integrated Area Development Project, the Bank agreed in 1988 to provide an advisory technical assistance grant for establishing a pilot community organization program. Through an NGO, the program will mobilize community groups in Sorsogon engaged in economic activities in key sectors, namely, non-irrigated food crops, tree crops, fisheries, small-scale agro-processing and general services. In 1988, the Bank extended a loan to the Philippines for the NGO-Microcredit Project, which is currently being implemented. This was the Bank's first practical step in directly involving NGOs to support beneficiary groups at the grassroots level. This pilot project will finance micro-enterprises and cottage industries using NGOs as credit intermediaries as well as providers of technical assistance. Along with the loan, the Bank provided an advisory technical assistance to strengthen about 30 NGOs expected to be accredited under the project. The Fisheries Sector Program loan to the Philippines supports a community-based coastal zone management program to be implemented in 12 major areas of the country, with NGOs serving as field-level project managers. In 1989, the Bank approved the Low Income Upland Communities Project in the Philippines, in which NGOs have also been given an important role in community-based resource regeneration activities associated with a watershed management project in Mindoro.

Cooperation of environmental NGOs is of particular importance to the Bank. In 1988, in a pioneering initiative, the senior management of the Bank held an informal meeting with representatives of selected environmental NGOs to exchange views on the Bank's environmental policies and programs and discuss how environmental NGOs could help address environmental and natural resources concerns in the DMCs. During the ninth meeting of the Committee of International Development Institutions on the

Environment (CIDIE) in Washington, D.C., also in 1988, a presentation was made on the ADB study on cooperative arrangements with environmental NGOs. The presentation dealt with the overall context of such collaboration, the opportunities for getting DMC governments to agree with these new arrangements and various ideas on how to broaden the basis of cooperation. The country-by-country assessment was undertaken in close collaboration with recognized national NGO network bodies and in consultation with donor country governments. Its results were further discussed at the ADB-NGO consultative meeting in 1989, held in conjunction with the tenth meeting of the CIDIE in Manila.

Subsequently, the services of environmental NGOs were built into several projects, including urban infrastructure development in Dhaka, Bangladesh; institution-building for environmental management in Nepal and the forestry and fishery sector program loans and the low-income upland communities project in the Philippines. The Bank's concern was also reflected in the technical assistance it provided for an environmental improvement study in the Manila metropolitan region.

The Bank will continue to pay increasing attention to improving formal and informal links with NGOs, particularly indigenous NGOs in DMCs, to address environmental concerns in Bank-supported activities. In this regard, results of an ongoing study on institutional strengthening of indigenous NGOs, in connection with the tenth meeting of CIDIE, will provide the modalities for future cooperation.

### Outlook

Although substantial progress has been made so far in intensifying the Bank's cooperation with NGOs, much remains to be done. The effort to promote a better understanding between the Bank and NGOs through symposia and conferences could be further intensified at the DMC level, since NGOs can perform a useful role as development and environment educators. The Bank has benefited from its 1988 meetings with selected environmental NGOs in Washington, D.C., and the 1989 Bank-NGO Consultative Meeting in Manila, which provided an excellent forum to further improve the Bank's



understanding of environmental issues. Simultaneously, contacts with NGOs in the donor countries could be expanded. In spite of the recognition that such NGOs could help educate public opinion in their countries about the problems of the DMCs, little effort was made in the past to foster relationships with them.

Experience has also shown that the participation of NGOs on the project level has so far been rather limited and only in a few countries, such as Indonesia, Pakistan and Philippines. Also, the involvement has been largely confined to the agriculture and rural development sector, which raises a question of geographical and sectoral balance. However, with the emphasis shifting to poverty alleviation and the related need to design and implement beneficiary-oriented, grassroot-level projects, a substantial expansion in the role of NGOs can be expected.

The experience gained by the Bank in cooperating with NGOs points to some other issues which are likely to emerge in the near future. By expanding its operational cooperation with NGOs, the Bank has realized more clearly the need to proceed in conformity with relevant government policies on the matter. In this context, the Bank will seek to play a catalytic role in promoting the relationship between NGOs and DMC governments and facilitating a more intensive dialogue between them on issues such as poverty alleviation, popular participation, environment and women in development.

The Bank's cooperation with NGOs is still in the early stages of development and some more experience needs to be gained before the effectiveness of this strategy can be properly evaluated.

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# Environment, Health and Development

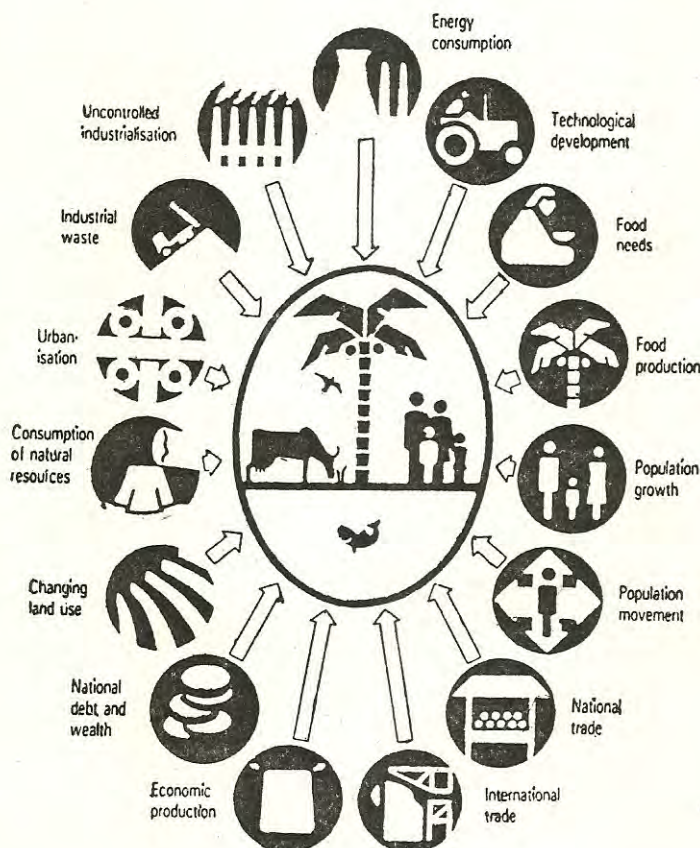
## INTRODUCTION

The all pervasive nature of the environment we live in cannot be stressed adequately. The quality of water that we consume for drinking or for personal and household tasks, the soil in which we grow our food and on which we dispose waste material, the animals and plants around us, the air that we breathe

and the rural and urban setting in which we dwell or work determines to a large extent the level of our physical, mental and social well being.

Over the ages, man has been altering his environment by accident or by design, as illustrated below :

### DEVELOPMENTAL ACTIVITIES AFFECTING ENVIRONMENT\*



Environmental degradation undermines development and damages human health. Ill health, on the other hand affects the work force, hinders development and leads to environmental degradation. Environment, development and health are thus closely interlinked

with proper development improving the environment, sustaining development and increasing community health, making possible sustainable development. The role of man in the maintenance of a clean and healthy environment is therefore indispensable.

\* Source: *The State of Environment 1984. The environment in the dialogue between and among developed and developing countries. United Nations Environment Programme.*

## URBANIZATION AND INDUSTRIALIZATION

Urbanization and industrialization and the resultant influx of population has resulted in severely stretching the existing facilities such as housing, water supply and waste disposal, roads and transport system and basic services.

The domestic wastes and garbage in the congested settlements cause insanitary conditions, as well as insect and rodent problems giving rise to many illnesses and deaths. Indiscriminate spraying of insecticides, rodenticides and pesticides often result in health risks. Unsatisfactory housing, overcrowding, inadequate excreta disposal, burning of wood, coal and cowdung cakes for cooking pose severe health problems. Industrial emissions and inappropriate disposal of wastes, create additional health hazards.

Every one has a right to enjoy a reasonably clean, safe and healthy environment in which to live and work. Developmental activities must therefore be controlled and well planned and steps ensured to see that waste products are removed safely.

## PLANNING OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Rapid urbanization is reaching serious proportions in the developing world leading to, among other problems, unhealthy living conditions, overcrowding, psychosocial stresses and violence. Unplanned, hastily planned settlements or squatter settlements are invariably deficient in housing and essential services for healthy living. Towns and cities must be therefore developed in a planned manner, segregating residential areas from those meant for commerce and industry.

## HOUSING AND SHELTER

Shelter is one of the essential requirements for human life. Uncontrolled migration from rural to urban areas makes housing a major problem. Poor housing has been shown to be associated with tuberculosis, streptococcal infections, rheumatic fever and rheumatic heart disease. Houses must be so designed and constructed as to allow adequate air and sun light to enter and, at the same time, protect its dwellers from the elements. Where firewood, coal, or cowdung cakes are used for

cooking, houses must be provided with smokeless "chulahs" and proper ventilation to let out the smoke from the burning fire, thereby keeping the indoor air clean. Residents should have access to safe drinking water, waste disposal sites and sanitary latrines.

## WATER SUPPLY AND SANITATION

In most SEAR countries the supply of drinking water has not kept pace with population growth. Waste collection and disposal facilities are often lacking. Contamination of sources of water supply often occur as a result of insanitary disposal of solid and liquid domestic wastes including human excreta.

It is not uncommon for whole settlements drawing water from public taps or open wells or community handpumps forcing people either to draw insufficient quantities of water or to go to polluted water sources. Lack of adequate water for washing and cleaning coupled with poor sanitation lead to infection and reinfection through the oral-faecal route. The provision of safe water supply and satisfactory disposal of wastes is therefore imperative for a clean environment and healthy living.

## DISPOSAL OF SOLID WASTES

Large volumes of refuse are produced by the communities. Until the turn of the 20th century, the generally accepted way of disposal of domestic refuse was either to dump it into the courtyard of the house where it accumulated and decomposed till it was finally carted away to farms or other disposal sites, or throwing it out into the streets where it dispersed. This, however, encouraged the breeding of flies, insects and rodents, which in turn, transmitted many diseases.

Yet, the more new industries develop and existing industries expand, the more the environment gets affected. Although environmental issues have become matters of great concern, the speed at which new technologies are introduced is rarely matched with measures to protect the environment and the people.

On the other hand, hazardous substances produced by industry are being handled by the public without being fully aware of their dangerous side effects. Pesticides, for instance, are the most important and most

widely used hazardous chemicals in the region. Their improper application leads to thousands of deaths every year.

Albert Einstein once stated that "concern for man himself and his fate must always form the chief interest of all technical endeavour". If he was alive today he would certainly realize that concern for man and his fate would become meaningless without concern for the environment.

In the case of industries it would mean careful consideration of a number of issues of far reaching consequence:

#### (1) Policies and Planning

Again it will be politicians, policy and decision-makers and planners who will have to take the first step and formulate proper policies and develop realistic plans for establishing and expanding industries.

#### (2) Legislation

Although some form of legislation mostly exists it is usually inadequate or in need of improvement or for strengthening procedures for enforcement. It should typically include the setting of standards and maximum allowable concentrations as well as drawing up of regulations covering the production, conveyance, disposal and accidental discharge of dangerous substances.

#### (3) Introduction of new technologies

New technologies and industrial innovations are being introduced all the time often without due regard to safety. Legislation should promote safe production technologies as well as the recycling or proper disposal of waste.

#### (4) Site Selection

The selection of a proper site for an industry vis-a-vis well-serviced housing is extremely important. If carefully located, an industry will not only present a minimum risk but will also mean reduced distances for employees to travel to work.

#### (5) Health of the Workers

In the case of an industry the working environment is at least as important as its surroundings. Workers have to be properly protected against harmful factors (toxic fumes, dust, noise, radiation, etc). The provision of first aid equipment and protective devices is not enough. Safety will have to start at the source through hazard control.

#### (6) Public Information

There is a general lack of awareness on the part of both the public as well as the decision makers. Health education and public information programmes should, therefore, include safety aspects of the handling and disposal of hazardous substances and of industrial accidents.

### CONCLUSION

Never before in history have there been cities as large as today's, doubling their size every 10 to 15 years. Never before have goods been produced in such quantity and variety and never before have our energy requirements been of such proportions. In view of the fact that our numbers and our demands are still increasing we have to consider future steps carefully and remember Einstein's words and act accordingly.

# SEVEN SINS\*

International development efforts of recent years have yielded a range of techniques and strategies which could accelerate real development even in the difficult decade which lies ahead. But those years, and the reflections and experience of many of the people and organizations most closely involved, have also yielded some vitally important principles which have often been found to make the difference between success and failure.

The principles themselves are well-known to most of those who have been engaged in the development efforts of recent times, but in surveying the main means of accelerating social progress for children and their families, it would be a travesty to omit those hard-won 'guiding principles', forged from the failures as well as the successes of the past. And at the risk of being too harsh on such efforts, those principles may be briefly summarized under the heading of development's 'seven deadly sins'.

**1. Development without infrastructure :** Most of the cost-effective techniques now available, from immunization to oral rehydration therapy, new seed varieties to new hand-pumps, are of little value without a reliable delivery mechanism for informing and supporting the majority in using them.

In this context, the words of Dr. Halfdan Mahler, on his retirement after fifteen years of successful leadership as the Director-General of the World Health Organization, are as relevant to every other aspect of development as they are to health:

"To strengthen their self-reliance, countries have to build up their own health infrastructure.... The backbone of that kind of infrastructure is made up of properly trained staff and informed people."

As we have seen in many countries in the 1980s, 'delivery' can depend as much on demand as on supply. The promotion of specific improvements such as immunization of new

varieties of seed therefore also has a role in building and strengthening delivery mechanisms.

**2. Development without participation :** Sustained development ultimately depends on enhancing people's own capacities to improve their own lives and to take more control over their own destinies. External assistance, whether from capital city or foreign country, cannot long be the star of the show, and must learn the skills of the supporting role. Whether in agriculture or industry, water supply or housing scheme, development experience to date has shown that there is an absolutely crucial distinction between the kind of assistance which enables and involves and the kind which alienates and disenfranchises. The success or failure of any development effort will usually depend on which side of that sometimes subtle line such assistance falls.

**3. Development without women :** The women of the developing world are responsible for producing and marketing most of its crops; they also carry the main responsibility for food preparation and home-making, for water and fuel, for nutrition and health care, for hygiene and for the education of the young. Not least, they are almost entirely responsible for the physical and mental development of the next generation. Yet in development assistance efforts to date, most of the education and training, the technology and the inputs, the investments and the loans, have gone to men.

That imbalance is difficult to correct because it is part of a landscape of fundamental social inequities in all countries. But the inefficiency involved in this bias, not to mention its injustice, costs the development effort dear. Female education has great effect on family size and child health effect. The possibilities for increased productivity and incomes through credit, training, and technology for women have hardly begun to be explored. Similarly, investments in safe motherhood and

\* Source: *The State of World's Children — 1989*

in labour-saving devices of particular relevance to women (such as more fuel-efficient methods of cooking and less labour-intensive ways of procuring the family's water and fuel and preparing its food) are among the most productive but the most ignored of all investments in social and economic development.

#### 4. **Development without environment :**

Fifteen years ago, it was widely thought that the environment was an industrialized world problem, a function of affluence, and of little relevance to the developing world. Today, the deforestation of lands, the erosion of soils, the silting of lakes and rivers, the new propensity to drought and flood, and industrial disasters such as the Bhopal tragedy, have shown that the environment is also a third world problem. At the same time, rising concern over the depletion of the ozone layer, the possible warming of the earth's atmosphere, and the unknown consequences of the destruction of the world's tropical forests, should have made it clear to all that the environment is everyone's problem. The Brundtland Report, **Our Common Future**, bringing together the experience of the last decade, argues that in every development initiative the environment ought to be a part of the forethought not the afterthought:

"There has been a growing realization in national governments and multilateral institutions that it is impossible to separate economic development issues from environment issues: many forms of development erode the environmental resources upon which they must be based, and environmental degradation can undermine economic development. Poverty is a major cause and effect of global environmental problems. It is therefore futile to attempt to deal with environmental problems without a broader perspective that encompasses the factors underlying world poverty and international inequality."

5. **Development without the poor :** Development has for too long been confined to showcase examples and pilot projects. Such demonstration projects have shown what can be done; the emphasis must now shift towards doing it. In the 1990s, the great need is to apply the knowledge we already have on a scale commensurate with need.

"Going to scale" in this way means reaching not just 50% or 60% but almost all families. Whether we are talking of immunization services or primary schools or agricultural training, there is a tendency to assume that reaching half or two thirds of a given population is enough. The fact is that the problems of malnutrition, poor growth, frequent ill-health, child deaths, maternal mortality, illiteracy, and low productivity are concentrated among the poorest third of the developing world's families.

This challenge of reaching the very poorest is the greatest challenge in social development. Over the last ten years, almost every initiative — large or small — has come up against the same problem of reaching the unreached. Even the most serious and politically difficult attempts at shifting priorities in favour of the poor — via primary schools or adult literacy campaigns, rural clinics or supplementary feeding programmes — have often failed to reach substantial numbers among the very poorest groups.

There is no one answer to this problem. Just as the impact on the environment must now be borne in mind at every stage of every development initiative, so the pressure must be maintained at every stage to keep the focus on the poorest communities. In particular, the pressure must be kept up for the increasing representation of the poor in decision-taking and for the inversion of spending pyramids so that the majority of resources available for development are devoted to action which benefits the poorest.

6. **Development without the doable :** Experts in the various disciplines of development, who must take much of the credit for the knowledge base now available, must also take some of the blame for the failure to implement that knowledge on a significant scale.

Partly because research and development has focused on small-scale and pilot projects, where the ratio of real resources to problems is often artificially high, the plans put forward for development initiatives have often been more appropriate for meetings of development experts than for meetings of cabinet

ministers. Often, everything that needs doing has been listed without priorities or politically attractive strategies for doable step-by-step implementation. That is one reason why so many well-informed plans, and so much of the knowledge of recent years, has remained on the shelf of potential. Failure to implement has then been impotently lamented as a lack of political will.

The task facing development experts across all disciplines over the next ten years must be a different one. It is the task of shaping today's knowledge into plans which are capable of attracting what political will is available; politicians must be handed not the blunt instrument of undifferentiated knowledge but the sharp axe of the 'doable'.

Analysing why the dream of universal immunization is becoming a reality, for example, the Director of WHO's Expanded Programme on Immunization (EPI) comments that "EPI has been successful because it is inexpensive, easily implemented and easily understood, and because it brings immediate, highly visible benefits. It is good public health, and good politics." For all the same reasons, immunization has been well supported by the industrialized nations.

The argument that immunization is different, a special case, has some validity. But the point at issue here is that every effort must somehow be made to endow other aspects of the development process with this same political attraction. It is no use pretending that we live in an ideal world where obvious priorities are automatically implemented. There is fierce competition for resources in every country. And if the development experts are to maximize their contribution to real development in the decade ahead, then the challenge is not the increasing refinement and sophistication of paper plans and existing concepts but the shaping of available knowledge into achievable, large-scale, low cost, high-impact, and politically attractive plans.

7. **Development without mobilization :** The task of development in the decade ahead is, in large part, the task of putting today's knowledge at the disposal of the majority. In many cases, that task is as important as the creation of infrastructure and services. Immunization facilities will not be sufficiently used, for example, if parents do not know where and when and why their children are to be vaccinated. Clean water supplies will not improve the lives of families who do not have the knowledge to convert that physical facility into better health. Diarrhoeal dehydration and acute respiratory infections will not be defeated unless parents know how to cope and when to get help.

For too long, that task of putting essential development knowledge — and especially knowledge about improving the health and the nutrition of children — has been left to health services which have neither the time nor the training nor the outreach to do that job well. Meanwhile, a communications revolution has given the developing world an unprecedented capacity to put new knowledge at the disposal of the majority.

The time has now come to fully exploit that new capacity. School systems today reach three quarters of the developing world's population. Radio reaches into a majority of its homes, television and newspapers into a majority of its communities. Religious leaders and institutions regularly reach out to, and are heeded by, a majority of parents in most nations. Tens of thousands of non-governmental organizations are now at work in some of the very poorest communities. Government employees, from water and sanitation officials to agricultural extension workers, now reach with varying degrees of effectiveness into most communities. And the hundreds of thousands of CHWs trained in this last decade have brought the health services into contact with a greater proportion of national populations than ever before.\*

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\* A forthcoming UNICEF publication — *All for Health* — documents the increasing involvement of all sections of society in the promotion of health knowledge during the 1980s. Intended as companion booklet to *Facts for Life* the publication is available by writing to Facts for Life Unit, UNICEF DIPA H-9F, UNICEF House, 3 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017, USA.

In the industrialized world, the struggle against the major threats to life and health, such as cancer, heart disease, and AIDS, is increasingly being waged by all the communications resources at society's disposal — its postal services, its television and radio stations, its newspapers and magazines, its church leaders and its voluntary organizations. The time has come for the developing world to also tackle the major threats to the life and health of its people — including vaccine-preventable diseases, diarrhoeal dehydration, acute respiratory infections, low birth-weight, and maternal mortality (as well as cancer, heart disease, and AIDS) — by mobilizing its social capacity even more effectively in that cause.

In the last decade, nations such as Syria and Turkey, Egypt and Senegal, and many countries in Latin America have shown what can be achieved by mobilizing this new capacity to inform and support parents in protecting their children by immunization. In the next decade, a broader mobilization of social resources could advance the cause of real development by putting a wide range of vital knowledge at the disposal of all families.

It is no exaggeration to say that the avoidance of these 'seven sins', or, more positively, the observance of these hard-won principles, could more than double the cost-effectiveness of the development effort in the 1990s and beyond. The subject of development, as a conscious discipline, is only 40 years old. For most of those years, progress has been pushing through the sanddunes of often naive assumptions about the nature of the process. Today, development stands on firmer ground. And it is this base of hard-won knowledge and technique, strategies and guiding principles, which brings significant real development achievements within reach over the decade ahead.

What the priorities should be, within the range of what is now achievable, is a matter for the governments of developing nations. They and their regional organizations will set their own goals according to their own lights. Ultimately, if development is to be an enabling process, people themselves will decide on, and work towards, the fulfilment of their own priorities. This report has so far attempted to illustrate the considerable progress which could be achieved, over the next ten years, by means of a real development pact between the industrialized and developing nations.

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# 15 YEARS IN THE LIFE OF A MOVEMENT

By

Nandita Gandhi

Soon it will be 15 years since the United Nations declared the Women's International Year in 1975. Women and the women's movement in India have seen many changes, disappointments, joys and backlashes. In some ways it has been a singularly eventful decade and a half. But even whilst toting up its successes and failures it is necessary for us to remember that 15 years is only a moment picked out of the continuum of time or a struggle which has no origin, date or place. Women either individually or collectively have always struggled against injustices, inequality and for liberation. Then we have a methodological problem. How can a social movement be evaluated like a balance sheet with columns of revenue and expenditure, profits and losses? What may be seen as a gain by some can be viewed as a retrogressive step by others. Yet it is a worthwhile attempt as it gives people an idea of what transpired and what has yet to be accomplished.

New women's groups were formed after the Emergency was lifted in 1977 in most of the major cities of the country. They organised a national campaign in 1979 against rape and for the amendment of laws after the shocking and sexist judgement of the Supreme Court in the Mathura Case. Mathura, a 16 year old tribal girl, was raped by two policemen in Chandrapur, Maharashtra after they had picked her up for interrogation. The Supreme Court ruled that as she had a boyfriend and because there was no proof of resistance, she must have consented. This campaign not only introduced changes in the rape laws but began a series of other legal reforms.

The Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961 was amended to give it more teeth; Section 498 A in the Indian Penal Code was added to prevent cruelty and harrassment of married women; directives were given to the police to curb eve teasing; The Indecent Representation

of Women (Prohibition) Act 1986 was passed to strike at pornography and obscene posters; The Commission of Sati (Prevention) Act, 1986 hoped to prevent other Roop Kunwars from burning at the funeral pyre and lastly the Maharashtra Regulation of Use of Prenatal Diagnostic Techniques Act, 1988 which might be taken up at the national level to prevent the killing of the female foetus after an amniocentesis test.

On the formal political front, the Rajiv Gandhi Government inaugurated a new department of Women and Child Development and installed 5 Ministers and Ministers of State, the largest number of women since Independence. For the first time women have been defined as a group to be wooed and appealed to by politicians. The 30% reservation of seats for women which was no more than a topic for debate quickly became a reality in Karnataka and later in Maharashtra. However it is apparent that the number of women in formal politics has been declining steadily though inversely the number of women out on the streets in protest are increasing. The consciousness and intervention of women in politics has remarkably risen.

What is also noticeable is the increase in the employment of middle class women in the service sector. And the already entrenched women in the teaching profession and in government employment raised their voices for better wages and conditions. More women are engaged in agriculture now than ever before. But that is not seen as a positive point by economists because they do the most back breaking and low paid jobs. There is a wage inequality of 50 to 80% between men and women for the same type of work. The informal sector continues to swell as more women are retrenched from industry and become domestic servants, self employed, hawkers and artisans.

In the area of education, more women are going in for higher education. The proportion of women post graduates to men is higher. However in spite of free education for girls at the primary level, there is no decline in the rate of young girl dropouts. The majority of Indian women are malnourished and anaemic but not many seem to be seeking medical attention. This situation is not given much attention because of the government's primary focus has been the family planning programme. There were a series of maternal and child health services, nutrition programmes, training of **dais** etc. in a bid to reach out to women.

What do these indicators of the status of women reveal? What emerges is a changing though depressing picture of women in Indian society. Perhaps one of the achievements of the last 15 years has been in the area of the intangible — the questioning of concepts and ideas. Atrocities against women and dowry as issues were also taken up in the early part of the 19th century and later by the nationalist leaders. But it is only at present that women have dared to question the hallowed institutions of marriage and the family. This has earned the women's movement especially the feminists within it the label of home breakers and anti-family. It is one thing to reject or ask for banishing these institutions and another to demand a re-structuring for egalitarian relations between sisters and brothers and wife and husband. The dowry campaign

besides asking for people not to give or demand dowry has also gone into the question of the pressure and compulsion to marry. Women are trained to see marriage as a career and then if it does not work, forced to remain within it at the cost of their physical and mental health. When dowry is given instead of inheritance in the form of expensive marriage feasts and consumer goods like scooters etc. it is not something that woman can use in emergency, desertion or bigamy.

The campaign against rape seriously looked into the different types of violence on women. Rape is the most gross form but the subtle ones like eve teasing or using women as sexual objects in advertising or the science aided killing of female foetus are often overlooked by society. Violence restricts women's mobility, undermines their self confidence and prevents them from developing their full potential. From these theoretical debates emerged many conceptual frameworks which seek to explain women's oppression. No longer is it explained away as fate or a biological destiny. In the last 15 years, more women perceive the system of patriarchy or the control of men over women and their labour, fertility and sexuality as the source of their problems, of atrocities and injustices. Women no longer want to be in purdah or put on a pedestal as goddesses, they want to be human beings who have the freedom to work, study, live a rich and creative life.

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# PIVOTAL ROLE OF EDUCATED YOUNGER WOMEN IN FAMILY WELFARE STRATEGIES

By

Dr. Suman Srivastava, Retd. Deputy Chief Medical Officer (Family Welfare) Western Railway

The need of the day is the development of new family welfare motivational strategies to save human beings from the man-made "Population Explosion" bomb. The severity of this explosion is such that it is not instantaneous, but a chronic ailment which is corroding the quality of life. The impact is more severe in our country than in the West. Our country's population which was about 342 million at the time of Independence rose to 361 million in 1951. It was 792 million in 1988 and the present expectation is that by the turn of this century it will be around one billion. India is having only 2.4% of the world's area and supporting 15% of the world's population. Population density has increased by 22% over the decade from 173 to 216 per sq. kilometre. All these aspects lead us to man-made catastrophe and nothing else.

Hence we all should appreciate that the "Laisson-d'etra" of family planning is not just birth control but the creation of a new value system for the individual and the community. Hence, greater importance is to be accorded to perceptions, beliefs and attitudes, building up to a well integrated approach towards raising of small family on the basis of responsible parenthood and aspiration for a better quality of life.

Though it is a fact that things have changed in the field of family planning concepts and awareness has been created in educated classes especially more in urban population. To get a better result we have to give a total package of health and family welfare services, particularly those related to mother and child health care. At the same time we have to keep a watch on the family planning programme so that it does not get lost or diffuse into the larger system of social programmes. The foremost approach is not only creating the awareness and gaining public acceptance of family

planning but continuously motivating people to act on their awareness by going to a clinic or distribution post and using a contraceptive method positively especially by younger women.

With these ideas our Government envisages the following goals for the year 1990 in the Seventh Plan.

i) Effective couple protection rate	42 %
ii) Crude Birth rate per thousand population	29.1%
iii) Crude death rate per thousand population	10.4%
iv) Infant mortality rate per thousand population	90 %
v) Immunisation	Universal
vi) Antinatal care	75 %

United Nations estimates suggest that there are approximately 506 million girls and young women in the world in the age group of 6-19 years. Out of it, 88% are in developing countries while Asia alone has 61%. As in our country marriages are performed at much younger ages, the number of eligible couple increases more than in any other country. On an average 2.5 million couples are joining reproductive group every year. This is the age group where the couples have to be constantly monitored, motivated, persuaded and all possible help to be given for planning their family. Young women are now offered a potentially far greater range of medical choices to exercise control over their fertility, pregnancy and reproductive health.

The reproductive technologies in this century have undergone vast changes even though women in all era have sought to prevent or increase their fertility.

A successful family welfare programme is based on all aspects of reproductive technology which is as follows :

- 1) fertility control (technologies preventing conception); i.e. family planning by the 'pill', interuterine devices, sterilization, condoms, and other conventional contraceptives.
- 2) management of labour child birth (the technologies monitoring and controlling the process of labour and delivery; i.e. medicalised childbirth, hospitalising during child birth, foetal heart monitoring, instrumental and cesarean deliveries);
- 3) health, and genetic characteristic of foetuses and new borns (the techniques for neonatal care, experiments for human genetic engineering, i.e. amniocentesis, human cribs).
- 4) Conceptive technologies (promotion of pregnancy through techniques for reversing infertility i.e. in vitro fertilisation surrogate motherhood, test-tube babies, embryo transfer and artificial wombs).

Out of these, we in India, particularly in government organisations like railways, are able to give completely first two aspects to atleast 70% of our eligible couples and the last two services in negligible percentages to the very affluent society in big metropolitan cities like, Bombay, Delhi and Calcutta. Railways have not opted for providing the services like test-tube baby but have encouraged couples for undergoing investigations of infertility.

The recent family welfare strategy aims at delaying the marriage age for boys and girls and adequate spacing measures between the time of two births. It should also promote methods for termination of pregnancy to ensure limitations of risk births and provision of adequate facilities to reduce infant mortality because child survival is the key note for small family.

It is a well known factor that to improve the social and economic status of women, younger women should be our target group not only because of their demographic importance,

but because they hold the key to potential for change.

If women hold up half the sky, as Mao once said, then in the age group of people under thirty, women bear an even greater share of burden because of the special requirements of human reproduction and social production. As such the ages 15-30 are crucial for both sexes in any society, since the nature of work and skill built up during this period of life have a major and usually determining, influence in the pattern of subsequent existence. For women, these years also represent the years, when reproductive activity is typically at its peak and makes major demands on time and energy. This is the age group where women have to be persistently motivated, persuaded and a complete responsible attitude to be sustained for their reproductive aspect.

Of all interventions to control fertility, girls' access to educational opportunities is most critical. Education imparts a sense of control over one's destiny which may encourage attempts to control child bearing as well. In general educated women earn more and have few children who in turn have better health. With these ideas our social organisations of railways have been giving more incentives to the parents who are educating their girls and we find positive results in our studies on fertility rate which showed a decline in this group.

(b) Health care and adolescent sexuality are the subjects the knowledge of which should be given to every parent irrespective of his social status. This was done by arranging small women mandals and group discussions.

(c) As child survival is the key role of small family norms, programmes of Universal Immunization should be supported by all NGO groups as well as the Government machinery.

Last but not the least, it is the duty of every individual to help and impart knowledge of family planning and immunization programme with whom he or she comes in contact. In one of our social clubs, as a Doctor, I asked all the "Mem Sahibs" to take care of

their Ayas and their family and the results even though were not 100% but the 30% who did take care showed the attendance of these people in our clinic on better footings for utilizing our services. This is termed as our 'personalized approach'.

Keeping educated women as the target group in implementing and evaluating a successful family welfare, a small study was done on two divisions of Western Railway namely, Ratlam and Jaipur Divisions out of the other 8 divisions of Western Railway, the reasons being that these two Divisions had shown better results of our programme due to better motivation and awareness. The impact of leadership played a major role along with women's educational status.

The conclusion of this small study also showed the following points :

- 1) Awareness was more in Ratlam Division as compared to the other division;
- 2) Women education was on better footings in Ratlam division and in the younger group;

3) Educated younger women had better communication with their husbands showed better planned families, more visits to the hospitals;

4) Domestic servants like Ayas who were interviewed had better knowledge of contraceptions due to the exposure of their Mem Sahibs style of living — like limited families, higher standard of living, television facilities and over hearing the dialogues in the houses.

The denial of maternity leave to domestic servants (wives of railway employees who work in the bungalows) also affected their child bearing to some extent.

There is no doubt that female education has a powerful impact on fertility and contraceptive behaviour; education decreases the desire for children and increases the use of contraception, thereby reducing fertility.

In my view younger women should be allowed to develop their other talents rather than only fulfilling their bio-medical aspects in life.

# Reminiscences of an International Civil Servant

BY

MOHAN A. TELANG

I worked as a Statistical Adviser in several countries for the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations under the United Nations Development Programme. I recount below a few of my interesting experiences :

**Hard Work:** When in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, I had once to get a fifteen page report typed out in order to meet a deadline. However, I noticed that my Brazilian steno was treating the work rather casually. I asked a Brazilian colleague if there was any way to make her work hard. My friend laughed and said "In Brazil, we ask, 'why work very hard? They say hard work produces money. This cannot be true for if hard work produced money, donkeys would have hooves of gold!"

**What's in a Name :** There is a popular fruit available in Bombay called the Mosambi. The fruit is not generally available in most countries. (The 'orange' of the West is neither a Mosambi nor a Santra). Once, in Tehran, I suddenly found on the roadside a small number of these fruits being sold. As these were not generally available, I went to the vendor and asked him the name of the fruit — and he called it 'Portugal'. Subsequently, in Brazil where this fruit is not commonly available, I saw this fruit in a very small fruit shop. The seller called this fruit 'Persia'. The reason

for these different names is quite clear. The fruit was originally brought to India by the Portugese from Mozambique and hence we call it by the name Mozambique, corrupted to Mosambi. The Portugese also took it to Iran, and the Iranians called it 'Portugal'. They then took the seedlings to Brazil, and since these were brought from Iran, the Brazilians called it Persia!

**Good Manners:** People in Iran are extraordinarily conscious about good manners — the sort of reactions one sees in Lucknow. Even on long distance telephone, they would spend at least two minutes talking about "How are you, how are the children, etc." Once when I was sitting with the Director General of Statistics discussing some office problem, he was given a note by the peon from someone wanting to see him. He requested me to allow him to meet the visitor for a few minutes. When the visitor, apparently a junior officer in the organization, entered the room he asked him to take a seat and talked in a very friendly manner for two or three minutes about the visitor's well being, his financial and family problems. Then suddenly he got very angry and said "You stupid fellow, for this bad work I herewith dismiss you. Leave this office forthwith. Here are your dismissal orders".

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