**Against all odds: Israel at the UN**

**Slide 2**

* **The league of nations (1920 – 1946)**

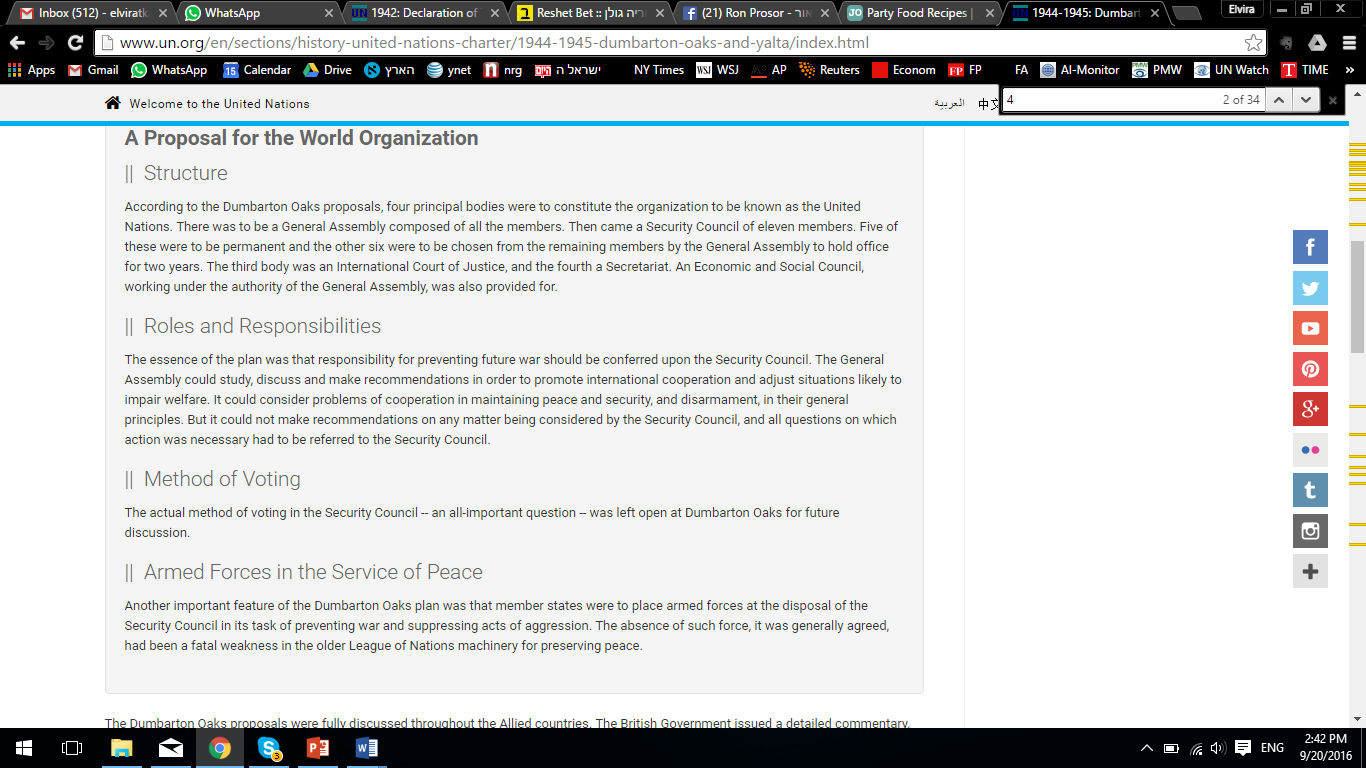
Founded on 10 January 1920 as a result of the [Paris Peace Conference](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paris_Peace_Conference,_1919) that ended the [First World War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_War_I). The League ultimately proved incapable of preventing aggression by the [Axis powers](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Axis_powers) in the 1930s. Germany withdrew from the League, as did Japan, Italy, Spain, and others. The onset of the [Second World War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_War_II) showed that the League had failed its primary purpose, which was to prevent any future world war. The League lasted for 26 years; the [United Nations](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations) (UN) replaced it after the end of the Second World War.

* **1942 coining the name “United Nations”**

The name "United Nations", coined by United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Representatives of 26 countries fighting the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis, decide to affirm their support by Signing the [Declaration of the United Nations](http://www.unmultimedia.org/searchers/yearbook/page.jsp?volume=1946-47&page=36&searchType=advanced). This important document pledged the signatory governments to the maximum war effort and bound them against making a separate peace. On New Year’s Day 1942, President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, Maxim Litvinov, of the USSR, and T. V. Soong, of China, signed a short document which later came to be known as [the United Nations Declaration](http://www.unmultimedia.org/searchers/yearbook/page.jsp?volume=1946-47&page=36&searchType=advanced). The next day the representatives of twenty-two other nations added their signatures.

The original twenty-six signatories were:  the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakiam, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Poland, Union of South Africa, Yugoslavia

* [**Dumbarton Oaks**](http://www.un.org/en/sections/history-united-nations-charter/1944-1945-dumbarton-oaks-and-yalta/index.html) **1944** - The [Dumbarton Oaks Conference](http://www.unmultimedia.org/searchers/yearbook/page.jsp?volume=1946-47&page=39&searchType=advanced) constituted the first important step taken to carry out paragraph 4 of the Moscow Declaration of 1943, which recognized the need for a postwar international organization to succeed the League of Nations. Representatives of China, Great Britain, the USSR and the United States met for a business-like [conference at Dumbarton Oaks](http://www.unmultimedia.org/searchers/yearbook/page.jsp?volume=1946-47&page=39&searchType=advanced), a private mansion in Washington, D. C. The discussions were completed on October 7, 1944, and a proposal for the structure of the world organization was submitted by the four powers to all the United Nations governments and to the peoples of all countries for their study and discussion.



* **1945 San Francisco:** In 1945, representatives of 50 countries met in San Francisco at the United Nations Conference on International Organization to draw up the United Nations Charter. The following 50 states participated in the UN founding conference in San Francisco:

Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Iran, Iraq, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxemburg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

* **Leaders of the 5P during the UN establishment:**

China- President Chiang Kai-shek

France- president Charles de Gaulle

Russia- Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin

The United Kingdom- Prime Minister Winston Churchill

The United States- president Franklin D. Roosevelt

* **China** – was then called “Repaublic of China” only after 1949 became communist “Peoples Republic of China” in during the [Chinese Civil War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chinese_Civil_War) in 1949. The ROC government retreated to [Taiwan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taiwan). The [Communist Party of China](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Communist_Party_of_China) took over all of mainland China and founded the People's Republic of China (PRC) in [Beijing](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beijing), which [claimed to be the successor](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Succession_of_states) of the Republic of China and the sole legitimate government of all of "China". The [United States](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States) and its allies opposed the replacement of the ROC at the United Nations. [Albania](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/People%27s_Republic_of_Albania) brought annual votes to replace the ROC with the PRC, but these were defeated since a change in recognition required a two-thirds vote. Amid the [Sino-Soviet split](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sino-Soviet_split) and [Vietnam War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vietnam_War), American [President Nixon](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Richard_Nixon) entered into negotiations with [Communist](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chinese_Communist_Party) [Chairman Mao](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mao_Zedong), initially through a secret 1971 trip undertaken by [Henry Kissinger](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henry_Kissinger) to visit [Zhou Enlai](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zhou_Enlai). On October 25, 1971, Albania's motion to recognize the People's Republic of China as the sole legal China was passed as [General Assembly Resolution 2758](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_General_Assembly_Resolution_2758). Nixon then [personally visited China](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1972_Nixon_visit_to_China) the next year, beginning the normalization of [Sino-American relations](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sino-American_relations)
* **The UN is located in NYC** – on a land donated by the [Rockefeller family](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rockefeller_family). [Wallace Harrison](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wallace_Harrison), the personal architectural adviser for the Rockefeller family and brother-in-law to a Rockefeller daughter, served as the Director of Planning for the United Nations Headquarters. His firm, Harrison and Abramovitz, oversaw the execution of the design.

Prior to the construction of the current complex, the UN was headquartered at a temporary location in [Lake Success, New York](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lake_Success,_New_York), an eastern suburb of the city in [Nassau County](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nassau_County,_New_York) on [Long Island](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Long_Island), from 1946 to 1952. The Security Council also held sessions on what was then the [Bronx](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bronx) campus of [Hunter College](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hunter_College).

* **6** [**Official Languages**](http://www.un.org/en/sections/about-un/official-languages/index.html) - There are six official languages of the UN.  These are Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish.

**Slide 3**

* [**United Nations Special Committee on Palestine**](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_Special_Committee_on_Palestine) **(UNSCOP)**

UNSCOP was created on 15 May 1947 in response to a [United Kingdom](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Kingdom) government request that the [General Assembly](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/General_Assembly_of_the_United_Nations) "make recommendations concerning the future government of [Palestine](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palestine_(region))". The British government had also recommended the establishment of a special committee to prepare a report for the General Assembly.

UNSCOP was made up of representatives of 11 nations. It was decided that the committee should be composed of "neutral" countries, excluding the five permanent members of the Security Council. The committee final composition was: [Australia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Australia), [Canada](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Canada), [Czechoslovakia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Czechoslovakia), [Guatemala](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guatemala), [India](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/India),[Iran](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iran), [Netherlands](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Netherlands), [Peru](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peru), [Sweden](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sweden), [Uruguay](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uruguay) and Yugoslavia.

The member countries of UNSCOP were chosen on a territorial basis:

Western Europe- represented by Sweden and Netherlands.

Eastern Europe- represented by Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

The British Commonwealth- represented by Canada and Australia.

Latin America- represented by Guatemala, Uruguay and Peru.

Asia- represented by Iran and India.

UNSCOP visited Palestine and gathered testimony from Zionist organizations in Palestine] and in the US. The Arab Higher Committee boycotted the Commission, explaining that the Palestinian Arabs' natural rights were self-evident and could not continue to be subject to investigation, but rather deserved to be recognized on the basis of the principles of the United Nations Charter.

The Report of the Committee dated 3 September 1947 supported the termination of the [British mandate](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mandatory_Palestine) in Palestine. It contained a majority proposal for a Plan of Partition into two independent states.

* **Resolution 181**

United Nations General Assembly Resolution 181 called for the partition of the British-ruled Palestine Mandate into a Jewish state and an Arab state. It was approved on November 29, 1947 with 33 votes in favor, 13 against, 10 abstentions and one absent (see list at end of document).

The resolution was accepted by the Jews in Palestine, yet rejected by the Arabs in Palestine and the Arab states.

**In favor: 33**

Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Byelorussian S.S.R., Canada, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, France, Guatemala, Haiti, Iceland, Liberia, Luxemburg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Sweden, Ukrainian S.S.R., Union of South Africa, U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Uruguay, Venezuela.

**Against: 13**

Afghanistan, Cuba, Egypt, Greece, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, Yemen.

**Abstained: 10**

Argentina, Chile, China, Colombia, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Honduras, Mexico, United Kingdom, Yugoslavia.

* **The story of the meeting between Chaim Weizmann and President Harry Truman:**

Edward (Eddie) Jacobson, born in 1891 to a family of Russian Jewish immigrants in New York. In 1917, Jacobson enlisted in the 35th Infantry Division, where he became close friends with a young officer, Harry S. Truman.

Returning home from the war the two friends went into business together and founded Truman & Jacobson, a men's clothing store in downtown Kansas City which enjoyed initial success but went bankrupt after the 1921 recession. Truman went into law and politics, winning a seat in the US Senate in 1934. Jacobson remained a businessman.

In 1947, Truman endorsed the UN plan for the partition of Palestine between its Arab and Jewish populations. But the plan excluded the Negev region, practically all of Israel's south.

 Prominent Jewish activists lobbied hard to persuade the Truman administration to recognize the Negev as part of Israel's extended boundaries in the hopes that post-war America's unprecedented influence would bring other countries to support the idea.

 In one of the heated meetings between the Jewish leaders and Truman, Abba Hillel Silver reportedly banged on the president's desk with his fist. Unimpressed, Truman ordered his secretary not to schedule any more meetings on the subject.

 Desperate, the Jewish leadership summoned the ailing Chaim Weizmann to Washington. Truman was resolute and refused to take a meeting with Weizmann, who waited in the Waldof Astoria hotel in New York.

It was Frank Goldman, president of B'nai Brith at the time, who recalled Truman's trusted friend from his home state and telephoned Eddie Jacobson in the middle of the night for help.

Jacobson, who was not particularly active in the Zionist cause, consented. He flew to Washington the following day, March 13th 1948 and went to see Truman immediately.

Why would you not see Weizmannn?" Jacobson asked his old friend as the two sat across from each other in the Oval Office.

The president, who remained adamant on his decision to refrain from dealing with Zionist issues anymore, stood and turned to look out the window at the White House garden. Jacobson noticed a small bust of President Andrew Jackson, whom Truman greatly admired. Speaking to Truman's back Jacobson said: "I too have a hero I admire. The greatest Jewish leader of all times - Chaim Weizmann. The man is sick, almost blind, and yet he traveled thousands of miles just to see you, in the name of his people. Why will you not see him?" A deafening silence gripped the room - "it seemed like ages and ages to me," Jacobson would later say – before the president turned around, looked his friend straight in the eye, and said: "You won, you bastard. I'll see Weizmann."

 And so the historic meeting would take place, with Weizmann famously convincing Truman to include the Negev in his recognition of the future Jewish state.

**Slide 4**

**Video** - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QrIjzUK0FKg> (סוזי אבן)

**Slide 5**

**Major UN Re solutions concerning Israel**

**Slide 6**

**And the power goes to**

**Slide 7**

**Video Danny Ayalon about the UN**

**Slide 9**

* **The UN General Assembly –** Its existence was decided on at the [Dumbarton Oaks](http://www.un.org/en/sections/history-united-nations-charter/1944-1945-dumbarton-oaks-and-yalta/index.html) meeting in 1944.
* **The President** – the term of the presidency is 1 year long and rotates between the regional groups (to be discussed later). The candidates are voted for by representatives in the [United Nations](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations) [General Assembly](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_General_Assembly) (UNGA) on a yearly basis.

Because of their powerful stature globally, some of the largest, most powerful countries have never held the presidency, such as the [People's Republic of China](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/People%27s_Republic_of_China), [France](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/France), [Japan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japan), [Russia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russia), the [United Kingdom](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Kingdom), and the [United States](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States). In particular, it is customary that no permanent member of the [United Nations Security Council](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_Security_Council) ever serves as General Assembly president.

The only country that had a national elected as President of the United Nations General Assembly twice is [Argentina](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Argentina) (1948 [José Arce](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jos%C3%A9_Arce), 1988 [Dante Caputo](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dante_Caputo))

* **The 1st PGA** - [Paul-Henri Spaak](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paul-Henri_Spaak) of Belgium (1946). He became [Prime Minister of Belgium](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prime_Minister_of_Belgium) in 1938 and held the position until 1939. During [World War II](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_War_II), he served as Foreign Minister in the [Belgian government in exile](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Belgian_government_in_exile) under [Hubert Pierlot](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hubert_Pierlot).

The first session of the [United Nations General Assembly](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_General_Assembly) opened on 10 January 1946 in London. [Paul-Henri Spaak](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paul-Henri_Spaak) of [Belgium](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Belgium" \o "Belgium)was elected the first [president of the General Assembly](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/President_of_the_United_Nations_General_Assembly) in a 28–23 vote, prevailing over [Trygve Lie](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trygve_Lie" \o "Trygve Lie) (who went on to be the first [Secretary General of the UN](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Secretary_General_of_the_United_Nations)).

* **Oswaldo Aranha** of Brazil was the 2nd PGA. As head of the Brazilian delegation, he was [President of the United Nations General Assembly](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/President_of_the_United_Nations_General_Assembly) in 1947 during the UNGA 181 vote on the [United Nations Partition Plan for Palestine](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_Partition_Plan_for_Palestine), in which he postponed the vote for three days to ensure its passage.  For his efforts in the Palestinian situation, he was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1948.

**סיפור**: למרות העובדה כי חמשת הקבועות אינן יכולות להתחרות על תפקיד נשיא העצרת הכללית הדבר אינו מונע מהן לבחוש מאחורי הקלעים עד לכדי דחיפת מועמדים חלופיים והפיכת ההצבעה.

סיפור היבחרותו של שר החוץ הסרבי, ווק ירמיץ' לשמש כנשיא העצרת הכללית (2012-13). היה זה תורה של הקבוצה המזרח אירופאית שהציגה את מועמדה לתפקיד - שגריר ליטא. הפרקטיקה הנוהגת באו"ם היא שהקבוצה האזורית בוחרת מועמד מטעמה, ומועמדות זו מאומצת בקונצנזוס על ידי המדינות החברות בעצרת הכללית. וכמו בכל כלל - יש יוצא מן הכלל - למרות התמיכה המערבית לה זכה השגריר הליטאי, בדקה התשעים קיבל השגריר הרוסי, צ'ורקין, החלטה אישית לחסום את הליטאי על רקע הערה שלילית שהשמיע האחרון על רוסיה באירוע צד בו השתתף. צ'ורקין והמשלחת הרוסית יצאו לקמפיין בליץ-קריג אגרסיבי וחסר תקדים שהוביל להדחתו טרם עת של הליטאי והצבתו של ירמיץ' בתפקיד נשיאות העצרת. מעניין היה לראות את מוטת השליטה הרוסית שכן בספירת הקולות ברור היה שירמיץ' זכה לתמיכת המערביות למרות שאלה הבטיחו את קולן לשגריר הליטאי. ההתנהלות של רוסיה בפרשייה ממחישה היטב את נחישותה ויכולתה להניע את הזירה הבינ"ל בכדי להכתיב את האג'נדה בה היא מעוניינת.

* **Vice Presidents - 21 vice presidents.**

The Vice-Presidents are elected according to a pattern that ensures equitable geographical representation as decided in [resolution 33/138](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/33/138) of 19 December 1978:

The twenty-one Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly shall be elected according to the following pattern, subject to paragraph 3 below:

"(a) Six representatives from African States

(b) Five representatives from Asian States;

"(c) One representative from an Eastern European State

"(d) Three representatives from Latin American States;

"(e) Two representatives from Western European or other States

"(f) Five representatives from the permanent members of the Security Council ".3.

The election of the President of the General Assembly will, however, have the effect of reducing by one the number of vice-presidencies allocated to the region from which the President is elected.

**Sam contesa -** שמר על תפקידו כשר חוץ

* **193 member states –**The criteria for admission of new members are set out in the [United Nations Charter](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_Charter):

Membership in the [United Nations](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations) is open to all peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgement of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations.

The admission of any such state to membership in the United Nations will be effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the [Security Council](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_Security_Council).

A recommendation for admission from the Security Council requires affirmative votes from at least nine of the council's fifteen members, with none of the five [permanent members](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Permanent_members_of_the_United_Nations_Security_Council) [voting against](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_Security_Council_veto_power). The Security Council's recommendation must then be subsequently approved in the General Assembly by a two-thirds majority vote.

* **51 original members –** 49 are still members 3 member states were dissolved: The [Soviet Union](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Soviet_Union) was continued by the [Russian Federation](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russia) after its dissolution. [Czechoslovakia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Czechoslovakia) and [Yugoslavia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialist_Federal_Republic_of_Yugoslavia) , had been dissolved and their memberships in the UN not continued from 1992 by any one successor state ([Yugoslavia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialist_Federal_Republic_of_Yugoslavia) 1 = 5 [Serbia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Serbia), [Montenegro](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Montenegro), [Croatia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Croatia), Slovenia, [Macedonia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic_of_Macedonia) ;[Czechoslovakia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Czechoslovakia) 1 = 2 [Czech Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Czech_Republic), [Slovakia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Slovakia))
* **193 current members the last one to join was South Sudan - 14 July 2011 – The General Assembly** admitted the Republic of South Sudan as the 193rd member of the United Nations, welcoming the newly independent country to the community of nations. South Sudan’s independence from the rest of Sudan is the result of the January 2011 referendum held under the terms of the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) that ended the decades-long civil war between the North and the South.
* **Video** – celebrating South Sudan
* **General Assembly resolutions –**

General Assembly resolutions usually require a simple majority (50 percent of all votes plus one) to pass. However, if the General Assembly determines that the issue is an "important question" by a simple majority vote, then a two-thirds majority is required; "important questions" are those that deal significantly with maintenance of international peace and security, admission of new members to the United Nations, suspension of the rights and privileges of membership, expulsion of members or budgetary questions.

Although General Assembly [resolutions](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_resolution) are generally [non-binding](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Non-binding_resolution) towards member states, internal resolutions may be binding on the operation of the General Assembly itself, for example with regard to budgetary and procedural matters.

**The first resolution -** 24 January 1946 Established the [United Nations Atomic Energy Commission](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_Atomic_Energy_Commission) (UNAEC) "to deal with the problems raised by the discovery of atomic energy" and tasked to "make specific proposals... for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction", among other issues regarding nuclear technology. The UN General Assembly officially disbanded UNAEC in 1952 and it was replaced by the IAEA.

* **General debate**

The general debate is the annual meeting of Heads of State and Government at the beginning of the General Assembly session. It is usually the first debate of the session and — with the exception of the high-level meetings — the only one in which Heads of State and Government regularly participate.

According to the General Assembly Rules of Procedure, the general debate is to be held without interruption for nine working days. However, in practice, seven days is usually sufficient to accommodate all speakers.

Speakers list:

* The President of the General Assembly calls the meeting to order;
* The Secretary-General introduces the “Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization” (technically, not part of the general debate);
* The President of the General Assembly opens the general debate and makes a speech;
* **Brazil is always the first Member State to speak** in the general debate (regardless of the level of representation). In the spring of 1947, Oswaldo Aranha, Brazil’s foreign minister, presided over a special session of the General Assembly on Palestine. That September, he was elected president of the second regular session. With rare exceptions, the first speech in the general debate has gone to the Brazilian representative ever since — usually its president or foreign minister. In 2011, the president of Brazil, Dilma Rousseff, became the first woman to open the general debate.
* The United States of America as the host country is the second Member State to speak (regardless of the level of representation);
* For all other Member States, the speaking order is based on the level of representation, preference and other criteria such as geographic balance;
* Only the Holy See, the State of Palestine and the European Union are invited to participate in the general debate and their speaking slots are determined by the level of representation.
* **6 main committees**
* First Committee (Disarmament & International Security)
* Second Committee (Economic & Financial)
* Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian & Cultural)
* Fourth Committee (Special Political & Decolonization)
* Fifth Committee (Administrative & Budgetary)
* Sixth Committee (Legal)

**Slide 11**

**The Secretary General**

* **Overview**

The founder states in San Francisco convention decided that unlike the League of Nations, the Secretariat would be a principle organ, and the Secretary General (SG) will have a stronger influence.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations is the head of the [United Nations Secretariat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_Secretariat), The [Secretary-General](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Secretary-General) also acts as the [de facto](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/De_facto) spokesperson and leader of the United Nations.

The SG had to have its own voice and an independent ability to act. Article 99 of the Charter states that the SG may bring forward any matter, which in opinion may threat the international peace, to the SC.

Article 97 of the [United Nations Charter](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_Charter) determines that the Secretary-General is "appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council." As the recommendation must come from the [Security Council](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_Security_Council), any of the five [permanent members of the Council can veto](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_Security_Council_veto_power) a nomination. Most Secretaries-General are compromise candidates from [middle powers](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_power) and have little prior fame.

* **Trygve Lie of Norway (1946-1952)**

Served as the Minister of Foreign Affairs and head of the Norwegian delegation to San Francisco Conference. On 1 February 1946, he was elected as the first [Secretary-General of the United Nations](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Secretary-General_of_the_United_Nations) as a result of a compromise between the major powers, having missed being elected President of the first General Assembly by only a small margin. The selection process was ad hoc, no criteria for the position were developed and there were no attempts to find suitable candidates. The US preferred a Canadian candidate whereas the Soviets supported a Yugoslavian candidate. Both of the states argued that the SG shouldn’t be North American, British or French.

Organizing and setting up the UN so quickly left him no time to develop his own personal agenda, barely had time to consider large political questions of the day. When asked in a press conference (in 1946) about the Palestinian question he responded: “I just know what I read in the press. I have not had any time to consider the situation”.

In April 1946, during the Iran Crisis, Lie sent a memorandum to the SC, believing it’s his right under article 99 which gave him the authority to intervene. The SC claimed that he was going beyond his prescribed responsibilities, but in June Lie won this constitutional battle when the SC adopted a rule permitting the SG to make written or oral statements on items on the SC’s agenda.

During the Korean War, he became from being a compromised SG to mainly supportive of Washington. He supported the SC actions in response to the North Korea invasion to the South.

The last years of Lie’s tenure would remember as a witch hunts to the secretariat staff. Lie helped the US in its attempts to monitor and interrogate suspected communist sympathizers. He allowed the FBI to establish an office at the UN and question the hundreds of US citizens on the staff. It is believed that the pressure of the investigation might triggered the suicide of the UN Assistant Secretary General Abraham Feller (November 1952).

In 1951 the Soviets vetoed his reelection to the SG, but since it was reappointment the US argued that the decision has to be taken in the GA. The US and its allies had a majority in the GA, therefore Lie got elected again. The Soviets argued it was illegal and boycotted him from then on.

Lie resigned in 1953, stating that Soviet Opposition meant he could no longer work effectively

* **Dag Hammarskjold of Sweden (1953 – 1961)**

Hammarskjold served as the Swedish Deputy Foreign Minister and as the Swedish Vice Chairman in the seventh GA. After a series of candidates were vetoed by the SC, Hammarskjöld emerged as an option that was acceptable to the Security Council. Hammarskjöld did not campaign for the role of SG; he did not even know he was a candidate until he was told of the SC election.

Hammarskjöld played an important role in the development of United Nations Peacekeeping.

In 1958, the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ) suggested that Hammarskjöld consolidated too much administrative power in his office. Therefore, the Soviets, increasingly critical of his attitude, suggested the “Troika”- involving three secretaries one from the East, West, and one from the Non Aligned bloc. Hammarskjöld was against it since he did not want to introduce the paralysis of the Cold War into the Secretariat.

In 1960, the UN became involved in the newly independent Congo, Hammarskjöld had led the way. United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC) was a controversial mission from the beginning, and soon brought the SG to the worst relations with the Soviet Union. Since he started to act contrary to its interest, and refused to resign, the Soviets ceased to recognize him as SG.

In September 18, 1961 Dag Hammarskjöld died in a plane crash in Ndola, Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) along with 15 others.

He was on his way to negotiate a ceasefire for mining rich Katanga province in what was then the Republic of the Congo, which had proclaimed independence from Belgium.

According to The Guardian: “Many countries had an interest in thwarting Hammarskjöld’s attempts to reunite Congo and stop Katanga seceding. Congo, which was receiving Soviet aid, had the world’s richest uranium resources. Mining firms feared their concessions would be jeopardized if Katanga’s bid for independence was not recognized. The KGB, the CIA and MI6 were all active in the country as they sought to secure their countries’ interests"

The crash has been a source of widespread speculation for decades. In 2015, the UN SG Ban Ki-moon appointed members to a Panel of Experts which would examine new information related to his death, the panel “found new information".

Hammarskjöld’s actions and reforms brought the UN into a financial crisis in his last year. The Soviets and the French had refused to pay their part for the Congo operation. In 1960, the Secretariat budget was under 70$ million, the Congo operation cost an additional 66$ million over just a six-month period, and in 1961the cost was another 120$ million.

* **U Thant of Burma (1961-1971)**

After Hammarskjöld died, the soviets were determined to undercut the authority of the SG, continued to propose the “Troika”. Burmese Permanent Representative U Thant opposed the idea; he claimed it would weaken the UN.

Thant identified by Hammarskjöld as one of his two successors, and became the leading candidate. His appointment reflected non-aligned standing with both the US and the USSR.

Thant made very few changes in the Secretariat, he preserved Hammarskjöld preference to retain authority in his own office. In the question of senior appointments- Thant was very persistent, he would not receive dictation from any government, for example: when the French pushed de Seynes as Chef of Cabinet, he told them they were free to veto his own appointment. After long considerations, the Soviets dropped their demand to the “troika” and agreed to let him make is own senior appointments following consultations with all.

After Thant’s nomination he had to immediately handle the financial crisis which threatened to weaken the UN and its peacekeeping force.

He pleaded for more attention to the needs of the developing world, behind the scenes tried to promote a settlement to Viet Nam War, which never engaged the SC.

There is a dispute whether he or Hammarskjöld coined the terms “Third World” and “developing world”- apparently Hammarskjöld came up with the terms but Thant was the first to use them in public.

During his tenure a huge expansion of the UN’s bureaucracy on development and economic and social issues began. Number agencies, funds programs and conferences were created during his tenure, like: WFP (World Food Programme-1963), UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development-1964), UNITAR (United Nations Institute for Training and Research-1965), UNFPA (UNFPA - United Nations Population Fund-1969).

He was praised for his role in diffusing the Cuban Missile Crisis. He also was involved in mediation in India-Pakistan war in 1965. His attempts to mediate between Hanoi and Washington in 1965 and 1966 failed and led to US opprobrium.

Thant was reappointment to be the SG (1966). His reappointment began with a change in the UN’s membership. Lot of Asian and African countries joined the UN which changed the majority the US and its Latin American allies enjoyed in the AG (thus controlled the Secretariat’s budget). The new members casted pressure the make the Secretariat more representative. By the time Thant left the composition was much less western. By 1971 there was a consensus among the delegates that some as to change in the Secretariat.

* **Kurt Waldheim of Austria (1972-1981)**

Born Vienna, Austria. Degrees in law, Austrian foreign service, representative to UN, foreign minister, candidate for the Austria presidency, secretary general and president of Austria.

In 1986, few years after leaving the UN, during his election for the Austrian presidency, an Austrian magazine found out that Waldheim had lied about the last years of the war, and that the former SG had served as an officer in the German Wehrmacht in Greece from 1942 to 1943.

Benjamin Netanyahu was also involved by demanding an approval to look into the UN files listing the WWII war criminals and exposing Waldheim's name was indeed part of the list.

After previous SG Thant made it clear he would not accept another term, It was the first time candidates open self-campaigns.

Nonaligned countries had a majority in the organization, and Communist China has joined as a Permanent Member of the SC. The majority of the GA under his tenure was anti American as well as anti-Israeli, passing a highly controversial resolution equating Zionism with racism.

He promoted the idea that the SC should have an important role in broad international negotiations, like the Israeli-Palestinian dispute.

Several new peacekeeping missions were established in the Middle East under his tenure such as UNDOF that was established in 1974 to maintain the ceasefire between the Israeli and Syrian forces and to supervise the implementation of the disengagement agreement.

And UNIFIL created by the Security Council in March 1978 to confirm Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon, restore international peace and security and assist the Lebanese Government in restoring its effective authority in the area.

Waldheim wanted to stay for a third term. He had the support of the US, UK, USSR, and France, but China vetoed him, insisting the next SG should be from the Third World.

* **Javier Perez de Cuellar (1982-1991)**

Born in Lima, Peru. Degree in law, Peruvian foreign ministry and diplomatic service, representative to UN, UN special representative in Cyprus, UN Under Secretary General, Secretary General, Prime Minister and Ambassador to France.

Cuellar emerged as a compromise candidate he was the only one who did not receive a veto.

The SG came to office when the Soviet Union had recently invaded Afghanistan, Vietnam invaded Cambodia, the cold war tension rose again. The same year he was appointed, the new Reagan administration came into power intent on strengthening the US armed force and moving from multilateral commitments.

In his two terms, he concentrated on behind the scenes diplomacy that had significant effect in reducing strife in Central America, in particular El Salvador and Nicaragua, and in helping to arrange the withdrawal of Soviets troops from Afghanistan.

He was the first SG with a background in mediation, and will be remembered as mediator and conciliator.

In 1978, his diplomatic efforts over Iran Iraq resulted in SC resolution 598, calling to an immediate ceasefire and withdrawal of forces.

In 1989, four new peacekeeping missions were authorized (compared to 13 in the UN’s entire history), including those overseeing the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, the transition to independence of Namibia and the ceasefire in Nicaragua, where the SG himself authorized an observer mission to verify the electoral process.

By the end of Cuellar second term, the SC had established operations to end the civil wars in Angola, el Salvador and Cambodia and authorized the use of force against Iraq in the gulf war.

* **Boutros Boutros-Ghali of Egypt (1992-1996)**

Born in Cairo, Egypt. Degree in law, professor in Cairo Uni’, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Deputy foreign minister, Secretary General in the UN.

By 1991, the post of the SG had been held by three Europeans, one Latin America and one Asian. Many accepted it was Africa’s turn. Boutros Boutros-Ghali was vice prime minister for foreign affairs in Egypt. Boutros-Ghali was not the preferred candidate by the US, but they decided not to veto him. He had played a key role in Camp David negotiations that lead to Egypt recognition of Israel. He was the first, since Hammarskjold, who did not work in the UN prior his appointment.

Boutros-Ghali pushed to council into a new high risk in Somalia, oversaw the expanding mission in Yugoslavia, promoted peace efforts in Afghanistan and threatened to end the operation in Cyprus if an agreement wouldn’t be achieved by the year’s end.

He appointed Terje Rod Larsen of Norway to mediate in the Arab Israeli conflict.

Somalia, combined with a republican revolution in congress from January 1995 turned the US against Boutros-Ghali. In 1996, Clinton had made clear its intention to veto his reappointment. The US encouraged him to accept a compromise of one or two-year extension, though he refused.

* **Kofi Annan of Ghana )1997-2006)**

Kofi Annan is a Ghanaian diplomat, he was the preferred candidate, and served as the first sub-Saharan African SG. Annan knew more about the inner working than his predecessors. Prior being the SG, he was working in the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in Geneva, he was the ASG for Human Resources Management and USG for Peacekeeping Operations. Annan had mostly experience in UN finance and administration.

He presided over peacekeeping when there was a rapid growth in the number and complexity of these operations, which included the UN’s failures in Bosnia and Rwanda.

Throughout his tenure Annan devoted considerable time and effort in supporting peace efforts in the Middle East.

Annan’s time in office was less about diplomacy and mediation, but more about peacekeeping operations: in Kosovo and East Timor, Ethiopia-Eritrea, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Cote D’lvoire, Sudan and Afghanistan.

Annan was reappointment in the summer of 2001 without any opposition and in October 2001 was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, the SG who received the prize while in office.

The terrorist attack in September 11 in the US has changed its political context. Annan found himself caught between Washington, London and the rest of the world.

Annan faced a staff safety and security issue, the UN has become a terrorist target- truck bombing in its Baghdad base in August 2003, in which 22 people died.

The Oil-for-Food Programme (OIP) established by the [United Nations](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations) in 1995 was intended to allow Iraq sell oil in exchange for food and medicine for Iraqi citizens. Serious allegations that various of individuals, companies and UN officials including Annan, had given kickbacks to the Iraqi regime. US Congressmen called Annan to resign. the report didn’t find conclusive evidence.

* **Ban Ki-moon**

Born in Eumseong, Korea. Degree in International relations, Ministry of foreign Affairs and Secretary General. (Gordenker: 2013, p.10).

After fifteen years of African SG and more than thirty years since U Thant’s retirement it was “Asia’s turn” to post the SG position again. It was disputed by the US, but backed by the G-77 and China. There were no dissenting in the SC, it quickly moved to a formal vote.

Israel was the chair of WEOG during the time of his reappointment and lead WEOG to be the first regional group to indorse his reappointment.

**Slide 12**

* **Regional Groups -** the United Nations Regional Groups are the geopolitical regional groups of [member states](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Member_states_of_the_United_Nations) of the [United Nations](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations). Originally, UN member states were unofficially grouped into five geopolitical regional groups. What began as an informal means of sharing the distribution of posts for General Assembly committees has taken on a much more expansive role.
  + Regional groups control elections to UN-related positions, on the basis of geographic representation.
  + They coordinate substantive policy, and form common fronts for negotiations and voting.
  + The groupings have changed over time. **From the founding of the United Nations until 1966**, the regional groups were: [B**ritish Commonwealth**](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Commonwealth_of_Nations), [**Eastern Europe**](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eastern_Europe)**and**[**Asia**](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Asia), [**Latin America**](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Latin_America), [**Middle East**](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East)**and**[**Western Europe**](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Western_Europe).
  + In 1966, in response to changes in the UN's membership, decolonization and strategic realignment, the groups were reorganized as**: Asia**, **Eastern Europe**, **Africa**, **Latin America and Caribbean**, and **Western Europe and Others**. In 2011, the Asia Group was renamed Asia-Pacific.
  + As of May 2014, the 193 UN member states are divided into five regional groups:[[1]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_Regional_Groups#cite_note-list-1)
  + the [**African Group**](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African_Group), with 54 member states
  + the [**Asia-Pacific Group**](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Asia-Pacific_Group)**,** with 53 member states
  + the [**Eastern European Group**](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eastern_European_Group), with 23 member states
  + the [**Latin American and Caribbean Group**](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Latin_American_and_Caribbean_Group) (GRULAC), with 33 member states
  + the [**Western European and Others Group**](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Western_European_and_Others_Group) (WEOG), with 28 member states, plus 1 member
  + The main function of the regional groups is to distribute membership quotas in United Nations bodies and leadership positions. According to convention, the non-permanent membership seats of the [United Nations Security Council](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_Security_Council) is apportioned between regional groups according to a set formula.
* **African Group -** The [African](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Africa) Group has 54 members (28% of all UN members), and is thus the largest regional group by number of member states. It is the only regional group that has a territory that coincides with the traditional [continent](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Continent) of which its name originates. The African Group has 3 seats on the [Security Council](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_Security_Council), all non-permanent, currently occupied by [Angola](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Angola), [Egypt](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egypt), and [Senegal](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Senegal)
* **Asia-Pacific Group -** The Asia-Pacific Group (formerly the Asian Group) has 53 members (27.5% of all UN members) and is the second largest regional group by number of member states (one fewer than the African Group). Its territory is composed of much of the continents of [Asia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Asia) and [Oceania](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oceania). However, [Russia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russia) and the [Caucasian](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caucasus) states are members of the [Eastern European Group](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eastern_European_Group) and [Australia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Australia), [New Zealand](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_Zealand), [Israel](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israel), and [Turkey](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turkey) are all members of the Western European and Others Group. The Asia-Pacific Group has three seats on the Security Council: the permanent seat of [China](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/China), and two non-permanent seats, currently occupied by [Japan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japan) and [Malaysia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Malaysia). Until 2011, the Asia-Pacific Group was called the "Asian Group".[[2]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_Regional_Groups#cite_note-asiapacific-2) The name change was adopted as a result of pressure from the non-Asian island countries that compose approximately one-fifth of the group's membership.[[2]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_Regional_Groups#cite_note-asiapacific-2) On China's insistence, the group's official name is the "Group of Asia and the Pacific Small Island Developing States", but the use of the shortened name "Asia-Pacific Group" is permitted in official UN documents
* **Eastern European Group** The [Eastern European](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eastern_Europe) Group has 23 members (12% of all UN members), and as such is the regional group with the fewest member states. The Eastern European Group has 2 seats on the Security Council; the permanent seat of [Russia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russia) and one non-permanent seat, currently occupied by [Ukraine](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ukraine).
* **Latin American and Caribbean Group (GRULAC) -** The [Latin American](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Latin_America) and [Caribbean](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caribbean) Group (GRULAC for short[[4]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_Regional_Groups" \l "cite_note-4) ) has 33 members (17% of all UN members). Its territory is almost exactly that of [South](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South_America) and [Central America](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Central_America) and the Caribbean; the differences arise from the presence of dependent territories of European countries. GRULAC has 2 non-permanent seats on the Security Council, currently occupied by [Venezuela](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Venezuela) and [Uruguay](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uruguay).
* **Western European and Others Group (WEOG) -** The [Western European](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Western_European) and Others Group (WEOG for short) has 28 members (15% of all UN members). It has a territory dispersed on all of the [continents](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Continent), but mostly centred in [Western Europe](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Western_Europe) and [North America](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/North_America). In addition, the [United States](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States) is an observer (see below). Including the United States, WEOG has 5 seats on the Security Council, three permanent ones ([France](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/France), [United Kingdom](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Kingdom), United States), and two non-permanent ones, currently occupied by [New Zealand](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_Zealand) and [Spain](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spain).
* **Special cases** -
* Israel - In May 2000, [Israel](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israel), though naturally a part of the Asia-Pacific Group in geographical terms but with membership blocked by Arab countries, became a full member of WEOG, on a temporary basis (subject to renewal), in WEOG's headquarters in the US, thereby enabling it to put forward candidates for election to various UN General Assembly bodies. In 2004 Israel obtained a permanent renewal to its membership.[[5]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_Regional_Groups#cite_note-5) (It remained an observer at UN offices in Geneva, Nairobi, Rome and Vienna.[[6]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_Regional_Groups#cite_note-6)) In December 2013, Israel was granted full membership to the WEOG group in [Geneva](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geneva). Israel is thus a full permanent member of the WEOG group.
* Kiribati - As of 2010, [Kiribati](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kiribati) (geographically in Oceania) has never elected to be a member of any regional group,[[1]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_Regional_Groups" \l "cite_note-list-1) despite other Oceania nations belonging to the Asia-Pacific Group. Despite its membership in the United Nations, Kiribati has never delegated a permanent representative to the UN.
* Turkey - [Turkey](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turkey), participates fully in both WEOG and Asia-Pacific Group, but for electoral purposes is considered a member of WEOG only.
* United States of America - The [USA](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States) voluntarily chooses not to be a member of any group, and attends meetings of the Western European and Others Group as an observer only. However, it is considered to be a member of WEOG for putting forward candidates for electoral purposes in the United Nations General Assembly.
* **הסיפור של ישראל בתוך הקבוצות האזוריות** - עד שנת 2000 הייתה ישראל מסורבת כניסה ולא השתייכה לאף קבוצה אזורית בשל התעקשות ואיומים של הקבוצה הערבית. האפליה הייתה כה עמוקה שישראל הייתה המדינה החברה היחידה באו"ם ממנה נשללה האפשרות להיבחר לכל גופי או"מי. בשנת 2000, בין היתר הודות למאמציו הכבירים של שגריר ארצות הברית לאו"ם דאז ריצ'ארד הולברוק, צורפה ישראל לקבוצת WEOG , הקבוצה איננה אזורית במהותה אלא מאגדת בתוכה מדינות מאזורים שונים העונות להגדרה של דמוקרטיות מערביות (למשל ארה"ב, ניו זילנד, אוסטרליה, קנדה וכו'). כרטיס הכניסה אמנם הוענק לישראל, אך באופן לא מפתיע לווה בשורת מגבלות דרקוניות בתמורה להצטרפות: ראשית, החברות של ישראל בקבוצה הוגבלה לארבע שנים בלבד בתומן נגזר עליה להגיש מועמדות לקבוצה פעם נוספת. שנית, הובהר כי קבלתה של ישראל ל- WEOG תקפה לזירת ניו יורק בלבד, וישראל לא תוכל להיות חלק מהקבוצה במוסדות האו"ם בג'נבה, וינה, רומא או ניירובי. שלישית, ישראל נאלצה להתחייב כי לא תגיש מועמדותה לאף גוף (כולל מועצת הביטחון), ועדה או תת-וועדה או"מית למשך תקופה של שלוש שנים שלמות. אותן מדינותWEOG אשר לוחצות על ישראל לבצע ויתורים בסוגיות "שוליות" דוגמת ירושלים, גבולות ו"זכות השיבה" לא היו מוכנות לוותר במילימטר על שום סבב לתפקיד בשום וועדה, תת-וועדה או פורום או"מי למשך שלוש שנים!
* **בחירות לגופי או"ם** - כמו בכל פרלמנט, גם באו"ם נושא הבחירות עומד בלב העשייה והוא מגלם בתוכו את הפוליטיקה והדרמה שמאחורי הקלעים של הדיפלומטיה הבינלאומית - מבחירות לגופים גדולים ומשמעותיים דוגמת מועצת הביטחון והמועצה לזכויות אדם ועד לבחירות לוועדת המדף התת יבשתי וועדת השמות הגאוגרפיים. הבחירות לגופים דוגמת מועצת הביטחון מתאפיינות במשאבים אדירים כמו השקעות מש"ב במדינות שכוחות אל, מסעות תענוגות של שגרירים ואפילו שמועות על מעטפות כסף שמחולקות בפינות אפלות של מסדרונות האו"ם. אך גם בחירות לגופים בינוניים וגם הקטנים ביותר נתפסות כחשובות בראיית המדינות החברות מאחר ומעידות על עוצמתן הדיפלומטית ומידת מעורבותן במתרחש בזירה המולטילטראלית. מדינות משחדות, רוקמות עסקאות תמיכה מאחורי גבן של אחרות ורצות מקבלת פנים אחת לשנייה, והכל במטרה להשיג תמיכות במועמדותן לוועדות ותתי וועדות עלומות.
* **בחירות למועצת הביטחון** - חברות לא קבועה במועצת הביטחון היא המושב היוקרתי ביותר שמדינה חברה באו"ם יכולה לאחל לעצמה. המדינות החברות מנהלות קרוב אימתניים ומושקעות בקמפיינים עתירי משאבים וחובקי עולם על מנת להבטיח את מקומן במועדון היוקרתי של המועצה. הבחירה למועבי"ט הופכת את המדינה הנכנסת גם אם מדובר במדינה חסרת חשיבות במערכת הפוליטית לגורם כוח מחוזר ובעל השפעה בזירה הבינלאומית. עשרת המושבים הלא קבועים מוקצים בהתאם לחמשת הקבוצות האזוריות. החלוקה אינה שווה בין הקבוצות כאשר ל- WEOG, ולאמל"ט שני מקומות לכל אחת ולמזרח אירופה מקום אחד. חמשת המקומות הנותרים מחולקים בין הקבוצה האפריקאית לאסייתית שמהוות גם את כרטיס הכניסה של המדינות הערביות למועצה. כך למשל, לבנון וירדן נכנסו למועצה דרך הקבוצה האסיאתית ומצרים עשתה זאת דרך הקבוצה האפריקאית.
* הבחירות למועצת הביטחון הם מאירועי השיא השנתיים באו"ם, ההצגה הכי טובה בעיר שלא מביישת את התיאטרון בברודווי. זה מחזה שמביא לידי ביטוי את הדינאמיקה בזירה הבינ"ל, את השקרים, היצרים, התככים והבריתות הבלתי צפויות. מאחורי הפרגוד הכל אפשרי ומימד ההפתעה אף פעם לא מאכזב. 193 מדינות המצביעות בבחירות חשאיות בהן נדרש רוב של 2/3 מהקולות על מנת להיבחר - קרי 129 קולות. על מנת לזכות במושב הנכסף בשולחן האבירים, מנהלות המדינות החברות קמפיינים אגרסיביים וראוותניים שאינם יודעים חוקים וגבולות ונפרסים על פני מספר רב של שנים. הכול לגיטימי ואין דבר העומד בפני המרוץ ל"קניית הקולות".

**דוגמאות:**

* + התנהלות אוסטרליה בבחירות של 2012 ועזיבתה של פינלנד - . פינלנד, אוסטרליה ולוקסמבורג התמודדו מטעם WEOG על שני המושבים של הקבוצה במועצה. אוסטרליה, שהחלה בקמפיין שלה מאוחר יחסית בשנת 2008, (ביחס ללוקסמבורג שהחלה ב- 2001 ופינלנד שהחלה ב - 2005), ניהלה קמפיין נועז שכלל בין השאר הזמנת שגרירי אפריקה לסיורים ולנופש ראוותני על חופיה האקזוטיים של אוסטרליה והכל על חשבון הברון. אותו סיבוב בחירות התאפיין בדרמה ומפחי נפש כואבים. עד היום זכורות לי פניו הזחוחות של יארמו, השגריר הפיני שהתהלך באולם העצרת כטווס המתהדר ב – 150 הבטחות חתומות לתמיכה בפינלנד. ובכן, הספיק סיבוב בחירות אחד לשנות את הבעת פניו של יארמו, שזכה לטעימה מרה מתבשיל הפוליטיקה האינטרסנטית של משפחת האומות המאוחדות. כבר בסיבוב ההצבעה הראשון, אוסטרליה עקפה את פינלנד בסיבוב והשאירה אותה מאחור להתמודד בסיבוב השני מול לוקסמבורג על המושב הנוסף של WEOG במועצה. המכה השנייה לא איחרה לבוא, בסיבוב שני, ראש בראש עם שגרירת לוקסמבורג, נחל יארמו הפיני מפלה קשה וצורבת שהותירה אותו סופית מחוץ למועצה (למול 150 התמיכות החתומות בפועל הצביעו לפינלנד רק 62 מדינות). בדיעבד התברר כי לוקסמבורג פעלה מאחורי הקלעים והצליחה לגייס את תמיכתה המאסיבית של סין. הדבר גרר אפקט דומינו במסגרתו הן מדינות מזרח אסיה והן מדינות באפריקה העבירו את תמיכתן מפינלנד ללוקסמבורג. נוספה לכך גם סלידה מסוימת של האפריקאיות מהגישה הפינית סקנדינבית שנתפסה כמתנשאת. בהקשר לזכייתה של לוקסמבורג, מעניין היה לראות כיצד לאחר כניסתה למועצה התעקשה האחרונה לקבל את ראשות וועדת הסנקציות על צפון קוריאה – רמז לאחד התשלומים עבור התמיכה הסינית.
  + דוגמא נוספות לדרמה ולבזאר התורכי שבו כולם מוכרים וקונים את כולם היא ההפסד של תורכיה. ב – 2014 היה זה תורה של תורכיה, אחרי שלושה סבבי הצבעה מורטי עצבים, לחטוף הפסד צורב, לאחר שהובילה במרוץ אל מול ספרד וניו-זילנד. למרות שנים של קמפיינים ואסטרטגיות מוכנות מראש, בבחירות כמו בבחירות הכול פתוח ומוכרע ברגע האחרון. הגלגל התהפך עבור התורכים בעקבות התעקשותם לסגור את הגבול עם סוריה במקביל המתח בין אנקרה לקהיר הוביל את מצרים לקיים קמפיין נגד תחת הסיסמא "רק לא ארדואן".
  + הפרישה הסעודית - ביטוי ליצרים שאופפים את הבחירות למועצה היה אירוע הפרישה הדרמטי של סעודיה לאחר שנבחרה למועצה. הסעודים היו מועמדים מטעם הקבוצה האסייתית ב – clean slate, כלומר ללא תחרות בתוך הקבוצה, למרות זאת הם ביצעו קמפיין נרחב בניו יורק, תגברו את המשלחת באינספור דיפלומטים וקיימו תכניות הכשרה של הסגל באוניברסיטת קולומביה היוקרתית. יום אחד בלבד לאחר לאחר שהתקיימו הבחירות במליאת העצרת והסעודים זכו במושב הנכסף, הודיע מלך סעודיה על פרישתם מהמועצה זאת ככל הנראה על רקע כעס על האמריקאים על חוסר ההתערבות בסוריה. המהלך היה כה בלתי צפוי שאפילו המשלחת הסעודית כאן על כל הצי הדיפלומטי שלה הופתעה מההודעה וירדה למחתרת למשך שבוע ימים.
* **הזווית הישראלית במערכת הבחירות האו"מית** - כאמור עד שנת 2000 טרם ההצטרפות של ישראל ל – WEOG לא יכולנו להגיש מועמדות ולהשתתף בבחירות לאף גוף או"מי. היבחרות ונוכחות ישראלית בגופי או"ם היא חיונית ומהווה כלי מרכזי למאבק בניסיונות הדה-לגיטימציה כנגד ישראל באו"ם. לפיכך, עלינו להגיש כמה שיותר מועמדויות ישראליות לכמה שיותר גופים מהגדולים ועד הקטנים ביותר ואפילו לכאלו שנראים כחסרי משמעות. מאז כניסתי לתפקיד הגשנו מועמדויות והרצנו קמפיינים למעל ל -  20 גופים שונים באו"ם. משלחת ישראל פעלה ללא לאות לקידום קמפיינים מאסיביים, קרתה בריתות ורקמה אינספור עסקאות תמיכה הדדיות. המשלחת נחלה 100% הצלחה והבקיעה בכל מערכת בחירות ששמה לה ליעד. המרכזיים בגופי האו"ם בהם זכתה המועמדות הישראלית היו - בחירתי לסגן יו"ר נשיא העצרת הכללית ב – 2012; היבחרותנו (2014), למרות קמפיין ערבי אגרסיבי, לתפקיד סגן יו"ר הוועדה הרביעית באו"ם (הוועדה המרכזת את מרבית ההחלטות הפלסטיניות); היבחרותנו (2015) לתפקיד סגן יו"ר הוועדה החמישית של האו"ם שלמעשה משמת כמשרד האוצר האו"מי; בחירותו לראשונה של מומחה ישראלי, פרופ' יובל שני, לוועדה לזכויות אדם שמושבה בג'נבה. פרופ' שני נבחר לאחד מ- 9 המקומות בוועדה מתוך 18 מדינות; ב - 2014 נבחרה פרופ' רות הלפרין-קדרי לכהונה שלישית לוועדה למיגור אפליה נגד נשים. היבחרותה בשלישית לא הייתה עניין של מה בכך בהתחשב בעובדה שקדנציה שלישית (כלומר תקופת כהונה של 12 שנים) שמורה לשחקניות מרכזיות כמו ארה"ב, סין, ברזיל, רוסיה או צרפת. ישראל נבחרה לוועדה תוך שהיא עוקפת מדינות דוגמת מצרים, אלג'יריה, בולגריה, פולין ובחריין.

**Slide 13**

**Changing Majorities, Changing Priorities**

* The UN went from being a largely European and western body to one with majority of members drawn from the cutlers of Africa and Asia.
* Today, Less than 50% of member states are democracies
* From the late 1940’s to the late 1950’s the US with its North Atlantic Treaty Organization allies formed a comfortable two-thirds majority. The US – led majority was able to set the tone of resolutions.
* In 1960 – the simultaneous admission of 16 newly Independent African states cemented a shift in the balance of the Assembly . Together with Asian and Middle Eastern states that had been assuring a new “nonaligned” identity since the 1955 Asian-African Conference in Bandung, Indonesia, pushing for a rapid end of colonialism + pushing for a bigger UN involvement in financing economic development.
* The third world majority kept the focus primarily on their concerns such as decolonization, economic development and elemination of racist regimes.
* 1989 – the collapse of the Soviet bloc and then of the USSR itself in 1991, did not fundamentally changed the political balance within the GA because 3rd world countries remained in the vast majority.

**Slide 14**

**And what about Coalitions**

* **The Non-Aligned Movement**

The NAM is a Movement of 115 members representing the interests and priorities of developing countries.

Since its inception the Movement attempted to create an independent path in world politics that would not result in Member States becoming pawns in the struggles between the major powers. This resulted in a large part of its history being influenced by the global tension of the Cold War between the two super powers.

However, the Cold War was not the sole critical issue on the agenda of the Non-Aligned Movement. There are 3 more elements which influenced the approaches of the Movement to international issues: the right of independent judgment, the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, and the use of moderation in relations with all big powers.

The Movement has its origin in the Asia-Africa Conference held in Bandung, Indonesia in 1955. The meeting was convened upon the invitation of the Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon ([Sri Lanka](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sri_Lanka). Today), India, Indonesia and Pakistan and brought together leaders of 29 states, mostly former colonies, from the two continents of Africa and Asia, to discuss common concerns and to develop joint policies in international relations.

Prime Minister Nehru, the acknowledged senior statesman, along with Prime Ministers Soekarno and Nasser, led the conference. At the meeting Third World leaders shared their similar problems of resisting the pressures of the major powers, maintaining their independence and opposing colonialism and neo-colonialism, especially western domination.

Following this meeting a preparatory meeting for the First NAM Summit Conference was held in Cairo, from 5-12 June 1961. The following meeting was the first Conference of Non-Aligned Heads of State or Government, at which 25 countries were represented. It was convened at Belgrade in September 1961, largely through the initiative of Yugoslavian President Tito. At that stage his biggest concern was that an accelerating arms race might result in war between the Soviet Union and the USA.

Among the members are countries like: Iran (who was also the chair), Iraq and Syria but also countries like [Panama](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Panama" \o "Panama), Fiji, [Rwanda](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rwanda), [Togo](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Togo), [Saint Lucia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saint_Lucia),  [Jamaica](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jamaica)

Famous chairs: the 1st was tito of Yugoslavia, [Fidel Castro](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fidel_Castro) (1979 + 2006), [Nelson Mandela](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nelson_Mandela) (1998), [Hosni Mubarak](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hosni_Mubarak) (2009), [Mohamed Morsi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohamed_Morsi) (2012), [Mahmoud Ahmadinejad](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mahmoud_Ahmadinejad) (2012). Today [Nicolás Maduro](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nicol%C3%A1s_Maduro) of Venezuela

* **Group of 77**

The Group of 77 at the [United Nations](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations) is a coalition of [developing nations](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Developing_nation), designed to promote its members' collective [economic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economic) interests and create an enhanced joint negotiating capacity in the United Nations.

The G77 was established at the conclusion the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) held in Geneva in 1964. This was the culmination of an increasing diplomatic solidarity displayed by developing countries in the United Nations.

Thailand holds the Chairmanship for 2016.

This group has remained the main advocate of developing countries within the UN system, and is together with the non-aligned movement (NAM) the most important institutional expression of the interests in the current international system.

The name ‘‘Group of 77’’ reflects the original number of countries. Currently the number of members has grown to 131 countries.

Its structure has developed over time, the chairmanship, which is the highest political institution in the organization, is based on annual rotation between the three geographical groups: Latin America, Africa and Asia. The chair serves as the spokesman for the whole G77 caucus.

The G77 is the main coalition of developing countries in the UN system and functions as a political instrument for the South in most international forums addressing North-South issues.

[China](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/China) has never officially joined the G77 but provides consistent political support (usually in the name of "the Group of 77 and/plus China") and financial donation (since 1994) to the G77. Therefore, China—arguably the most important of all developing countries in terms of military capacity, economic importance - enjoys an influential role in the G77, but is only an ‘‘associate’’ member.

* **Organization of Islamic Countries**

The establishment of the OIC represents Islamic solidarity and unity, its concept origin lies in the Muslim ‘*Ummah’,* community that shares a destiny and commitment to common values.

The urgent creation of the OIC is by pointing to the need for Muslim solidarity following two events in recent history: The Arab loss of the Six Day War in 1967, and the 1969 arson attack against the Al-Aqsa Mosque on 21 August 1969. The same day Al-Haj Amin Al-Husseini cabled all Muslim leaders and requested to convene an Islamic summit and discuss the Al-Aqsa Mosque attack.

King Faisal and King Hassan of morocco became the sponsors of the summit which will take place in Rabat, Morocco. A preparatory committee met in Rabat on 8-9 September in order to prepare the summit, it decided the summit would meet in Rabat 22-24 September, 36 countries were invited.

The summit began as planned on September 22nd with the participant of 25 countries. Its agenda included: The Al-Aqsa Mosque’s attack and the situation in Jerusalem, cooperation among Muslim countries, adopting a common positions regarding those issues, and mechanisms for implementation of the resolutions.

The summit condemned the Al-Aqsa arson, called for the restoration of Jerusalem and its holy shrines to the status prior the 1967 war. It also expressed Islamic support for liberating Jerusalem and the occupied territories.

The OIC composed of 57 states, today represents over one fourth of the membership of the UN and is the world’s second largest international organization. The OIC consists more than one fifth of the total world population. The presence of African, Arab Asia, European and Latin American countries in its membership gives it a diversified geographical composition, which gives the OIC an ability to address a wide range of national and regional issues

**Slide 15**

**The Security Council**

* The SC holds the primary responsibility for the “maintenance of international peace and security” = The UN’s most powerful forum.
* The security Council is the only UN body with operational authority and power given to it under chapter 7 of the UN Charter:

*“Should the Security Council consider that measures provided … would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations." (Article 42)*

* In the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals (1944) it was stated that the SC will consist **11 members.**
* The reason the SC is a limited group derives from ability to act quickly and enforce its decisions in the international community. There must be a correlation between the commitments a state took on itself, its ability to influence the organization’s decisions, the combination of authority and responsibility- this combination constituted the decision to grant a special status to the states which most responsible for maintaining security, on the basis of their industrial outputs and manpower. These countries included the leadership of the "military alliance" who won the "Axis powers", which determined and imposed the peace terms: The Republic of China, France, Soviet Union, Britain and the United States.
* Representatives of the **United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Republic of China** and **France**, should have permanent seats.
* The General Assembly should elect six states to fill the non-permanent seats. These six states should be elected for a term of two years, three retiring each year.
* “**According to a gentlemen’s agreement concluded between the USA and the USSR** in 1946 on the question of an equitable geographical distribution” - Two of the six non-permanent seats were given to the Latin America countries and one each to the British Commonwealth, Western Europe the Middle East and Eastern Europe. It was an oral agreement that was never recorded in any official document.
* The members of the first SC were :
* After the joining of several states from Asia and Africa from 1955 and on, that seats arrangement was not effective. **On December, 17, 1963, the GA proposed to raise the number of seats (for non-permanent) from six to ten**. The new amendment came into force on August 31, 1965.
* The new composition was: 3 to Africa, 2 to Asia, 2 to Latin America, 1 to Eastern Europe and 2 to Western Europe and other states. This has been the arrangement for the number of the seat ever since.
* Since 1965 there was always one Arab state in the SC.
* **First resolution voted by the council –** The resolution was adopted on January 25, 1946 on the matter of Military Staff Committee. By Article 47 of the Charter the UN have agreed that there shall be established a Military Staff Committee to advise and assist the security council and that the military staff committee shall consist the chiefs of staff of the permeant members of the SC or their representative.

**Slide 16**

**The VETO**

* It was already in 1945, at the San Francisco Conference when many states expressed concerns about the veto being accorded to the permanent members. In return the great powers made it clear that their participation in the UN was contingent on them being accorded the veto over all but procedural matters.
* This point was emphatically made at San Francisco by US Senator Tom Connally, part of the US delegation. Connally famously lectured delegates from states questioning the veto, “You may go home from San Francisco…and report that you have defeated the veto…but you can also say, ‘We tore up the Charter!’” He then proceeded to tear up his copy of the draft Charter.
* “Permanent members use the veto to defend their national interests, to uphold a tenet of their foreign policy or, in some cases, promote a single issue of particular importance to a state”.
* **The first Veto** - was casted by **USSR** 16 February 1946 on a draft resolution regarding the withdrawal of foreign troops from Lebanon and Syria.
* **The veto has been recorded 276 time**
* In the early years, the veto was cast primarily by the USSR, with a considerable number of these vetoes used to block the admission of a new member state due to concerns about the composition of the General Assembly in the context of the Cold War**.**

**Slide 17**

**The VETO**

* **USSR Total Veto – 132 (**first veto 16 February 1946 on a draft resolution regarding the withdrawal of foreign troops from Lebanon and Syria).
* **USA Total Veto – 83** (USA first veto was **1970** together with the UK concerning Zimbabwe: condemning the proclamation of a so-called republic by the racist minority regime in Salisbury most of the resolution was against the UK and called for self-determination of the people of Zimbabwe**)**
* **UK Total Veto – 32 (**first veto taking place on 30 October **1956** during the Suez crisis)
* **France Total Veto - 18** (first veto on June **1946** on the Spanish question)
* **China Total Veto – 1 + 10** (first one, cast by the Republic of China alone(ROC) on 13 December 1955 to block Mongolia’s admission to the UN and the remaining 10 cast by the People’s Republic of China after it succeeded ROC as a permanent member on October 1971)**.**
* **France and the UK casted their last veto in 1989** - On 23 December 1989, they cast their most recent vetoes, in conjunction with the US, to prevent condemnation of the US invasion of Panama**.**
* **China**, which has historically used the veto the least, has become increasingly active on this front, casting eight of its 11 vetoes since 1990, including six since 2007.
* Most recently, China and Russia have cast four vetoes in tandem between 2011 and 2014 preventing action on the Syrian conflict
* List of all vetos -

<http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/un-security-council-working-methods/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/working%20methods_the%20veto.pdf>

* Security council Report – Veto Research

<http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/research_report_3_the_veto_2015.pdf>

* **Suez Crisis and the Uniting for Peace resolution**

On 19 July 1956, the United States Government decided to withdraw its financial aid for the Aswan Dam project on the Nile River. President Gamal Abdel Nasser announced the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company a week later and declared that Canal dues would be used to finance the Aswan project.

On 23 September 1956, the Governments of France and the United Kingdom requested the President of the Security Council to convene the Council to consider the breaking of the Suez Canal treaty from1888. On the following day, Egypt countered with a request that the Security Council consider “actions against Egypt by some Powers, particularly France and the United Kingdom, which constitute a danger to international peace and security and are serious violations of the Charter of the United Nations”.

The Security Council first met on 26 September to consider both items. At the same time, private negotiations were being carried out between the Foreign Ministers of the three countries with the good offices of the Secretary-General.

By 12 October, the Secretary-General was able to work out six principles on which there seemed to be general agreement. These principles were incorporated in a draft resolution which the Security Council unanimously adopted on the next day.

This became resolution 118 (1956), by which the Security Council agreed that “any settlement of the Suez question should meet the following requirements:

(1) There should be free and open transit through the Canal without discrimination, overt or covert – this covers both political and technical aspects;

(2) The sovereignty of Egypt should be respected;

(3) The operation of the Canal should be insulated from the politics of any country;

(4) The manner of fixing tolls and charges should be decided by agreement between Egypt and the users;

(5) A fair proportion of the dues should be allotted to development;

(6) In case of disputes, unresolved affairs between the Suez Canal Company and the Egyptian Government should be settled by arbitration with suitable terms of reference and suitable provisions for the payment of sums found to be due.

The Israeli forces crossed the border on the morning of 29 October.

In the afternoon of the same day, the British and French Governments addressed a joint ultimatum to Egypt and Israel calling on both sides to cease hostilities within 12 hours and to withdraw their forces to a distance of 10 miles on each side of the Suez Canal. They also requested Egypt to allow Anglo-French forces to be stationed temporarily on the Canal at Port Said, Ismailia and Suez for the purpose of separating the belligerents and ensuring the safety of shipping. The ultimatum was accepted by Israel whose troops in any case were still far from the Suez Canal, but it was rejected by Egypt. On 31 October, France and the United Kingdom launched an air attack against targets in Egypt.

Drawn from:

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unef1backgr2.html>

**The SC held a meeting on 30 October**. The United States submitted a draft resolution calling upon Israel immediately to withdraw its armed forces behind the established armistice lines, a similar draft resolution was submitted by the Soviet Union- **both of them were rejected by the British and the French** (the Resolutions are attached).

In response, non-permanent Council Member Yugoslavia, supported by the US President Eisenhower, invoked the Uniting for Peace resolution (Resolution 377 (V) of 3 November 1950) and transferred the Suez question to the GA on October 31.

Thus, the first emergency special session of the General Assembly called under that resolution was convened on 1 November 1956.

The first emergency session of the GA was convened on November 7-10, 1956.

The GA demanded an immediate withdrawal of Israel from Sini and French and British troops and authorized the first ever deployment of armed UN peace-keepers (Krasno, Das: 2008, p.183-184).

**The creation of the first UN peace-keeping operations was formulated on an ad hoc basis in response to the Suez crisis in 1956**. The United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF), which started as an ad hoc operation, became a model for UN peace- keeping forces.

Drawn from:

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unef1backgr2.html>

**The 377 (V) Uniting for Peace Resolution (Attached) states:**

“If the Security Council, because of lack of unanimity of the permeant members, fails to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security… the General Assembly shall consider the matter immediately with a view to making appropriate recommendations to Members for collective measures… even use of force”.

In case that the GA is not in session at the time, the GA will meet in emergency special session within 24 hours of the request. An emergency special session will be called if it was requested by the SC on the vote of any of its seven members, or by a majority of the Members of the UN.

The resolution states that if the SC is unable to act when there is an imminent threat the GA may take the issue:

1. The SC votes to do so with any nine votes, **or**
2. That majority of UN member states to do so.

The vote count in the SC would not be subject to the veto as **it would be considered a procedural matter.**

The vote count in the SC would not be subject to the veto it would be considered a procedural matter (Krasno, Das: 2008, p.174-175).

According to Article 27 of the UN Charter) Paragraph 2):

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

**\*In procedural matters-** when voting on procedural matters, a negative vote cast by a permanent member does not invalidate a decision, it stands if it secured nine affirmative votes.

**The question raised from the above:**

When the SC is unable to act for reasons of the veto or any other obstacle can “uniting for Peace” action used as a legitimate strategy?

The Charter distinguishes, however, between votes on “procedural matters” and votes on “all other matters”. Article 27 stipulates that the concurring votes of the permanent members are required for the adoption of substantive decisions. Accordingly, when voting on procedural matters, a negative vote cast by a permanent member does not invalidate a decision, it stands if it secured nine affirmative votes.

Early in its history, the **Council occasionally found it necessary to first decide** by a vote **whether a particular matter was procedural or substantive** in nature and resorted to voting on the so-called “preliminary question”. Depending on the outcome of the vote on the preliminary question it would then proceed to a procedural or substantive vote. Drawn from:

<http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/un-security-council-working-methods/procedural-vote.php>

**Uniting for Peace- background**

Though the United for Peace resolution was executed during the Korean War, the first time it was invoked by name was in the Suez Crisis.

The Uniting for Peace resolution was written in 1950 to wrestle the use of the veto from the Soviet Union at the time when the US and the West wanted the UN to legitimize action taken to defend South Korea from encroachment from the north.

In 1950, the Soviet Union boycotted the SC since the UN had failed to grant the People’s Republic of China, which achieved control after 1949, a seat of China in the UN and in the SC.

The UN continued to see Chiang Kai-shek as the legitimate member. When the war between the north and the south of Korea broke, it was easy to the SC to authorize the use of force under the UN without of a threat of a Soviet veto.

During this time, the SC have passed three resolutions on the matter. In 1950, after the Soviet Union realized its mistake, it returned to the SC and its Ambassador Malik took up the Council presidency for the month of August.

Since the soviets got back to the SC it was impossible to take an action in the matter of Korea, because of the soviet’s opposition, and their support for North Korea.

Discussions about the role of the GA in the field of peace (and the united nations special commission on the Balkans  **התקדים המקורי לUniting for peace)** made the US to seek a way to involve the Assembly in finding a solution to the Korean conflict. **A research on the UN Charter by legal analysts reveled the GA has the right to discuss question of peace and security and make recommendations in case the SC was not considering the matter.**

The US sought support from other nations and drafted a resolution. The proposal was named “Uniting for Peace” resolution in order to give it a positive name, and to conceal the fact it was a political/legal plot in order to pass the Soviets.

(Krasno, Das: 2008, p.173-174).

the British Prime Minister Eden urges UN action on Suez:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wmrjTxe9l1U>

**Slide 28**

**Bias against Israel at the GA**

**דוגמא להחלטות**

* **דפוסי ההצבעה**

**Slide 29**

**Bias against Israel in the SC**

* Under the pretense of discussing the situation in the ME, every Month the SC council holds a special meeting focusing on Israel and the so called "Palestinian Question".
* Every 3 Month all UN member states are given an open stage to bash Israel at the Security Council and share their criticism against Israel.
* The Palestinian Representative uses and abuses the SC stage to bash Israel in the worse possible ways, lying, cheating and accusing Israel of war crimes and ethnic cleansing.
* The criticism and bashing of Israel don’t end with the Arab group statements and it is well felt in the so called likeminded states speeches.
* The Security Council continues to use its monthly Middle East debate to single out, scrutinize, and criticize Israel - an island of democracy in the world's greatest hotbed of tyranny. I have a novel idea. Perhaps this discussion could occasionally spend some time examining why the situation in the Middle East remains unstable, undemocratic, and violent. I'll give you a hint: it has nothing to do with Israel.
* <http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/PressRoom/2013/Pages/Amb_Prosor_UN_Security_Council_Situation_Middle_East_23-Jan-2013.aspx>
* <http://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/internatlorgs/speeches/pages/amb_prosor_un_security_council_23-apr-2012.aspx>