

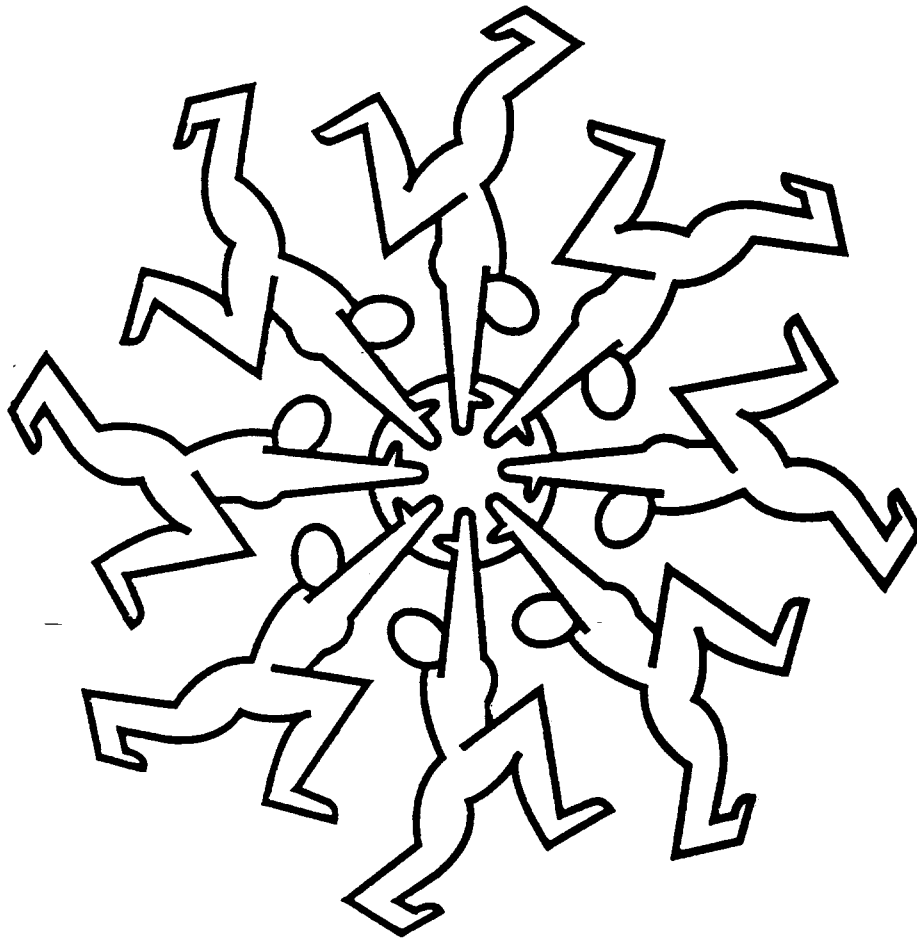
UNITED NATIONS
INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL



NATIONS UNIES
ECOLE INTERNATIONALE

PRESENTS
THE WORKING PAPER FOR THE 1994 UNIS/UN STUDENT CONFERENCE

**INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY:
POWER AND POLITICS**



3 - 4 March 1994

United Nations General Assembly Hall, New York

"Am I My Brother's Keeper?"

Genesis 4:9

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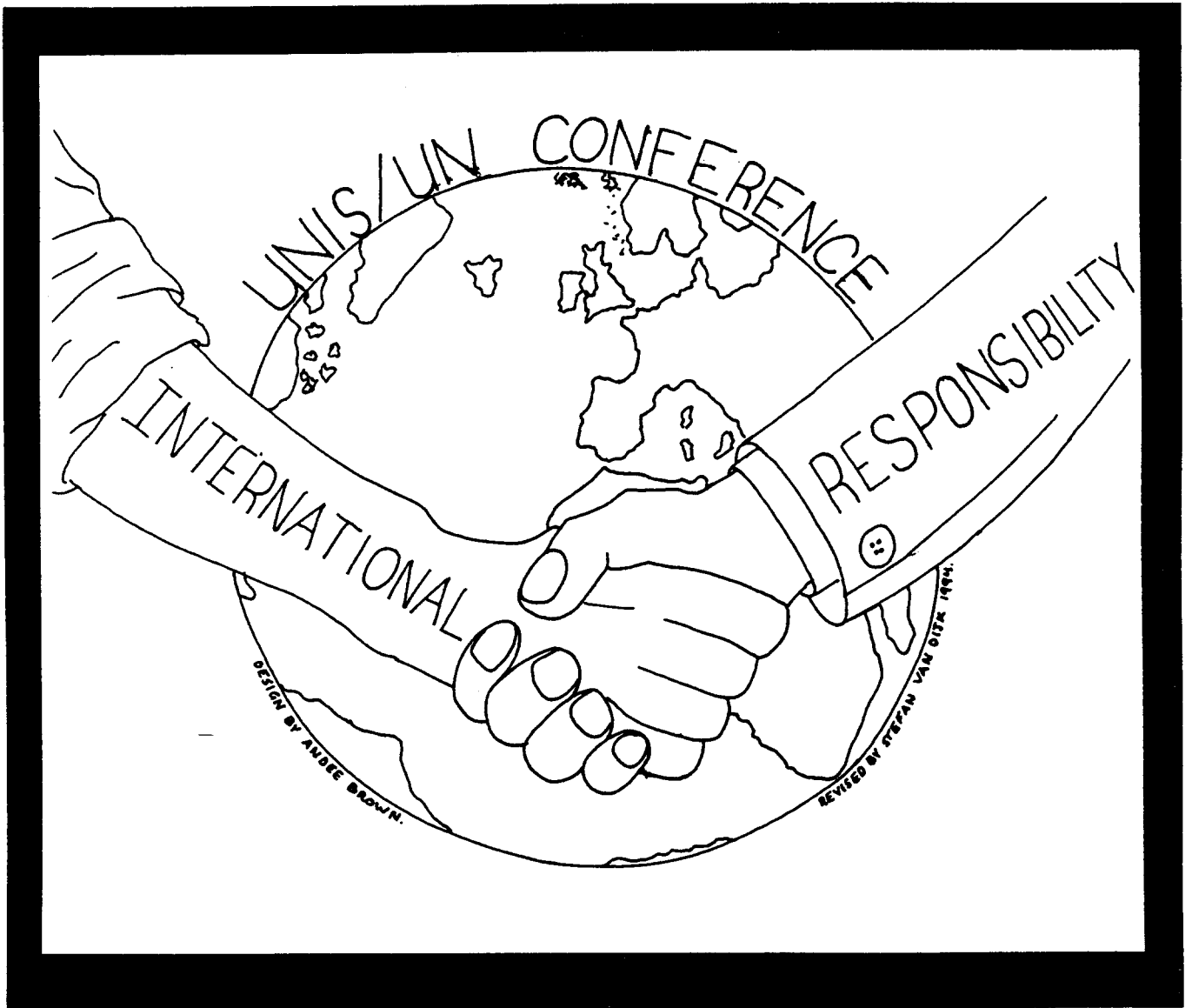
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Introduction

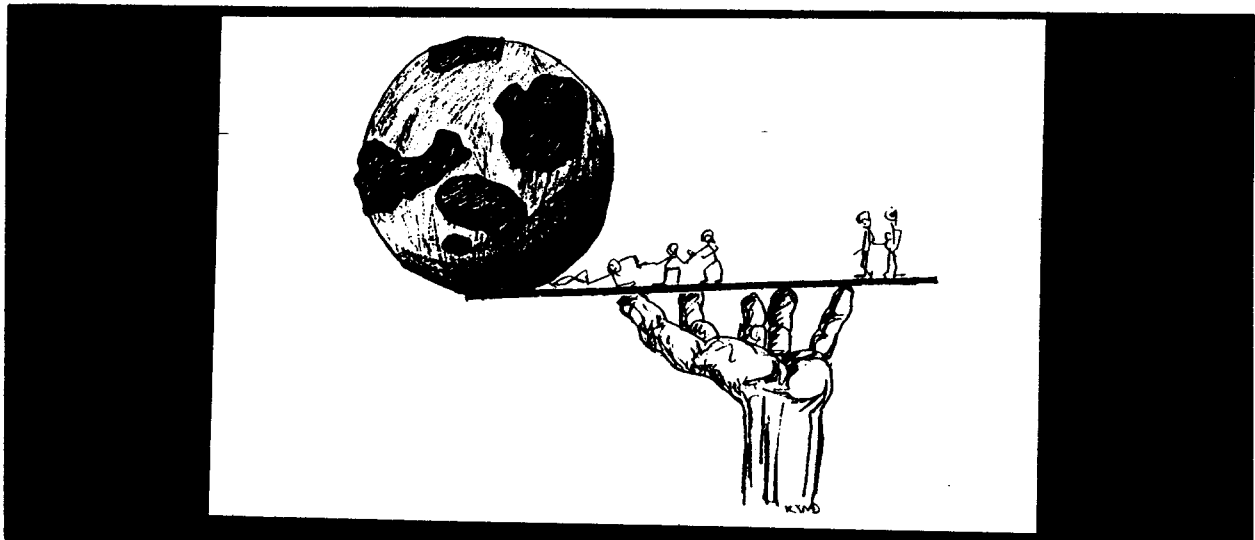
In 1846, Henry David Thoreau, an American writer and moralist, went to jail because he refused to pay a poll tax in protest of slavery in the United States. When he got out of prison, his friend Ralph Waldo Emerson, an American essayist, asked Thoreau why he had gone to jail. Thoreau replied "Why did you not?" This story answers what it means to be responsible. The UNIS-UN conference this year focuses on the responsibility that all nations have to our common world and its problems. We, the human race, share a home, the planet earth, and like any other group of people sharing a home, we are each responsible to maintain the earth and to live together in accord. This is what "International Responsibility: Power and Politics" is about.

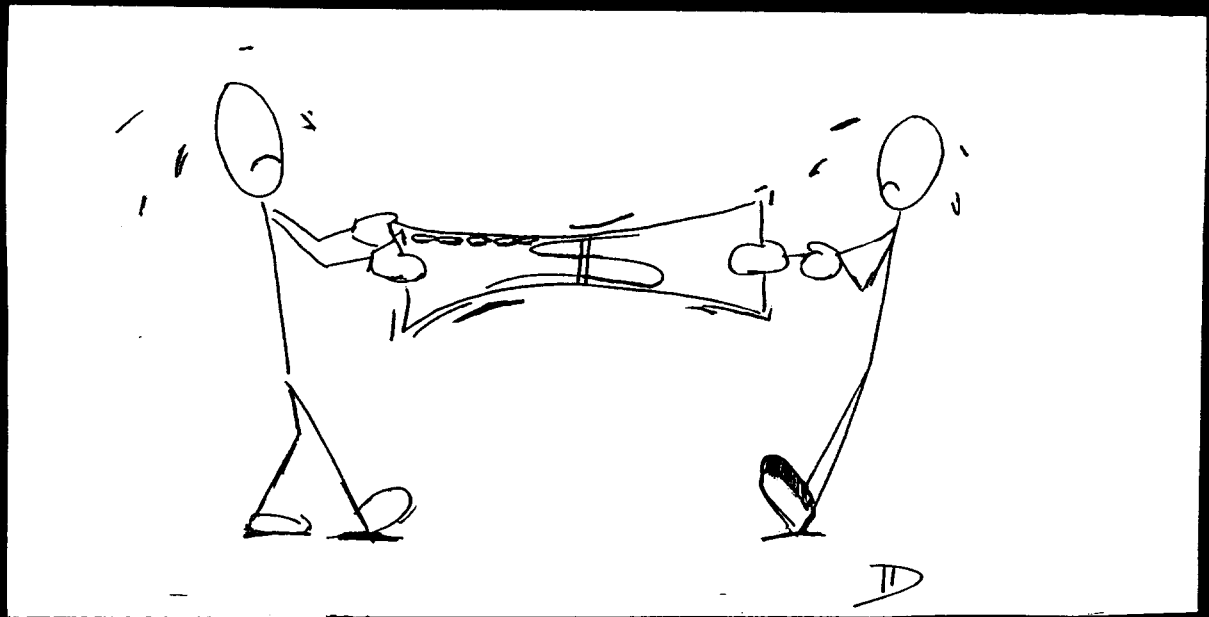
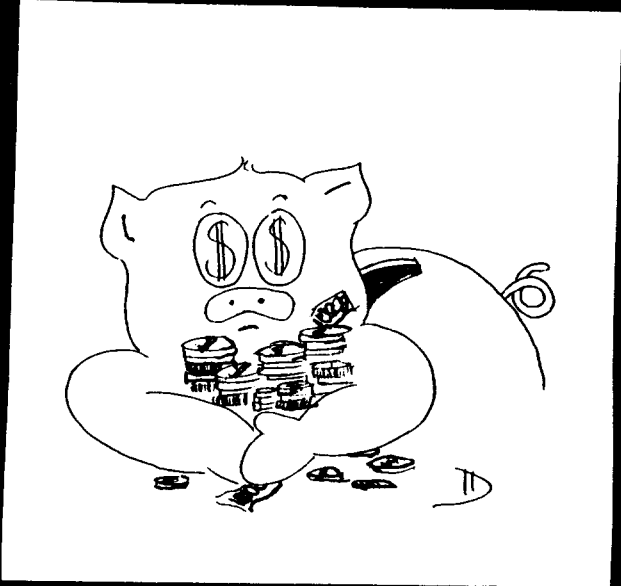
The most important thing to realize about International Responsibility is that the question being asked is no longer who did what, where, when and why, but what needs to be done, and how is the world going to do it? The goal of the working paper is to cover as much as possible, with as little bias as possible. Hence the working paper was divided up into different sections, Economic Responsibility, Political and Military Responsibility, and Social and Environmental Responsibility. At the end of the paper, there is also a section devoted to various opinion pieces written about International Responsibility. Although information and examinations of certain situations should be done objectively, the "percep-

tions" of people are also valuable, especially when the authors comprise an international body. In this way, we hope to comment on what International Responsibility is.

International Responsibility: Power and Politics is a broad topic and we cannot hope to address everything it entails in this working paper. There are some issues which cannot be directly discussed under the different sections that we have created. However, there are many themes which run through this paper without clear headings or specific mention. For example, power and politics are found in every section of the paper, whether they are specifically mentioned or not. Everything we do touches on these two concepts, be the issue military, economic, social, environmental or anything else. This is often the best way to address certain themes, because their consequences are seen best in the context of other problems.

As the world enters a new millennium, we also face new responsibilities. A decade ago, we might have thought that preventing nuclear war was the world's first priority. But since the end of the Cold War, we have had to rethink what needs to be done. We live in an interdependent world where we cannot escape the consequences of someone's action. Any devastating results from one nation's mistakes will not only affect that nation's neighbors but also countries half way across the world. Responsibility is a question of morality, but more significantly a matter of survival. We can survive with a difference in beliefs, but we cannot survive without each other.





Economic Responsibility

Wealth and Its Distribution

There has always been an unequal distribution of wealth throughout the world. There are and always will be wealthy and powerful nations as well as poor ones. One thing for certain is that the distribution of wealth is always changing.

What establishes a nation's wealth and power in today's world? Natural resources, economic productivity and trade, industry, technology, arms, population, land mass, and location are all factors.

Since the end of World War II, the United States and former Soviet Union quickly evolved into the primary powers of the world, partially because of economics, wealth and possession of arms and nuclear weapons. Now that the Soviet Union has been dismantled, a great deal of these arms have been split between Russia, Ukraine and other former Soviet republics. Other countries also possess nuclear weapons, but not nearly as many as the United States and Russia.

Economic wealth is an important factor to be considered. The wealthiest nation, per capita, is Switzerland with a GNP per capita \$30,270 (US) in 1989. Sweden ranks second with a GNP per capita of \$23,472(US) in 1989. Denmark, Finland, Germany, Iceland, Luxembourg, Norway, and the United States are other nations whose GNP per capita is above \$20,000 (US). While Germany is not one of the three richest nations per capita, it is on its way to become one. It is an important player in the world market. Between 1989 and 1990, 60% of the nations listed before, received the greatest number of exports from Germany also growing in productivity. Japan is growing in productivity and has become an important country in the world market, while the United States is descending from its former economic status. When dealing with statistics like these, it is important not to overlook the economic significance of countries like China, India, and Russia. These countries are very significant players in the world economy and yet, many of their people are impoverished simply because of their tremendous surface areas and populations. An illustration of this is Russia's oil supply. The former Soviet Union is currently the largest supplier of crude oil world-wide, with roughly 5.15 million tons supplied in 1991. Its GNP per capi-

ta, however, is still very low because of its size and population. Nepal, Somalia, Tanzania, Ethiopia, and Mongolia are examples of countries that have a GNP per capita of less than \$200 (US).

Natural resources play an important role in a nation's economy. In order to cultivate, nations need water. Countries such as Egypt, must depend on the Nile as their main water source. Countries also want land that is rich in minerals in order to mine and sell. Today, one of the most valuable natural resources is oil. Russia is the largest supplier of crude oil in the world, and is one of the richer and more powerful nations of the world. But with such a large oil supply, why is its economic standing falling? Because, as well as being the number one supplier, it is also the number one consumer. Russians must import oil from other nations around the world. Many of the poorest nations of the world are poor primarily because of their lack of natural resources. Ethiopia, for example, has very poor farming land, low water supply and almost no mineral wealth.

Although industry is a significant factor of economic strength, the wealthiest nation per capita is Switzerland, which has a relatively small industry. Financial services, instead, are the main reason for its economic success. The most important are watch and clock making, textiles, clothing, chemicals, and technologically advanced machinery (primarily electrical and scientific). On the other hand, the United States has a much larger and more diverse industry. Its primary industries are the production of food, fabricated metals, non-electronic machinery and electronics. Other countries, such as Japan, have economic structures which are dominated by large corporations. The poorer industries of nations like Mongolia are based on the production of food.

Whatever the status of a country, it is important that the nations who are now enjoying financial success help those that do not have sufficient resources. We are now involved in a global economy and how we succeed depends on how we work together.

The Responsibilities of Richer

Nations to Poorer Nations

Now that most of the world is industrialized, and there is enough food and technology to go around, it seems there is no longer an excuse to ignore the many countries still suffering from poverty, starvation, and disease. Studies have proven that there is enough food to feed the entire world; the problem is in the distribution of food. Many believe it is the responsibility of the countries that have the excess to share it with the rest of the world.

One hundred years ago this question of responsibility did not exist in the way that it does today. The richer industrialized countries used the non-industrialized countries as stepping stones to reach their economic and political goals. As the wealthier countries of the 18th and 19th centuries developed into the industrialized economic powers they are today, they used up their resources and saturated their markets, until they needed more primary resources and buyers for their products. By expanding their empires into societies across the globe they found that they could exploit the resources and labor in those societies and find fresh markets for their manufactured goods.

This process meant that if the colonies were to develop economically, they would also have to free themselves of their "mother" countries. And this in turn meant that they would become latecomers to international trade and would have to work harder in order to gain a foothold on the world markets.

The "mother" countries also felt no strong urge to help the colonies where people were starving or dying of diseases they could cure. Moral responsibility was only beginning to emerge as an issue. Although there were people who tried to provide humanitarian aid and education, called "missionaries".

These missionaries introduced them to Christianity. Along with the missionaries came traders and soldiers, and the colonial peoples passed under the control of the colonial powers. However, the missionaries did set up school and hospitals where people could get free help. Many programs that provide medical and nutritional assistance are still run by religious organizations.

In the contemporary world there are many other organizations, some involved with the UN, that also distribute food, medicine, and other forms of aid across the world. This is an outcome of the development of a sense of responsibility. Most of these organizations are non-profit and are not government backed. In some cases the richer countries send the food directly. One reason for the governments of these countries to give the food directly is to prevent the food from being used as a weapon. For instance, warlords in Somalia prevent food from reaching the people who need it. This prevention is a political tactic, used in order to gain power. Thus, it is necessary for soldiers, such as the UN's "Blue Helmets," to distribute the food to scare the warlords away. Many hope that in the future, basic human needs, like food, medicine, and education will not be used as a weapon in the poorer nations, and feel it is up to the richer, and more powerful nations to make sure that this happens.

The UN and the world community accept the need to develop, industrialize and make viable societies from the less developed. The resources come from international programs such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the United Nations Development Program. Richer countries give money to these organizations and it is then distributed or loaned to the poorer countries. Richer countries, for example, the United States and Japan, also give aid and loans to the developing nations.

However, the loaned money is not always used in the most productive manner. Often times, the loaned money ends up in the hands of a government who consumes the money (use it for immediate results as opposed to long term developing ones) rather than invest it in their economy. Another problem is that the money travels through the bureaucracy and gets caught in a web of ineffectiveness. This creates debts for both the richer and poorer nations because neither the loan nor the interest on the loan get paid off. It is better for the money to be used as investments in the economy for the poorer country, to insure productive economic and social development. In the future, with international free trade becoming more of a possibility, more business-to-business investments will occur, as opposed to the government-to-government loans of today. This should lead to an improved world economy on both

sides, because in the poorer side, production will increase and in the richer side, the investments will pay off.

As the world becomes more integrated with communication, trade, and migration, it is necessary that there be more of a balance among peoples. No longer can problems simply be ignored because they are happening on the other side of the world, especially when it comes to poverty, disease, starvation, the three most fatal aspects of society. Richer nations have a responsibility to the poorer nations to reduce the magnitude of these blights on humanity, because the developing countries contribute to the growth of the developed who now have the capability and the means.

Economic Sanctions

Economic sanctions are actions which are made by the individual nations and the Security Council to inflict economic deprivation on a society or a state through limiting or stopping customary economic relations. Economic sanctions are sometimes imposed in order to punish those states which threaten international peace and security, to prevent unwanted behavior in the future by changing policies, to maintain and limit economic and military capabilities, and to send a message to resolve internal problems.

Historically, the primary reason for imposing economic sanctions has been to punish certain nations. Sanctions are imposed in order to punish violators, and to point their faults out to them. The length and severity of the sanctions depends upon the nature of the offense.

The second reason for imposing economic sanctions is to prevent future violators from engaging in similar behavior. Preventing sanctions usually requires changes in policies. Sanctions may be used to compel others to make minor changes, such as the release of hostages, or to effect major policy decisions, such as the alteration of the entire social, economic, or political basis of a regime.

Sanctions are generally not effective when they attempt to change a country's internal policies,

especially if the target state is a strong one. Citizens of a target state are also unlikely to accept changes made by foreign pressures. Sanctions that attempt to change important internal policies are the least likely to be successful.

The third reason sanctions are sometimes imposed is to limit and restrict a country's economic and military capabilities. Sanctions may restrict a target state's access to technology and benefits within a trading system. This means that the target state must produce its own goods less efficiently and at a higher cost, thereby slowing the rate of its economic growth. Hence, it becomes more costly and more time-consuming for that state to pursue its policies.

The fourth reason economic sanctions are used is to send a message of outrage, firmness and solidarity towards an offending nation. Economic sanctions are stronger than mere rhetoric, but not as damaging or costly as military action. Often, economic sanctions are preferable to military action because they do not involve violence.

Economic sanctions are never made with only one goal in mind. They can be extremely effective if countries agree that the actions of a certain nation are intolerable. However, the single most important goal of economic sanctions is to prevent the need for military action. Economic sanctions are used as an alternative to military conflict and, ideally, to ensure that the target government will comply. Sanctions against South Africa have been proven to be effective, since they contributed to the end of apartheid. Through the use of sanctions, the international community avoided military confrontation with South Africa.

However, sanctions do not always succeed. Countries can evade sanctions by finding alternative sources of supply. Problems may occur when the objectives of the imposed sanctions are unclear. Unless sanctions hurt the country, the government of the targeted state will not be brought to heel. For example, in Haiti, sanctions have so far been ineffective in restoring the legitimate head of state, Bertrand Aristide, to power.

One of the major problems with sanctions is that they can sometimes hurt the poor and unhealthy people of a target state, rather than the government. A recent report by the Center for Population and Development at Harvard University has suggested

that sanctions against Haiti have indirectly caused the deaths of 1,000 Haitian children every month. Physicians for Human Rights have since questioned this data, saying it is not comprehensive enough, but regardless of the exact numbers, the effect is clear.

Although they can sometimes have destructive consequences, economic sanctions are effective alternatives to military intervention, and can be very useful in the international arena of power and politics.

What is Global Capitalism?

I. Introduction

The world economy has been undergoing a series of dramatic structural changes in the last several decades. These changes, which may be called the internationalization of the world economy, have been created and facilitated by a number of factors.

Most important of them is a series of technological "revolutions". Post-war changes in ocean transport, (containerization, more efficient engines), air-freight and other transportation technology have reduced shipping costs in relation to both bulk and value-added. Information technology (e.g. electronic telecommunications and data-processing) has made world financial markets a reality, and world-wide command and control immeasurably faster and easier than ever before. Vast magnitudes of capital move across the globe at the speed of light and are appropriately discounted, and accounted for, instantaneously.

Simultaneously with these technological advances, various political and economic developments have further facilitated this coming together of the world economy. The formation of trading blocks and reform of the international trading system, (of which the NAFTA and the completion of the Uruguay round of the GATT negotiations are the most recent examples), the creation of vast pools of investment capital (e.g. of the oil producing countries), and the linking-into the economic mainstream of previously isolated, underdeveloped countries

have all contributed to this internationalization.

It is said that a new form of global capitalism has emerged in these years. Global capitalism is considered a successor to monopolistic capitalism in vogue in the first part of this century, and competitive capitalism which characterized the economic system in the late eighteenth century. Global capitalism is a contemporary variant of the capitalistic mode of production characterized by "the disaggregation of stages of production across national boundaries under the organizational structure of individual firms or enterprises".

Until recently, the production process was primarily organized within the national economies or parts of them. International trade developed primarily as an exchange of raw materials and food stuffs, with products manufactured and finished in single economies. In terms of production, plant, firm and industry were essentially national phenomena. However, enabled by the new technological and political developments described above, it has now become possible for enterprises to locate, for example, research and development, skilled machining and fabrication, semi-skilled assembly, administration, and services in various regions throughout the globe. In each of these many separate regions, a firm may employ workers who are objectively linked in a single production process but whose organizational and political linkages across regions are minimal.

Global capitalism therefore diffuses manufacturing around the world, reflecting an expanding geographic sphere of investor choice. The mobility of capital made possible by an increasingly perfected world-wide financial market, has transformed the world-economy in a multitude of ways.

It is said that a new form of global capitalism has emerged in these years... Global capitalism is a contemporary variant of the capitalistic mode of production...

II. The implications of world capitalism

The restructuring of the world economy, as a result of these developments, is a continuing process, but the major consequences are already evident. Some of them are explored here.

a) A new international division of labor?

Earlier theories had held that a permanent and necessary feature of capitalism in a world system comprised of a hierarchy of rich ("core") and poor ("periphery") regions. This hierarchy had taken the form of an international division of labor which operated to the advantage of the rich states. Under this system, mechanized, higher profit, higher waged, and more skilled activities were concentrated in the core countries while the provision of raw materials and mine and mineral resources was assigned to the periphery. This was the natural result of the earlier monopolistic capitalistic system in which movement of capital and products across national boundaries was constrained by an unequal system of exchanges.

Under global capitalism a new international division of labor seems to be emerging. This historic development is attributed to the coming together of three developments: a world-wide reserve of labor; technological advances which allowed for the decomposition of production processes; and technological progress that renders the management of production largely independent of geographical distance. Enterprises have responded to these developments by shifting unskilled and some skilled manufacturing to the cheaper wage zones of the periphery, thus leading to high growth rates of manufacturing in developing market economies. A slowdown of industrial growth in the older regions and the rapid industrialization of the areas of the periphery are a consequence of the transition from monopoly to global capitalism.

b) The decline of autonomy of the State?

During the monopoly capitalistic era, the state expanded its role as a regulator of the conditions of capital accumulation. Elements of this role implied devoting increasing shares of the state budget to assuming the social cause of capital accumulation, including increasing wages. The expansion of state expenditures depended politically upon an uneasy accord between capital and labor.

Under global capitalism, it is said that there has been a relative decline of the autonomy of the state. Capital, particularly its global component,

finds state regulation less acceptable and public expenditures designed to maintain social peace less necessary. With an increased ability to move production to other regions of the world where state policies may be more favorable to capital, global capital is in a position to demand changes in state policy. The decline of the autonomy of the state is thus related to the internationalization of production that is characteristic of global capitalism.

c) A new balance of power between capital and labor?

The social structures associated with earlier monopolistic capitalism included unionization of labor in basic industries. Monopoly pricing power, given stable technologies, allowed employers to accept unions and accommodate their wage and benefit demands by passing on their costs to consumers and suppliers. Labor therefore made large gains during this period, their compensation probably even outdistancing productivity gains.

Global capitalism is poised to alter the relative balance of power between capital and labor. Capital mobility undermines the ability of workers to defend the material well-being gained during the era of monopoly capitalism. The use or threatened use of manufacturing relocation has introduced a new destabilizing factor in management-labor negotiations. The consequence of this at the workplace may take such forms as job loss, decline of real wages, and a loss of control over work rules. It is not surprising, therefore, that big labor so strongly opposed the NAFTA.

d) The impact of global firms

Under monopoly capitalism, giant firms emerged, price competition in many industrial sectors ended and market shares for various firms stabilized. The production processes of firms were relatively concentrated within the space of national economies.

Under global capitalism, giant firms of different national origins compete aggressively for shares of a global market that encompass many different national markets. Price competition has returned and monopoly pricing power of dominant enterprises has

been eroded. Market shares of firms has become vulnerable, some firms fail to survive and mergers become numerous.

The characteristic organizational form of global capitalism is the multi-national corporation (MNC) or the global firm. MNC is a design for survival under the competitive conditions of the new era. Its ability to scan the globe for investment possibilities makes possible a rational assignment of resources and ruthless pursuit of the exact combination of local policies, labor conditions, transport considerations, and so forth for any commodity or part. Multi-sourcing and conglomerations are the direct results of this search by MNCs for optimal production possibilities.

III. Conclusion

The progress towards global capitalism is still under way, transforming economies and societies in countless ways. How the world accommodates to these developments for the benefit of mankind constitutes the primary challenge of the 1990's and the twenty-first century.

Multinational Corporations

One of the most significant recent economic developments is the introduction and proliferation of multinational corporations (MNCs). MNCs exist in all spheres of economic activity including natural resources extraction, the production of motor vehicles, electronics, food products, chemicals, computers, and metals. One may recall famous brands known in each country of the world: Royal Dutch Shell, Daimler-Benz, Nestlé, Olivetti, ICI, Sony, etc. They have become the "most prominent forms of private international trade". By definition MNCs are enterprises that own, manage and control production, marketing and other value-added activities in several countries. MNCs can potentially be privately or publicly owned; they can originate from any country and can exist from either social or public motives. By being major players in the world economy, MNCs are channels for cross-border capital, labor, technolo-

gy, management, and organization expertise flows. These flows are sometimes difficult to measure, but the well known fact is that MNCs undertake most of the foreign direct investment (FDI) today. In fact more than 20% of the world's output is produced by MNCs. Intrafirm trade in MNCs accounts for 25% of the world trade in manufacturing. Moreover, one third of the world's private sector production is governed by MNCs.

By the early 1990s, there were as many as 37,000 MNCs. Around 24,000 are located in the 14 most developed market economies. More than 90% of MNCs originate in the developed market economies, only 8% of them originated in the developing countries and a mere 1% from Central and Eastern Europe. Naturally, the power of MNCs does not correspond to the distribution of wealth among regions and countries. Moreover, only 1% of the parent MNCs own one half of FDI stock. The largest 100 MNCs account for 14% or \$280 billion of world stock of outward investment.

In the five years preceding 1990, the FDI has increased from \$50 bln. to \$234 bln., increasing the total global FDI stock to \$1.8 trillion. However, the share of investment directed to the developing countries declined and by 1990 investments amounted to only \$32 bln., and according to some studies "the prospects for enlarged capital flows from developed to developing countries appear bleak."

Today expansion of MNCs is complemented by recent developments in information technology and existence of world wide information networks. The immediacy of cross-border information movement allows the MNCs to be highly dynamic, i.e. to respond to changing market conditions in a short time and by most efficient means. The cross-border information flows "have become the life blood of MNCs". Recently several significant service industries associated with the information technology have expanded rapidly and provided new opportunities for MNCs. Those MNCs linked or dependent on industries such as air transportation, banking, telecommunications and datalinks benefited to a large extent from their access to enlarged global networks.

Some truly giant MNCs have annual sales in tens of billions of dollars. An example of such a multinational corporation is Philips Electronics, which is ranked in the ninth largest MNC by foreign

assets in 1990. Philips operates 346 plants in 46 different countries. It was also a partner in hundreds of international strategic alliances. Philips employed 272,800, people 217,149 of when were employed abroad (outside Netherlands). In 1990, total sales of Philips were 30.8 bln. dollars.

The most basic motive for any enterprise as well as MNCs to exist is to make profits. For the same reason MNCs seek to invade new markets and expand all over the globe. MNCs act in a pattern according to which they will secure some profits in the long-run or earn high profits in the short-term. This pattern may be in conflict with the pattern that would benefit the economy and the society in general. MNCs investments in the developing world are concentrated in a few countries. Some of these countries have large domestic markets (Latin American countries), other countries are used as export bases for MNCs (Asian countries). The MNC0 evidently wants to make profits that can could invested anywhere in the world or repatriated it. It has to make a product that will sell in the world market (most of which is dominated by the developed countries). However this product might be a little or no use to the people in the host country if it is low-wage developing country. In this case, the MNC offers the host country nothing except jobs.

Furthermore "the interests of the home and host country are generally in conflict" which makes it extremely difficult to reach an agreement that would limit the activities and magnitude of the activities of the MNCs very precisely and generate responsibility.

MNCs are able to earn greater profit than national corporations because they have an advantage of global network of manufacturing, distribution, and service. MNCs also have lower risks because of their diversity. The sheer size of the output of the significant MNCs allows them to divide labor and specialization further than national corporations, making them more efficient. The product components that could be manufactured only by unskilled workers can be produced in low-wage nations and shipped into another country to be assembled. MNCs can also gain control of smaller local companies which could pose a threat of competition in the future. MNCs can finance large, expensive projects easier than purely national companies because "MNCs have better access at better terms to

international markets". The MNCs research and development is usually based in the high-wage countries, where technical personnel and facilities are in abundance. This makes the host country technologically dependent. MNCs often soak up local talent, capital, and innovation which prevents development in the host country. MNCs are blamed for the lack of training they provide for the local labor and over-exploitation of the environment and natural resources of the host country. MNCs are in a better position to control their environment that the national corporations, because unlike the latter, the former are able to choose a country with low wages, most benefits and most tax holidays. The large size of some MNCs in comparison with the host country makes it possible for MNCs to influence the government of the host country in order to extract yet more benefits. In some cases MNCs can dominate the economy of the host country in a particular sector. MNCs create "highly dualistic" enclave "economies". MNCs can also encourage foreign tastes in the host country, things such as jeans, Coca-Cola, Marlboro cigarettes, chewing gum, etc. MNCs may engage in a practice called transfer pricing in order to cut down on the taxes even more. When affiliate ship goods to a high-tax nation, the components of those goods are overpriced in order to show that the profit margin is small. On the other hand the goods being shipped from the high-tax country are underpriced. MNCs tend to concentrate in export processing zones, where they would pay very low or no taxes. For example; around 70% of all firms in export processing zones in Malaysia are MNCs.

MNCs can also cause problems in the home nations. The first and the most obvious is that unskilled and semi-skilled jobs are lost; however, some managerial, clerical, and other white collar jobs are created. This is not necessarily negative because the unskilled and semi-skilled jobs might have been lost to competition from abroad in any event. The other problem is that practices such as transfer pricing "erode" the home country's tax revenues. There is a possibility of MNCs exporting technology to its affiliates abroad, which, as some argue, in the future may result in the home country losing its technological edge. It is also harder for the government to monitor and control the activities of MNCs than national companies.

Nevertheless, MNCs play a catalytic role in reactivating a slow growing economy, in encouraging economic restructuring and innovation. Not only are they the primary instruments for the transfer of technology, MNC's also functions as catalysts for change in the work ethic of the host country. They are often in the vanguard of implementing improved job safety and labor practices in developing countries by providing models of advanced personnel practices. They also frequently introduce stricter environmental standards in those countries than the hosts demand. Finally, MNC's often make lasting improvements to the infrastructure of the host countries in which they are located.

Oligopoly: A situation of imperfect competition in which an industry is dominated by a small number of suppliers.

Economic Refugees

The statute of the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) defines a refugee as any person who "owing to well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or, who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence, is unable or, owing to such fear is unable to return to it."

This definition was appropriate to the situation of the late 1940's and early 1950's. Large numbers of people were leaving Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union due to conflicts arising from the Cold War. Conflicts over the decolonization process of the early 1950s and 1960s also produced large numbers of refugees from Algeria, Angola, Rwanda, and Zaire to name a few. Those who left their country due to economic reasons, however, were not considered refugees; they were classified by the UNHCR as 'migrants'.

Since the early 1950s, however, much has

changed. Refugees are more a result of national or 'civil', rather than international conflicts (former Yugoslavia, Somalia, and Ethiopia are cases in point). The United Nations has estimated that some 80 to 100 million people now live outside their country of origin. Officially, 25-30 million of these are economic migrants; however, the unofficial number of economic migrants (illegal immigrants) may well be 24-40 million more. The reason for such a large number of refugees is multifold and complex; it is no longer as easy to divide economic from political reasons as it was at the beginning of the Cold War. It is not economic deprivation alone which triggers a refugee movement, but usually the deterioration of an economic situation and a lack of prospects for improvement that may force people to leave their country and seek a better living elsewhere.

Furthermore, when the economic situation in a given country deteriorates, social tensions and conflicts can ensue. Though one could argue that the flow of refugees is caused by social conflict or tension, it is sometimes difficult to differentiate between the economic and political causes of that tension. The difference between 'refugees' and economic migrants becomes even more complex when the government itself is at the root of a country's economic difficulties and poverty. In the case of Haiti, for example, the government is alleged to use oppression as a tool to deal with the problems of great poverty. The two problems compound each other, producing large numbers of refugees -- but do we consider them 'true' refugees or merely economic migrants?

The issue of economic refugees touches other issues, those concerning free trade and the 'responsibility' of richer to poorer countries; the realities of the less fortunate are affecting those of the most fortunate. Developed countries may institute all the measures they want to impede the entrance of immigrants; however, the pressure of new immigrants will continue to increase due to the demographic growth and limited economic development of neighboring economically disadvantaged countries.

The international community must deal with economic refugees and the problems faced by countries who are flooded with these immigrants. The world has a responsibility to ensure every human being of a home no matter who or their economic status. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

guarantees "Everyone has the right to a nationality."

Economic Union

The European Union, once called European Economic Community, or the Common Market, is an organization among governments of twelve western European nations. They are: Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy,

Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and the United Kingdom. The EU has its own institutional structures and decision-making framework. Its founders' aim was to unite Europe through peaceful means, to create conditions for it to grow economically, and to establish a means for more political integration and cooperation among governments.

After World War II, the French statesman, Jean Monnet, proposed the first plan for a united Europe. The French Foreign Minister, Robert Schuman, proposed a plan in 1950 that resulted in the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1952. It was the first of the organizations that eventually constituted the EC. It gathered resources and integrated industrial policies and activities in coal, iron ore and steel sectors of France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium and Luxembourg. One single economic market was formed for these limited economic sectors and operated without being subjected to national regulations or restrictions. The ECSC was managed by a supranational institution called the High Authority.

The EU's legal foundations are a series international treaties. The Treaty of Paris (April 8, 1951; effective January 1, 1952) was the first, and created the ECSC. The six ECSC nations then established the Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) and the European Economic Community (EEC) by the treaties of Rome (March 25, 1957; effective January 1, 1958). EURATOM enabled more cooperation and agreement in the fields of atomic energy and nuclear research. The EEC extended the concept of ECSC's common market and free trade to most of the other sections of the nations' economies.

On April 8, 1965 the Merger Treaty was

signed. It was put into effect on July 1, 1967 and created common institutions for the three communities (EEC, ECSC, EURATOM): the Council of Ministers, the European Commission, and the European Parliament. It and paved the way for the EC's 1992 program - a plan to eliminate all the remaining legal, financial and technical obstacles to the completion of a Community-wide unified market. During the 1960s, the French president, Charles de Gaulle, and others, felt that Britain's ties to the Commonwealth and its close relationship with the U.S. would conflict with its membership in the Community and, therefore, opposed its participation in the EU. Once President De Gaulle had left the scene, however, Britain did join the EU, with Ireland and Denmark in 1973. This increased the membership to nine nations. In 1981, Greece joined and became the tenth member, and in 1986 both Spain and Portugal joined, raising the total to twelve nations. In 1990, with the disappearance of the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) and the resulting reunification of Germany, the former East German territory was included in the EC as part of the expanded Federal Republic of Germany. A number of other nations have shown an interest in joining the EU or have actually applied for membership.

The EU was expected to create a functioning common market by 1992 in which national borders were no more of a barrier to trade and free movement of people among the member states than are the borders within the United States. The member nations have established common policies in foreign trade, agriculture, fisheries, transportation and financial monetary activities. Common rules and joint programs are being developed and applied in areas such as anti-trust measures and competition, energy, environmental protection, education and training, research and development, technology and currency. The European Union promotes the economic development of its poorer regions and is involved as well in the development of the former East German territory. The European Investment Bank (EIB) provides financing for many different types of economic development around the world.

The EU is the world's largest trading power and accounts for about twenty percent of international trade. Because of its economic strength it is

important to the world, its scope of activity extending far beyond trade and economic matters. The EU represents its members at the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) talks, takes part in West Economic Summits and has observer status at the UN and other international organization. It also has a close relationship with the members of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA). In October, 1991, the EU and EFTA decided to establish a European Economic Areas (EEA) in which people, goods, services, capital and information will circulate among member states in both groups.

The U.S. and the EU have maintained a cooperative partnership since the early 1950's. They are economically interdependent and meet regularly. A common agricultural policy (CAP) was created which permits agricultural goods to circulate freely at community-wide prices. Quarrels over agricultural financing were the main source of friction in the community. It was forced to adopt costly programs when less developed and more agricultural countries; Spain, Portugal and Greece, joined. The EU is attempting to modernize the agricultural and industrialize these countries, as well as of southern France and Italy.

The Commission of the European Community proposes policies and legislation, is responsible for the administration of the European Union and insures that provisions of the EU treaties and decisions of the other institutions are properly implemented. There are seventeen members on the Commission - two from each of the five larger countries and one from each of the seven smaller countries. Commissioners are nominated by the national governments and appointed by the EU's Council of Ministers for a four-year term. The Commission chooses its own president and performs most of its activities at its headquarters in Brussels.

The Council of Ministers has one representative from each member state. It represents the national governments and supposedly argues for the national interest as a counterbalance to the Commission. Members of the Council hold their positions as long as they remain foreign ministers of their respective governments. The Council is assisted by the Committee of Permanent Representatives (CPR), which is made up of the ambassadors to the EU from each member state.

The European Parliament (EP) has 518 members who are elected by citizens of the Community. The number of representatives of each member state is based on population. The EP acts as the Community's public forum. It debates issues and questions and has the power to force the Commission to resign as a body and to reject the EU's annual budget.

The European Court of Justice is the only EU-wide judicial body. It has thirteen judges - one from each of the member nations, and an additional one taken from each member on a rotating basis to make an odd number. The Court's duty is to interpret and define EU treaties and other Community texts, legislation and decision.

On November 1, 1993, the Treaty on European Union (also known as the Maastricht Treaty) went into effect. It laid out a plan to link European currencies tightly enough together by 1997 to allow at least some countries to use a common currency. Because of economic imbalances, in part caused by recession and the reunification of Germany in 1990, it is not clear that a common currency can come into effect even by the end of the century.

The European Union is a good example of nations working together to provide mutual benefits. A union like this will have far-reaching results, but it, and the international community, must make sure that the rewards will be equally distributed.

The North American Free Trade Agreement

In September 1992, The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was unveiled after fourteen months of secret deliberations. NAFTA was finally passed by the U.S. House of Representatives on Wednesday, November 17, 1993 and then passed easily in the U.S. Senate, creating the largest free-trade zone in the world. NAFTA is not just an economic agreement, it is also a social and political debate that will begin a process of full and free economic relations between the United States, Canada,

and Mexico.

NAFTA is not just an economic agreement, it is also a social and political debate that will begin a process of full and free relations...

There has been substantial debate over NAFTA. Opponents argue that it will benefit multinational conglomerates and wealthy investors, but will not address the needs of workers, farmers, small businesses, and the environment. NAFTA, they say, will expedite the movement of U.S. and Canadian businesses to Mexico, where they will reap the benefits of cheap labor and lax environmental standards.

Proponents of the agreement contend that removing barriers will create competition, and thus reward efficiency. More efficiency will result in lower prices, and will therefore benefit consumers by increasing their buying power. Supporters of NAFTA have admitted that some jobs will be lost initially, but maintain that in the long run, more employment opportunities will be created by new and expanding industries. However, opponents of NAFTA cite statistics from the U.S. Bureau of Labor, which state that American manufacturing workers who are forced to find new jobs, take an average pay cut of 10 percent.

Opponents of NAFTA argue that increased efficiency does not, in reality, mean lower prices. They say that multinational corporations will drive smaller Mexican firms out of business and will thus be allowed to create monopolies and charge whatever they want for their products. Opponents from Mexico, Canada, and the United States say that NAFTA will not lead to more efficiency in any case. They argue that companies lose any incentive to invest in higher technologies and newer production methods because of the availability of cheap labor. "Maquiladoras", which are huge factories set up just over the Mexican border, would burgeon because of NAFTA, opponents say.

Environmentalists do not believe that NAFTA offers enough protection for the environment. Although William Reilly of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency has called NAFTA the "greenest trade agreement ever negotiated," the 2,000 page document does not actually prohibit offences to the environment, but deems them "inap-

propriate." NAFTA does not impose standards on how products are made, only on the end products themselves.

It would seem, however, that NAFTA will improve environmental problems, at least along the border. "Maquiladoras" exist because they are given partial exemptions from tariffs. With NAFTA, these tariffs will not exist. Therefore, the incentive to start up such factories will no longer exist.

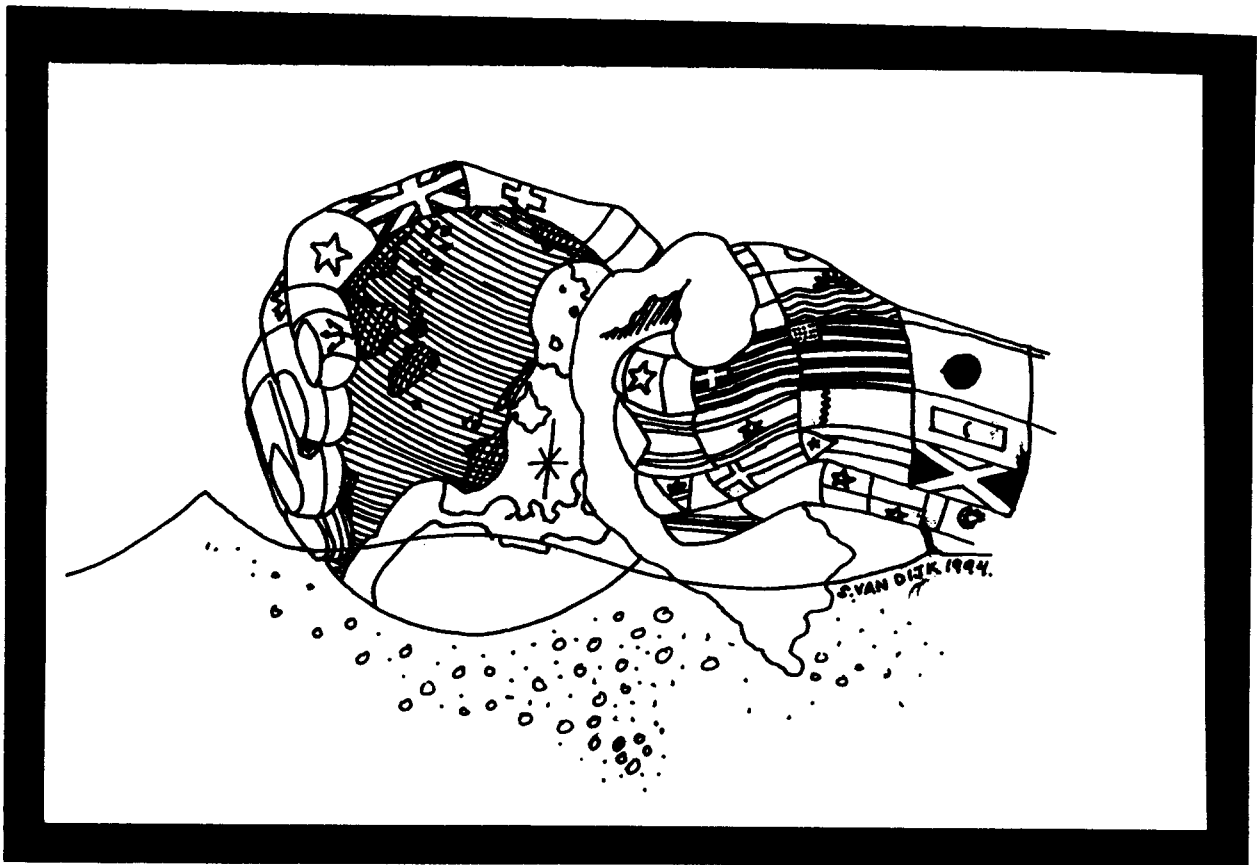
Mexico has stringent environmental laws and in 1988, the Mexican government passed the General Law for Ecological Equilibrium and Environmental Protection. This law prohibits air, water, and soil pollution by hazardous wastes, pesticides, and toxic pollutants. Since the NAFTA talks were initiated, this law has been enforced with consistency. Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari has promised that Mexico will not try to attract polluting investments. The NAFTA debate has raised environmental issues and has thus made it possible to confront and deal with ecological problems. If NAFTA is carried out with consideration to these issues, it will, it seems, have a positive effect on the environment.

Opponents say that this is the very problem, and that NAFTA does not encompass environmental problems. Betty Ferber de Aridjis, spokesperson of the Group of 100, an environmental organization, says that plant closings "tapered down dramatically" after the U.S. Congress gave authorization to the President to negotiate NAFTA.

Other social issues that have been raised because of NAFTA are labor standards and occupational safety and health. These issues have had more to do with the move of U.S. and Canadian businesses to Mexico than the environment. Studies show that the costs of complying with environmental laws are small compared to all the other costs involved in moving a manufacturing site to Mexico. Therefore, the primary incentives for corporations to move to Mexico are low wages and relaxed safety and health standards. Mexican labor has supported NAFTA, while U.S. labor has opposed it. The reason for this is that both sides believe that the U.S. will lose jobs to Mexico. Such problems can be attributed to the fact that the Mexican minimum wage is roughly one tenth of that of the United States and that according to various reports, children make up nearly a third of Mexico's work force.

Opponents of NAFTA would like to see an agreement more like that of the European Union. Such an agreement would mean greater regulation and government monitoring. Thea Lee of "Dollars and Sense," a progressive economics magazine, suggests that "a fair, humane trade pact would set in motion a process of raising labor and environmental standards for the entire continent."

Supporters claim it is probable that NAFTA will initiate a process of integration that could lead to a hemispheric community. Proponents say that if NAFTA is carried through correctly, it will lead to levels of international cooperation never seen before. However they also caution that the treaty must be carefully and responsibly orchestrated. Although NAFTA's outcome is disputed, its effect will be enormous either way, and one that nations must take responsibility for.



Political and Military Responsibility

Political Refugees

There are now 19.7 million people seeking asylum worldwide because of persecution, war and famine. In 1970, there were 2.5 million asylum-seekers worldwide, and by 1980 the number was eight million. Now, even the 19.7 million figure is estimated to be growing by an average of 10,000 a day. According to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Sadako Ogata, "the traditional system for

protecting refugees has come dangerously close to breaking down." During the Cold War, it was in the interests of countries in opposing spheres of influence to accept refugees, but now that the Cold War is over, their situation is much more difficult and complex. It is now nationalistic, ethnic and communal tensions, civil war and economic deprivation that are persecuting people, and causing them to want to leave their homelands. More than ever before, especially since many countries are tightening their asylum laws to keep foreigners out, it is becoming clear that accepting and protecting refugees is a shared

international responsibility.

Refugees are people who have fled their country of origin because of persecution or fear of persecution, because of race, religion, political orientation or ethnic group, and are unable or unwilling to return to their country. They are distinct from immigrants, who are people who have deliberately decided to live in a country other than their own, but were not necessarily persecuted in their homeland. Although many immigrants are refugees, and all refugees are by definition immigrants, they are distinguished by different laws that apply to either one or the other. Today, Haitians seeking asylum in the United States do not come under the label of "refugees," but rather "economic migrants." The United States asserts that Haitians are leaving their homeland not because they have suffered political persecution, or have a well-founded fear of being persecuted, but because of the miserable economic problems in Haiti. Increasingly, distinctions are being made between "economic" and "political refugees," since the two have very different effects on the social and economic stability of host countries.

Germany is now facing incredible problems concerning the many refugees and immigrants living within its borders. After World War II, West Germany loosened its asylum laws as a gesture of thanks to all those countries who had accepted German refugees throughout the horrors of Nazism. Today, Article 16 of Germany's 1949 Constitution gives all victims of political persecution the right asylum on German soil. After the reunification of Germany in 1990, economic differences between the eastern and western halves became increasingly evident, and the national economy faltered. Growing groups of Neo-Nazi youths, particularly in eastern Germany, which has much greater economic problems than western Germany, are pointing the blame at the 500,000 refugees flooding in to the country every year. This is a huge number, especially compared to the 100,000 refugees that the U.S. absorbs. Sixty percent of all asylum-seekers in Europe still turn to Germany. Refugees that have been granted asylum in Germany, receive, by law, free housing, free medical care, free schooling for their children and a monthly stipend of \$340 until their case can be processed. jobs supported. As a result of organized

Neo-Nazi activities, hundreds of refugees and immigrants have been injured or killed in the past few years. Perhaps just as disturbing is the fact that Neo-Nazi political parties are being formed, and are gaining increasing popularity particularly among young, marginalized German males. In protest, millions of Germans have held peaceful demonstrations and vigils, and spoken out against the violence and hatred. The German government has since proposed that the European Community should adopt a single refugee policy. After considering this proposition, the twelve member states were unable to reach agreement, and Britain, Ireland and Denmark announced that they would not remove their border controls, as had been anticipated by the Maastricht Treaty.

In addition to the 19.7 million refugees worldwide, there are 24 million people within countries that are forced to uproot their lives their lives to avoid persecution...

In 1933, at Albert Einstein's urging to help refugees from Hitler's Germany, the International Rescue Committee was formed. Today, the organization is still active, providing humanitarian relief to refugees in distress, and helping refugees find permanent new homes, primarily in the U.S. The organization is made up of a worldwide staff of 2,500 to 3,000 volunteers of mainly U.S. citizens, and is supported mainly by private donations. Some of the members of its board recently formed the Women's Commission For Refugee Women and Children, recognizing that 80 percent — almost 14 million — of the world's refugees are women and children. The commission is very active, and concentrates on refugee women's skills, talents and needs, which its members feel are too often neglected.

In addition to the 19.7 million refugees worldwide, there are 24 million people within countries who are forced to uproot their lives to avoid persecution. These internally displaced people are not classified as refugees or immigrants, since although they do leave their homes, they do not leave their countries. There have been calls to establish a new international agency, or to expand the mandates of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees and the Department of Humanitarian Affairs, to help those displaced within their own countries. Whether they

qualify as refugees or immigrants or not, they are in need of help, and are increasingly being recognized by the international community.

Political and Military Intervention

The new world order as conceived by Presidents Bush and Gorbachev would be founded on the presence of law and on the idea of collective security. Along with that idea comes the possibility of military enforcement measures by the United Nations. Twice in its history, the Security Council has taken such action. The first time was in the Korean War in 1950, and the second was in 1990 in the Persian Gulf.

The U.N. charter gives the Security Council the authority "to maintain or restore international peace and security," and to enforce the resolutions of the Security Council. The use of military force by the Council for these reasons was predicted by the founders of the United Nations. 50 years ago, it was regarded as a vital element to the world security and order that was part of the United Nations mandate. Should the need arise, member States would be protected from aggression by military forces supplied by other member States that would act as a U.N. army under the Security Council's command. However, military forces have not been made available to the council in this way, and therefore, the Council has been required to improvise. The action taken by the Council in response to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait is an example of such improvisation that permits the enforcement of the Security Council's resolutions without the proper means as stated in the Charter.

More frequently, military force has been used by the United Nations for peacekeeping, which was not stipulated in the Charter. The concept of peacekeeping was born in an attempt to end the hostilities in the Middle East in the 1950s. Since that demonstration of the effectiveness of peacekeeping, U.N. use of military power provided by member States has become a well established and supported practice. Three practices in the use of peacekeeping have been

established: First, as stated by former U.N Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold, peacekeeping is a provisional measure, or a measure taken without prejudice to the rights, claims or positions of the parties concerned; second, peacekeeping operations have been undertaken only with the consent of the parties concerned; and finally, peacekeeping forces may use arms only in self-defence.

The most recent non-peacekeeping military action of the Security Council in the maintenance of "world order" was, of course, the Persian Gulf war. The Gulf action was possible because the permanent members of the Security Council reacted to a matter of peace and security in the way that was expected when the United Nations was founded. This capacity of the United Nations to guarantee security through collective measures is seen as an important part of "a new world order."

However, the Security Council has no means of controlling when, how or to what degree these "measures" are applied. In the case of the Persian Gulf, the countries involved were only asked to keep the Council informed. The country that is in command of the forces, such as the United States in the Persian Gulf, may have a different interpretation of the goals in the U.N., and that country's goals may become more extensive or far reaching in the course of the mission. This was demonstrated in the terms for ending the Gulf War. None of the Security Council's 12 resolutions called for the destruction of Iraq's "war machine" or for the removal of Saddam Hussein. The destruction of Iraq's military capability was, however, an objective of the United States and many other coalition members.

The extent of the U.N.'s ability to stop aggression and maintain peace and security, as intended by the founders of the U.N., has been greatly strengthened by its reaction to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. The Security Council demonstrated that it was capable of taking effective action and achieving compliance with all of its resolutions. Knowledge that the United Nations has such capability strengthens its peacekeeping role by deterring aggression and will therefore eventually make the necessity of actual enforcement less frequent. Some suggest that United Nations should be able to assemble a force that can serve under the command of the Security Council, which will give the Security Council control over

military operations and the outcome of the fighting. In the future, such a force may be vital to world order, peace and security.

The Roles of International And National Organizations

There are thousands of national and international organizations around the world, both private and public, governmental, inter-governmental or non governmental. These are formed by groups to express their points of view or to achieve particular goals. Some organizations have considerable power in the international community, and thus have much responsibility in international affairs.

One of the most widely known international organizations is the United Nations, which was formed after World War II. The international role of the United Nations is very important. Its main purpose is to maintain international peace and security, and to help facilitate and improve relations between countries. The UN also serves as a forum in which representatives of countries can discuss and try to solve problems concerning social, economic, political, or cultural affairs. The UN stresses the ideal that all countries are equal, and that force, or the threat of force, should not be used in solving international disputes. A country can only be admitted to the UN if it has received a recommendation from the Security Council and a two-thirds majority vote by the General Assembly. A country must be peaceful and able and willing to carry out the UN Charter to be admitted to the UN. Many other organizations and agencies have stemmed from the UN, such as UNICEF and the UNDP. UNICEF, or the United Nations Childrens Fund, is an organization dedicated to helping children of impoverished nations. The UNDP, or the United Nations Development Programme, helps nations to understand how to use their natural and human resources, and to learn the skills needed to develop those resources.

The International Labor Organization, or ILO, is a specialized agency of the United Nations and was formed after World War I. Its role is to

improve the working and living conditions of workers around the world. The organization aids countries by giving them technical assistance in training and by providing workers. It also conducts research on many social concerns, such as international competition, unemployment, technological change, economic development, and labor and industrial relations. The ILO is concerned with trade-union rights, and other types of human rights. In 1969 the ILO was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for its work all over the world.

Another international organization affiliated with the United Nations is the International Maritime Organization, created in 1948. The purpose of this organization is to ensure the safety of international overseas trade by promoting maritime safety and navigation and to do away with unfair practices by shipping concerns. The subcommittees of the Organization work on many important projects, such as the transport of dangerous goods, ship safety, and design.

There are many national organizations as well, such as the National Organization For Women (NOW). NOW is a private organization which was formed in the 1960s in the United States by a small group of feminists with the goal of eliminating sexual discrimination in society. That small group of feminists formed what is now an organization of more than 150,000 members consisting of both men and women. The organization lobbies for such concerns as equal rights, pregnancy leave, abortion, and equal pay.

Another national organization in the United States is the National Labor Relations Board. This organization was established in 1935 to make sure that employees would have the right to organize and bargain through a collective bargaining agent, and to enforce labor contracts and laws by conducting investigations and supervising elections for bargaining agents.

Another well-known national organization is the National Rifle Organization (NRA). This organization was formed in Great Britain in 1860 to support pistol and rifle sports. In 1871, the NRA was formed in the United States, and has become very popular over the years. By the mid-1980s, the NRA had approximately 1,800,000 members, including hunters, shooters, competitors and collectors. The American NRA, in the latter half of the 20th century,

is very active in lobbying against various types of gun control.

All organizations, whether international or national, have an effect on international life and politics, even if that is not their aim. Where some are more effective or beneficial than others, many understand that they have a responsibility to be concerned with how their actions change the lives of people around the world. These organizations strive to be as productive as possible, and are often recognized for their efforts.

Nuclear Proliferation

The U.N. Charter was signed in San Francisco on June 26, 1945. Three months later, the nuclear age began with the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan on August 6 and August 9 respectively.

Since that time, the greatest threat to the world has been the use of nuclear weapons. The knowledge, construction and possession of such weapons was achieved by all the permanent members of the Security Council, the U.S., Russia, Great Britain, France and China, in that order.

In 1962, the Cuban Missile Crisis produced what many see as the greatest threat to the world during the Cold War era. Even though the Super Power, bi-polar world situation ended in 1989, with the breaching of the Berlin Wall, nuclear proliferation still goes on, and the threat persists.

In 1968, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty was drawn up to prevent the diversion of nuclear energy for military purposes.

The International Atomic Agency (IAEA), which is headquartered in Vienna, was given the special responsibility of carrying out this task. Since that time, more and more members of the U.N. have become states party to the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

In spite of hopeful disarmament developments in the republics of the former U.S.S.R., nuclear proliferation remains a serious threat. The IAEA has been inspecting Iraq's nuclear facilities, in accord with the Iraqi Government, which is a party to the NPT.

Last year, North Korea announced that it would withdraw from the NPT, but has since suspended this decision. In principle, it has agreed to inspection of its nuclear facilities. In December 1993, the Secretary General visited North Korea, whose government and the IAEA have still not agreed upon some key issues of inspection and verification.

These two examples demonstrate that although an effective verification system is in place, compliance is not always an easy matter. The world community still has a responsibility to prevent the spread of those weapons of mass destruction, and to make sure that nuclear technology is used only for peaceful purposes.

Interpol

Interpol, also known as the "International Police" is a global police force made up of members from 147 nations that attempts to deal with international criminals. Interpol's objective is to combat international crime, which is increasingly dominated by the drug trade. This "police" organization is based in Lyons, France and is the only worldwide governmental organization which promotes such an international law-enforcement effort.

Interpol has begun to concentrate its attention on drug dealers, money launderers and terrorists. "Interpol is not an active police force, but an interactive message service, processing information for 147 member nations" says James Sarazin in the news magazine L'Express of Paris. Their output of messages has risen 25 percent since it acquired a sophisticated computer system.

The drug problem, a worldwide phenomenon, is one of the greatest concerns of Interpol. In order to put an end to the drug problem, coordination at both national and international levels is required. The drug trade invades all regions of the world including the former Soviet Union, Asia, and Europe. Predictions of future drug problems in Russia and many other nations has enhanced cooperation between Interpol and the Eastern European countries. Interpol has enlisted Hungary, Romania,

the former Yugoslavia, China, and hopes Russia will be a future member.

Drug use in China and in the former Soviet Union is an area of interest to Interpol, but the area of greatest concern is Africa. The world's southern areas are getting poorer and poorer and people have begun to realize how much money they can make selling of drugs. This reality has made Africa into a crossroad for much of the international drug flow.

Interpol admits that the drug enforcement agencies worldwide are only seizing five to eight percent of the total drug flow. Interpol also admits that a repressive response cannot be the "miraculous" solution many countries seek. Education, prevention, and rehabilitation in the consuming countries, and a comprehensive crop-substitution policy and global assistance to the producing countries are measures that will receive Interpol's support.

Interpol also admits that a repressive response cannot be the "miraculous" solution many countries seek...

Very recently, Interpol set up an ambitious telecommunications program in the Caribbean region, with the financial support of the United Nations, enabling the regional countries and territories to communicate with one other. However certain questions still arise. Who should Interpol be responsible to and what should the standards and criteria for membership be? Nations must work together to stop many criminal activities like the drug trade, but should they be united under a common police force? This is a key aspect of international responsibility.

The Former Soviet Union

The situation in the independent states of the former Soviet Union remains fluid 2 1/2 years after its collapse. Most countries have taken a "wait and see" attitude towards developments in that part of the world. In early 1992, the Canadian Ambassador to

the UN, L. Yves Fortier, noted that his country was "just keeping a watch" on the transformations in the old Union, hoping that they "will not result in conflicts and upheavals."

But some countries have very different outlooks. Nigeria's Ambassador to the UN Isaac E. Ayewah said that "we are aware that some 11 republics have agreed to form a Commonwealth but the position of Nigeria and many governments is to wait and see how that group of republics will function."

Economically, the new states are expected "to continue to stumble along a bumpy road" for the next 10 to 15 years according to Pyotr K. Kraychanki, Belarus's Foreign Minister.

The UN has already found itself having a peace keeping role in the province of Abkhazia, Georgia. A secessionist movement there led to some Russians citizens independently acting as mercenaries. The UN has established an Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) as of January, 1994.

In Tajikistan, humanitarian aid has been provided by the UN since the Republic has had conflicts with its neighbour Afghanistan over national borders. Leaders of the newly independent Republics have reach out to the international community and encouraged the involvement of the UN as a way of confirming their own existence. President Nursultan Nazarbaev of Kazakstan has suggested calling a special UN Conference or General Assembly session to discuss the problems of "the post-confrontation era", and has proposed setting up a regional centre or a UN Commission on preventive diplomacy in Central Asia.

This reaching out is encouraging but all the new Republics have severe economic and social problems at the same time as they are attempting to establish democratic structures. The recent parliamentary election in Russia shows how difficult the situation is.

Haiti

On December 16, 1990, Jean-Bertrand Aristide Became Haiti's first democratically elected

president. There was hope among many that Haiti's political and economical situation would turn around. However, on September 30, 1991, President Aristide was overthrown by a military coup led by self proclaimed Brigadier General Raoul Cedras. Aristide was forced to flee to Caracas, Venezuela, and then to Washington D.C. where he currently resides.

After the coup, 37,000 Haitians fled the country. Since then, the United States has been faced with a mounting Haitian refugee crisis. Most refugees were intercepted at sea before reaching the United States and were sent to the American base in Guantanamo bay, Cuba, and some were stationed in various southern American cities. Only 2,500 of the 37,000 refugees were granted interviews for asylum, and the rest were all repatriated. Many of the Haitians who supported Aristide were persecuted by the "de facto" government for seeking political asylum to the United States.

In 1993 the situation in Haiti worsened. Haitian refugees were still continuously being intercepted at sea by the U.S. Coast Guard. Under newly elected President Clinton's orders, all the refugees were repatriated with no questions asked. The embargo placed on the country by the United Nations was supposed to weaken the "de facto" government, force the military to give up power, and allow Aristide to be reinstated in office. The embargo only made economic matters worse for the generally poor population of Haiti. Gas shortages in Haiti continue even today as a result of the embargo. There is scarcely any electricity (approximately 2-3 hours a day), and there is very limited communication.

In 1993, the United States was faced with a new problem: how and when was Aristide going to be returned to power? His return would definitely help resolve the refugee problem. On July 3, 1993, an accord was worked out between Cedras and Aristide and his advisors by Lawrence Pezzulo, U.S. mediator for Haiti, and Dante Kaputo, the U.N. representative to Haiti. The Governor's Island accord, as the agreement has come to be called, was formulated with ten specific points including laws regarding amnesty, human rights and relief organizations, a new prime minister, suspension of the embargo, international help to rebuild Haiti, resignation of officials and naming of new ones, and the safe return

of Aristide.

None of the above happened, and the situation that the Haitians are faced with continues to worsen. The death toll in Haiti continues to increase and the present physical state of Haiti is deteriorating. The more the struggle between Aristide and the military continues, the more the Haitians have to suffer. Every attempt at putting an end to the situation has failed.

Haiti's current situation seem like an outcry for international responsibility. While so many Haitians appear to be suffering unjustly, the rest of the world is having trouble on deciding how to confront the crisis. The U.S. is under a lot of pressure to react in a responsible fashion because of the number of refugees seeking asylum within its borders. Yet many agree that the world's attempts to help hasn't changed enough. There is an international responsibility to help Haitians put their country back together again.

Bosnia-Herzegovina

Bosnia still continues on its journey through history with no aid in sight. Last year, it was decided by the world community that something must be done, but since that time, nothing substantive has been done to help the situation. Old, painful divisions were renewed in 1991. As the shelling of Sarajevo continues, no proposals to intervene have been presented. Throughout history, Bosnia has been divided and conquered by the Ottomans and the Nazis, and annexed by the Austro-Hungarians. Along with the other Balkan entities, Bosnia has always been controversial in international politics, and in the course of European history.

In 1980, the communist leader of Yugoslavia, Tito, whose real name was Josef Broz, died. In 1942, Tito had led the communist revolution against the Nazis with the help of the Cetniks, an anti-communist organization. The communists retained power after the German defeat, and Tito took office. Using communist dogma, Tito held the loosely united groups of Yugoslavia together for 38 years. However, after his death, tensions grew. By 1990,

the communist party of Yugoslavia was gone and the division of the country had begun.

It was soon apparent that Serbia was aiming to unite the people of Serbian descent in all regions of Yugoslavia. The death tolls steadily climbed. Soon the borders between enemies were allied against Muslim Bosnians. Serbs claimed that detention centers containing Serb prisoners were being used in Bosnia. If the Muslim Bosnians had such camps, few remain today. By the end of 1993, the Muslims had been forced into pockets of resistance under constant bombardment. NATO attempted to take action, launching its first troop deployment in its history. This action failed. The NATO summit in early January 1994 decided that air strikes might be necessary, but no such actions have been taken.

The European Union and the United Nations have helped refugees, especially children, to escape the violence. The United Nations has also imposed sanctions, but the battle rages on. Part of the problem is that the Bosnian Serbs and Croats have large military stockpiles, and the former Yugoslav army to provide resources. The United States supported air strikes last year but expressed reluctance at the NATO summit to renew the bombing, as advocated by France. Hundreds of thousands of Muslims have died from both the war and the lack of supplies. Half a million have sought refuge in the rest of Europe, and the remaining few live in fear within the sliver of Muslim territory. The EU's negotiator, Lord Owen, suggested and attempted a plan that would divide Bosnia into ethnic cantons. However, the Serbian, Croat and Muslim representatives could not agree on the borders.

The issue of Bosnia poses two obvious questions of international responsibility. The first is: Has there been a lack of respect for Bosnia's sovereign rights? The world community has been consistently indecisive in regard to Bosnia and Herzegovina. The second question is: Has there been a lack of assistance to Bosnia in its times of need, and if so, why? Considering their power, capabilities, and interdependence, nations today bear the responsibility for assisting other nations without ulterior motivation or self interest. When one country falls into turmoil, it begins a domino effect of events. Bosnia's refugees, along with others, have already affected Europe's employment rates, increasing the population but not

the number of jobs. What effect will this have on the politics and balance of power in Europe?

Somalia

After the Said Barre government of Somalia was overthrown, the warlords and their factions divided Somalia into many regions. The divided junta resulted in a two year civil war that began in 1991. The death rate had risen to intolerable levels, and the United Nations deemed it necessary to create a humanitarian mission to provide relief and food to the famine plagued nation. The warlords intercepted these relief efforts and hence gained possession of the food and some other supplies. The community saw the urgent need to help the UN in its humanitarian efforts.

On December 4, 1992, the United States President George Bush gave a speech in which he explained the United States intentions and planned involvement in Somalia: "First we will create a secure environment in the hard-hit parts of Somalia so that food can move from ships overland to the people in the countryside now devastated by starvation. And second, once we have created that secure environment, we will withdraw our troops, handling the security mission back to a regular UN peacekeeping force. Our mission has a limited objective: to open the supply routes, to get the food moving, and to prepare way for a UN peacekeeping force to keep it moving. This operation is not open-ended. We will not stay one day longer than is absolutely necessary.

On the same day, President Elect Clinton supported Mr. Bush's plan in a speech of his own; "I support President Bush's decision to dedicate the United States forces in support of the United Nations clearly defined humanitarian mission." And so along with many other countries, the US joined the UN in its peace efforts to restore peace in Somalia and thereby build its government.

Now that many countries had sent troops to Somalia, the east African nation became the focus of international attention. It was rare that the UN was mentioned without hearing Somalia in the same

breath. These international soldiers patrolling the partially destroyed streets of Somalia has come to resemble some type of police force. In June, after the killing of 24 Pakistani peacekeeping troops, which was allegedly organized by General Mohammed Farah Aidid's faction, the US strongly supported a Security Council resolution which called for the arrest of General Aidid. After four American soldiers were killed by a remote-controlled mine late in August, the US sent a force of 1,300 American troops known as the Quick Reaction Force along with 400 Army Rangers and 2,800 logistical troops.

The animosity of some factions in Somalia towards the UN force was now partly directed towards the US and its forces in Somalia. In addition, a large number of the people in Somalia supported the warlords, partly because they had secured all the food and others could only receive some through support. Not only was the US forces under pressure from within Somalia, but the US Congress was also contemplating a change in the mission of otherwise pulling out the forces from the devastated region. In a resolution passed on September 28 1993, in which 406 members voted for and 26 members voted against, the House of Representatives demanded the President Clinton "seek Congressional authorization by November 15 to continue to deploy troops there." On October 3, 1993, two US helicopters were shot down by members of General Aidid's faction, which resulted in the death of 18 US soldiers and 300 Somalia civilians, as well as the hospitalization of 700 injured Somalia women and children and 75 Americans. 20 members of Aidid's faction were taken into custody by US military forces.

...the US sent a force of 1,300 American Troops known as the Quick Reaction Force along with 400 Army Rangers and 2,800 logistical troops...

On October 6, 1993, President Clinton expressed his belief that the US had to fix a withdrawal date for her forces in Somalia. He said, "Today we are completing the job of establishing security in Somalia that will not only permit those who are now living there to enjoy the immediate

fruits of our common efforts with our allies in the United Nations, but also to prevent that terrible crisis from occurring as soon as we are gone. It is essential not only that we conclude our mission in Somalia, but that we do it with the firmness and steadiness of purpose."

His determination to withdraw American troops from Somalia was illustrated in his proposal to withdraw them by March 31, 1994. In the latter month of 1993, the US was trying to develop an informal truce with General Mohammed Farah Aidid and his militant faction which would perhaps allow the US to resolve the crisis in Somalia before the withdrawal of her troops in March of 1994. Although the amount of violence in the capital of Somalia, Mogadishu, has decreased lately, the amount of violence elsewhere in the country has escalated, as other regionally powerful factions battle with Aidid's continually expanding faction. This has many experts believing that Somalia will once again find itself in the throes of a civil war.

All efforts by the international community to help Somalia seem to have been somehow thwarted by the internal forces. UN peacekeeping troops have not completed what they set out to do, but have instead suffered attacks from different warlords. The US, who seemed to be particularly aggressive in this case, has not done much better it appears. Yet the question still remains, what does international responsibility mean in this case and point? What are the international community's obligations if any to the people in Somalia? Is there a point where responsibility is no longer a useful concept in a crisis like this? In this case, talk of international responsibility has proven easier than action.

The Israeli-Palestinian Accord

Recent years have offered us several spectacular happenings in the international stage. Many would agree that none was more impressive than the PLO-Israeli Peace Accord of September, 1993. This unforeseen political magic did not appear from the bottom of a hat. This diplomacy was the culmination of innumerable hours of negotiations by both parties,



Social and Environmental Responsibility



Human Rights

The United Nations has recognized that a basic set of human rights is inherent in every individual. In 1948, the UN General Assembly put forth a Universal Declaration of Human Rights in which it proclaimed that "the United Nations is committed to upholding, promoting and protecting the human rights of every individual." But many people are often denied these human rights. Therefore it is the responsibility of the international community to uphold the exercise of human rights around the world.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states in Article 1 that "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights." It also declares that "all people should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood." No one should be denied these rights on the basis of color, race, sex, language, religion, types of opinion, property or status according to the Declaration. All peoples have the right to "life, liberty and security of person." Slavery, torture, abusive treatment, and cruel punishment are among the things prohibited by the Declaration. However, these rights are not a reality for many.

What is done to remedy this situation? The first article of the UN Charter states that one of the purposes of the UN is to "achieve international cooperation... in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms." However, the charter does not define the limit of the UN's involvement in domestic jurisdiction concerning human rights. Article 2 states as a general principle that there is nothing in the Charter to "authorize the UN to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state." This questions the extent to which the UN can investigate alleged violations of human rights.

The charter also does not bind nations to recognize human right as a legal obligation, and while Article 2 of the charter stresses "the sovereign equality of all its members." The Declaration and Charter may clearly define what rights individuals have, but it is not easy for the international community to act on violations, for sovereign states have discretionary power in the treatment of their population. Yet the international community can threaten to or even use

force to save an oppressed minority when it is felt that the sovereign state has been especially unfair. People feel that action against alleged violators can be justified even without the permission of the UN in cases of arbitrary abuse of religious or ethnic minorities.

There is worldwide abuse of human rights and the majority of nations agree that this something that should be stopped. But how to stop this abuse and produce a clear cut policy on the denial of human rights and intervention has proven difficult. Countries feel a moral responsibility to act when human rights are denied. However, the problem of when to interfere and how to do it have been clearly demonstrated by situations like the one in Bosnia.

Women's Rights

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that "Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedom set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind such as race, colour, sex..." But despite this, many believe that women's rights have been overlooked and have not been given their deserved attention by the international community. Although the rights of women may be clear, the enforcement of these rights is not a reality in most areas of the world. Women are discriminated against on the basis of their gender. Cultural relativism, barriers on opportunities, and violence has stopped women from having the rights and freedoms the Declaration claims they are entitled to.

Cultural relativism or cultural sensitivity continues to be a defense for why women's rights are not fully maintained in some places. In other words, do women have certain inalienable rights that override even the traditional practices of their culture? In some countries, beating women is acceptable because it is an age old custom. To deny the custom would supposedly be to deny part of the culture. A more precise example is dowry deaths in India. Although dowries have been outlawed since 1961, young women are sometimes beaten and then set on fire by their husbands if their dowries are insufficient. These deaths are then reported as suicides or

accidents by the family. The Ahmadabad Women's Actions group said that approximately 1000 women died in deaths like these in 1987. Dowries are a cultural practice, but many question the international community's right to insist that women not suffer because of it. The world has denounced other cultural practices that involve slavery and torture because they abuse human rights. Why are women's rights not treated as human rights?

Women have been fighting barriers that stop them from receiving the same attention for human rights as men. Many believe that legal changes must be made in order to break these barriers that exclude women from the same opportunities as men in politics, health care, employment, and education. This is supported by the fact that the World Health Organization has found that girls in many countries get less food and medical attention than boys and thus have higher health deficiency and death rates. If women receive less medical care, less food, less education and more work than men as children, they will certainly not have the same advantages as men when they are older. Hence, the inequality is perpetuated. But it has been recently argued by some nations that human rights are not universal. They say developing countries should not have to worry about human rights in such detail because the country's progress is a more important priority. This, of course, puts women's rights at the bottom of the list. Many nations are faced with the decision on whether to push human rights or developmental needs.

A common concern of organizations promoting women's rights around the world is violence against women. Women are targeted for certain types of violence like rape, infanticide, genital mutilation, wife murder, sex tourism and assault because of their gender. In 1991, it was determined that more than 80 million African women alone have suffered some type of genital mutilation. Since violence against women often occurs in a domestic setting, it is hard to help the victims. Domestic violence against women is often performed by their husbands, fathers, or lovers. A 1991 study found that battery is the leading cause of injury to adult women in the US while the New York Times reported that eleven and a half is the median age at which girls are sexually assaulted in the US. Yet, the Declaration of Human Rights prohibits torture.

However, violence that occurs outside the home is taking on a new concern. Evidence found by the United Nations war crimes commission contends that raping women is used as a strategy of war in the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict. Systematic rape drives people out their homes allowing soldiers to seize their land. Although rape has been a part of war since the beginning of history and the Geneva Conventions forbids it, people are just now starting to consider it a human rights violation and taking appropriate actions. Rape however is not the only type of violence against women outside the home, there is also prostitution. Enforced prostitution is also prohibited by Geneva Conventions, but this ban is not successfully enforced. In 1990 it was found that five to eight thousand women were working in "illegal" prostitution in Bangkok. In many ways, enforced prostitution is a type of slavery and yet slavery is denounced as an abuse of human rights in the Declaration of Human Rights.

In 1991, it was determined that more than 80 million African women alone have suffered some type of genital mutilation...

In the month of June in 1993, the World Conference for Human Rights took place in Vienna, Austria. Some 950 organizations for women appeared, effectively showing that there is a global movement on behalf of women's rights. The world has a responsibility according to UN doctrine to enforce and protect human rights. Yet women's rights seemed to have been ignored. Can the international community continue to dismiss reported practices like clitoridectomy performed on girls as young seven and sometimes without anesthesia where parts of her vagina are removed and the rest is sewn together to prevent copulation? Can the international community also dismiss reported incidents in Asian cities where girls and women are chained naked on catwalks because they are for sale to European and Asian businessmen? Responsibility surely means the abolition of these occurrences because they are such flagrant violations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Yet the abuse of women's rights, which are human rights, is still rampant around the world.

Children's Rights

Life is becoming harder for the children of this generation. This is not only happening in developing countries but also increasing in industrialized countries. The highest percentage of child poverty among industrialized nations is in the U.S., 24 percent, but Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the U.K. have approximately nine percent child poverty. Children do not seem to be a high priority in many countries. In the U.S. during the 1980's, less than five percent of the federal budget was spent on programs to support families with children. In Canada during the 1990's the spending on Senior Citizens was 2.7 times greater than what was allocated to the young.

The lack of funding or the lack of proper distribution results in terrible and yet preventable consequences for the world's children. For instance, over 60 percent of the 12.9 million child deaths each year are caused by pneumonia, diarrheal diseases, vaccine-preventable diseases or by a combination of the three. Yet the right amount of aid could fix things like this. Twenty dollars per year is all it would take to provide one child with a rudimentary education in countries such as Bangladesh and Colombia. In other places in Africa and India, child malnutrition can be cut in half with even less than ten dollars a child per year. Basic health and education services are often less expensive than predicted and yet children are still suffering unnecessarily.

Child neglect also appears in the home where children do not receive enough attention. This is often because both parents are under tremendous financial pressure to support the family. This pressure is, in turn, a result of economic hard times. In many countries the increase in low-wage jobs was startling between 1975 and the 1990's. To bring up the family income, more women have begun to work outside the home. But instead of increased earnings, the family finds itself working long hours for approximately the same income. As the pay decreases the number of working women increases. The ability to take care of one's family is being jeopardized. However, the contrary was happening in Europe in the 1980's. For example, in the previous Federal Republic of Germany, hourly labor earnings

were increased by 1.3 percent a year and in France by 0.9 percent a year.

As economic pressures increase, parents are forced to spend more time to earn a living and less time to their children. Working hours over the last ten years have increased. Children are without parental guidance for long periods of time. This situation is aggravated by the threat of unemployment. Being laid off often means that one can no longer take care of one's family. However, working too long and too hard to do so means less time for the children. Meanwhile, in many countries, the children have no one to help them with homework. They are taught to come home alone and lock the door after themselves. Their role model is often the television. A lot of the time children will watch programs and not understand the significance of what is happening on T.V. or the influence it has over them. When the parents do return home from a usually exhausting day at work, they do not have the energy to spend time with their children.

People who come to understand this have formed committees to acknowledge children's rights. These committees, including UNICEF, UN Committee on Rights of the Child, and Defense for Children International (DCI), are all dedicated to taking children's opinions, point of views into consideration. If a child is being mistreated by his parents, he has the right to ask for better treatment. If that treatment is to be found elsewhere, the child has the right to be placed in that environment temporarily or permanently.

While the neglect and suffering of children still occurs, many believe the world has reason to be encouraged. For instance, the 80 percent immunization target has been achieved in the developing world which saves approximately three million children's lives a year. The 1990 World Summit for Children also brought forth a bigger commitment on the part of the international community. Most would agree that if the world has responsibility to anything or anyone, it has a responsibility to take care of its children.

World Health Organization

The World Health Organization, or WHO, is an organization which carries massive responsibilities for health around the world. Its objective is to ensure all peoples the highest possible level of health.

After a conference on health was held in Paris in 1851, a code was drawn up to prevent travelers from carrying disease between countries. On April 7, 1948, after being ratified by a sufficient number of states, this code was enacted as the WHO constitution.

WHO is the second largest inter-governmental agency that works through the UN Economic and Social Council. Much of the WHO's time and money is spent on international concerns, such as the dangers of infectious diseases. Their work consists of researching, coordinating programs, compiling and distributing information, and setting international standards for such matters as drug purity and water safety.

WHO is better known for its work in the field. One of WHO's most dramatic and far-reaching battles has been against malaria and its carrier, the Anopheles mosquito in Asia and Africa.

It is not only the poorer and less developed countries that receive help from WHO, however. Denmark, for example, which has one of the finest health services in the world, found that it also had serious problems of school drop-out and child delinquency. The Danes decided to set up children's psychiatric clinics to combat the problem, and WHO aided their efforts by sending out experts from the United States to plan the clinics and train the staff. WHO maintains an international staff of nurses and doctors. They work around the world fighting epidemics and curing illnesses, and often help countries organize their own training centers and nursing services.

As old problems are solved, new ones unfortunately often arise. Although cases of malaria are decreasing, new deadly viruses such as HIV, or the Human Immunodeficiency Virus, which is known to cause AIDS and diseases like cancer, are the next target.

The WHO and Breast Cancer

Since 1950, breast cancer has been on the

rise. Then, the chances of developing it were one in twenty. Today, the chances are one in nine: a 57 percent increase. In 1990 alone, 180,000 cases and 46,000 deaths were reported.

It is often said that a fatty diet is the cause of breast cancer, but the basis of this information ignores the presence of contaminants in fat, such as carcinogenic pesticides, which have been known to cause breast cancer in rodents. Elevated levels of DDT and PCB are found in human breast cancers. These pesticides increase risk by either mimicking or actually triggering an increase in estrogen production. The number of pesticides used continues to grow. According to WHO, one million people every year are adversely affected by pesticides. They also cause health problems other than cancer, such as dermatitis.

There is some evidence that mammography is not necessary and might even be a harmful procedure. The breast is highly sensitive to radiation, especially in premenopausal women. The risk of developing breast cancer goes up approximately one percent every rad (Radiation Absorbed Dose) unit of x-ray exposure. This means that the risk of developing breast cancer increases about ten percent every time a woman undergoes a mammogram. 40 percent of women have had mammograms since the 1960s, some annually, with exposures of anywhere from five to ten rads per screening, if older equipment was being used.

Breast cancer is not the only cancer on the rise, however. The incidence of cancer overall has increased by forty-four percent since 1950, striking one in three people. One in four cases result in death. Colon cancer is up 100 percent, and other cancers, such as malignant melanoma, have gone up more than 100 percent. However, breast cancer remains the greatest killer of women of all diseases.

The WHO and AIDS

As the specialized agency of the United Nations with responsibility for directing and coordinating international health work, WHO has a central role in developing, coordinating and leading the global response to the AIDS epidemic.

While the number of AIDS cases around the world are dramatically increasing, nations are show-

ing great solidarity in battling this common enemy — one that attacks rich and poor countries alike. In 1985, WHO drafted a global strategy for AIDS prevention and control. This marked the beginning of the third phase of the AIDS epidemic, that of global mobilization. The Global AIDS Strategy was reviewed and revised, and in May 1987, it was approved and adopted by the fortieth World Health assembly as the basis for a worldwide response to the AIDS epidemic.

The Global Program on Aids, GPA, is designed to promote world-wide coordination in the fight against AIDS, to provide technical and financial support for individual countries, and to gather accurate information about the disease. GPA facilitates and promotes biomedical, social, behavioral, and epidemiological research on HIV infection and AIDS.

AIDS threatens to disrupt the world economy and bring entire countries down. Today, a decade after AIDS was first diagnosed, the WHO is projecting that by the year 2000, 30 to 40 million people will be infected with AIDS.

The Global AIDS Strategy aims to unite countries all over the world in a coordinated and effective way to prevent the spread of AIDS and to reduce its impact on individuals and societies. WHO depends on all nations to accept an international responsibility for AIDS, and unify their efforts to combat it.

Today, GPA is working with over 150 countries. It has provided financial support worth over US \$60 million to 127 countries, and technical support through more than 1,000 consultant and expert missions for planning, training and implementing in the field. The US is the GPA's largest donor and was the first country to contribute to the UN organization. WHO will continue to develop the Global AIDS Strategy in collaboration with national and international organizations. WHO is also trying to provide developing countries with sterilizing equipment for hypodermic needles and to educate health workers in antiseptic techniques.

WHO announced in October 1991 that it plans to begin testing experimental vaccines on animals and to begin using them on human volunteers. Once an experimental vaccine has been shown to be safe, WHO plans to carry out effectiveness studies

involving a few thousand volunteers in Brazil, Rwanda, Thailand and Uganda. They will be immunized and their health will be monitored over several years.

AIDS is not the only medical problem confronting the world, and the WHO also combats malaria, cholera and other diseases. These are all related to the larger issue of poverty facing many developing nations. Unsanitary conditions, lack of birth control, and general poverty that lead to prostitution and drug addiction all contribute to the spread of AIDS and other diseases. Addressing these problems in schools may be the most comprehensive strategy for fighting them, but funding health organizations and providing medical aid overseas are also important. After a certain point, however, there are limits to what institutional solutions can accomplish. Individual responsibility is also necessary for fighting such diseases as AIDS.

WHO is an excellent example of what many consider to be international responsibility. WHO shows how the unity of nations can successfully confront problems that are seemingly unstoppable. Rather than always acknowledging areas where there is a lack of responsibility, we can look to WHO to show us what a united world can potentially do.

Indigenous People

The United Nations defines indigenous peoples or indigenous nations as people who continue to "consider themselves distinct... and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity... in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions, and legal systems." Indigenous peoples make up four percent of the world's population, roughly 300 million people, and are found on all continents. However they have suffered horrendous treatment by the rest of the world, including changes in their environment, invasions of their land, broken treaties, violence, abuse, discrimination, poor health care and living conditions, attacks on parts of their culture, economic exploitation, and destruction of sacred property. Hence the question remains, what

are their rights as the "first peoples" of the world and how can they be implemented, secured and protected.

Critical to the survival of indigenous peoples and their cultures is their right to the land they inhabit and use. "The land gives sustenance to all, makes the family possible, and is the basis for the existence of people as a separate culture." (Zinsser, 1994) However, countries have often taken land away from the indigenous peoples living within their borders, many times breaking legal agreements in the process. In the Americas, there were repeated instances where governments or their agents massacred indigenous people in order to acquire their land. At other times, governments have simply redefined legal terms so that they would no longer have to hold to promises about land they had previously made. A North American Supreme Court in 1980 denounced the forced sale of the Black Hills, a sacred site of the Teton Sioux. (Zinsser, 1994). Governments have also been known to treat indigenous people as immigrants, like the Dakota Nations in Canada who were made to move from territory to territory.

Indigenous peoples make up 4% of the world's population, roughly 3 million people, and are found in all continents...

The difference in the ways indigenous peoples and the governments use land has also created numerous problems. Governments who take control of the land are often motivated by technology, development, and national security and show little consideration for the people or the environment. Not only do the governments lease, sell, and divide up communal lands, but they make detrimental changes to the environment affecting indigenous peoples. The changes are caused by activities like oil drilling, mining, timber consumption, the construction of dams, and the slash and burn method used to clear land for farming and livestock. The justification for such policies has always been that if the country prospers, so will the indigenous peoples. The damaging consequences of these developments have been particularly noticeable in the Amazon region in South America. The Yanomami people have been threatened because the land they inhabit is rich in gold, and prospective gold hunters have stopped at

nothing, including murder, to usurp this resource. And, as a result of the mining, mercury enters the waterways, killing fish and weakening the indigenous peoples.

Parks and national forests created to help tribal peoples and the environment often work contrary to the needs of the indigenous peoples. The best possible outcome would be that the indigenous people are limited in their means of subsistence for the sake of protecting wildlife. The worst outcome would be that they have to leave their land or become a tourist attraction where they are expected to dress in traditional clothing, perform traditional rituals and pose for pictures. Governments have also tried to help indigenous peoples by resettling them on different lands so that both the government's needs and the people's needs would be met. However, resettling not only takes people away from the land that was once theirs, but also means cultural disintegration, loss of cultural customs, beliefs, history and even death. Land given in compensation is also frequently overcrowded, poor in resources, and involves bureaucratic red tape. This has been similar to the experience of the Kaiapo in the Amazon region who have had to give up their land for the sake of a hydroelectric project.

Massive dams intended to create hydroelectric power are often positioned in rivers that are vital for the survival of certain groups. Not only do they flood land, but with the building of roads, construction settlements, and reservoirs they create standing water that brings disease. Usually these dams run 500 percent over budget and become another burden on countries already in debt. Large numbers of indigenous people must move or perish if they stay in their area when a dam is put up. An example of one case is the Damodar Valley Project in South Asia that will relocate 1.5 million people, five percent of the tribal population in that area. (Zinsser, 1994) The construction of roads, which often comes hand in hand with these hydroelectric projects, brings disease and cuts broad lines through forests, like the Trans Amazonian Highway built in the early 1960s. Governments have shown little sensitivity to these problems and have been slow in acting against illegal claims and murders of tribal leaders who protested the invasion of their land.

However, it is important not to assume that

indigenous peoples are against all technological advances and development. They have been known to use explosive harpoons to catch whales, chain saws for gardening work, motorized boats to transport goods and video cameras to record their history. What they want is to be informed and involved in the planning of programs that affect them. Yet, they find themselves losing their livelihood and rights guaranteed by the United Nations for the sake of developers. At the 1992 World Conference on the Environment, many experts admitted that indigenous peoples have used land in a less damaging way than technological developers.

Alleged attempts to educate people about indigenous groups have caused harm. Museums have been accused of not only this but also of desecrating sacred properties and burial sites in order to acquire artifacts. Indigenous peoples are often depicted with "barbaric" demeanors and Neanderthal ways in educational material that have made them seem inferior instead of equal. Films and commercial entertainment have done the same, misrepresenting groups without consulting them. Many believe that having a voice in how one's culture is depicted is an important right.

Self determination has been an important issue for indigenous groups. This calls for legal recognition of their "sovereignty" which is threatening to governments who see this as a danger to national security. Governments fear secession on the part of indigenous peoples although these groups have denied such intentions. Often, indigenous groups desire autonomy within legal entities: the right to define their own membership; to have authority over their lands, water and air space; to have their own institutions and means of earning a living; to have the right to administer internal taxes and social services; and to give consent to the development happening in their area. A meeting of experts in Nuuk Greenland for the United Nations said that "the realization of this right [autonomy] should not pose a threat to the territorial integrity of the State [in which the indigenous people live]." (Zinsser, 1994) However, governments have not always accepted the need for autonomy of indigenous groups. They continue to say that they have taken into account the views and needs of these people existing within their borders.

Ethnocide is what the United Nations calls the destruction of cultures. Governments that claim authority over indigenous peoples have often believed that their beliefs, customs and language, essentially their culture, is superior to that of the indigenous peoples and should prevail. When this has been the case, governments have tried assimilation, the process of making indigenous peoples join the dominant culture and reject their own. Governments have used education, forced separation, religious conversion and the media to accomplish this. Indigenous peoples have also been militarized and their land has been used for military purposes. Some countries have even placed nuclear arsenals on their lands.

Indigenous peoples have frequently formed their own associations, councils and federations which have brought them in contact with the United Nations. The UN has begun to recognize their special circumstances, their needs, and is even in the process of helping to formulate a Declaration of the Indigenous Peoples. Although progress is not as fast as some would like, the UN seems to be addressing the issues and rights that have been ignored for a long time. The Declaration will address such areas as human rights, international law, land and territories, biodiversity and conservation, development, and cultural property. In terms of rights, the Declaration will talk about indigenous women's, cultural heritage, self determination, language, health, shelter, and more. The world has a responsibility to indigenous peoples and their survival. The Declaration will confirm this.

When the Declaration and the Charter of the indigenous peoples are mandated, nations will no longer be able to ignore or abuse indigenous groups. In recent decades, and especially the last, indigenous peoples have made tremendous strides towards gaining their rights. However, some would claim that this is little in comparison to what they have lost. International responsibility means that the world has an obligation to protect and help these peoples. It also means that nations must attempt to compensate them when possible. It is not always possible to redress someone's losses, but the world community would be making a significant change in just altering its policy towards these people and ensuring their survival. As a draft of the Indigenous Peoples' Earth

Charter proclaims in its first statement, "We demand the right to life."

Education

Education, as defined in The Convention on the Rights of the Child Article 29, "...shall aim at developing the child's personality, talents, and mental and physical abilities to the fullest extent. Education shall prepare the child for an active adult life in a free society and foster respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural background and values of others." In addition to the education received in childhood, the state is also required to provide the means to further education, as stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, article 26 part 1: "Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free at least in elementary and fundamental stages. Education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit." Furthermore, education is a significant method for facilitating social respect. Article 26, part 2 declares that education "...shall promote understanding, tolerance, and friendship among all nations, racial, or religious groups and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace."

Education, encompassing all of these aspects, is the responsibility of the State. Because elementary education begins to shape the minds of a society at a relatively young age, it has an extreme impact on their ideas and outlook, whether it is used to promote tolerance or distrust of others. Education is occasionally corrupted with bias and propaganda against other cultures or ideas. A classic example would be the Nazi "brain washing" in the German educational system in the 1930s which promoted a national hatred of other races and religions. The lack of education, which could positively promote an understanding of other cultures, also results in narrow views.

Unequal, failing social structures can stem from an inadequate amount of academic education. Education extends beyond culture and is necessary for the survival of a modern society. The claim

"Knowledge is power" is verified by the disparities between Third World and developed countries. Literacy and some form of technical knowledge are regular requirements for employment. In developing countries the literacy rates are often below 20%, while those in developed countries range from 90% to 100%. This inequality in literacy rates can be attributed lack of time or money being spent on education.

The responsibility to educate belongs to the State. The United Nations facilitates and provides assistance. The Rights of the Child, Article 28, declares, "The state's duty is to ensure that primary education is free and compulsory, to encourage different forms of secondary education accessible to every child and to make higher education available to all on the basis of capacity. The state shall engage in international cooperation to implement this right." Beyond the state, however, there is an international responsibility to ensure that the United Nations demands for education are met.

The Environment: A Global Problem

The environment is a global problem because it does not confine itself to man-made borders; all nations are all affected by it. However, change is not simple. Many people lose their jobs for the sake of protecting the environment. Why should the average person care whether future generations suffer because of what is done now to feed one's family? Can there be a solution to this dilemma? This problem cannot be viewed solely from a personal point of view. We must connect it to long-range economics and only then will we understand what decisions have to be made.

The fact is the environment transcends national borders and environmental problems in one country affect others. In 1986, the nuclear power plant at Chernobyl, located in the former Soviet Union, created an international crisis when it leaked radiation into the environment. The problem was first noticed when irregular test ratings occurred off

the coast of Sweden, not in the Soviet Union where the incident happened. Another example is water pollution. Countries often pollute international waterways with a waste product known as sludge. It has a burning effect on water-life and causes many species, like crabs who ingest it, to become inedible to humans. Their body tissues accumulate heavy metals and other pollutants and become carcinogenic. Although only a few countries dump sludge in the ocean in extreme amounts, all countries are affected by this.

The dilemma between jobs and the environment can be seen in countries with rainforests. Farmers who work in Brazil and in many of its neighboring countries are being blamed for destroying these rainforests. But poverty, inflation, and hunger puts them in a difficult position. The question becomes, "Should we cut down the rainforest, sell the wood to some industrialized country, plant potatoes for French fries, make grazing land for cattle to produce hamburgers, or should we starve to death because we can't get work anywhere else?" Hardly any consideration goes into this question, and the Brazilians consider the outside world's preoccupation with the rainforests an invasion of their national sovereignty. The dilemma in Brazil and other countries demonstrates that economic success may not be the same as environmental success.

What may be even worse is that those with the most economic success are also the most environmentally destructive. This is seen in an article by John Miller called "The Wrong Shade of Green: Orthodox Economics Puts Profits before Sustainability". He argues that it has been wrongly assumed that the world's market system gives everyone an equal voice no matter who they are or what country they belong to. "The richest 20% of the world's people have 150 times the income--and therefore far more power--than the poorest 20%. And the world's wealthiest nations, which have 25% of the population, consume 70% of its resources. Not surprisingly, they also spew out most of the world's pollution. The industrial world accounts for up to 90% of the Carbon Dioxide (CO₂) (mainly from fossil fuel burning) that has so far accumulated in the earth's atmosphere." Miller comments.

Miller also argues that market solutions to environmental problems enforce rather than fix this

inequality. " They shove environmental problems under the carpet by shifting pollution and environmental degradation from the wealthy to poor areas--both within countries and from the industrial world to the Third World--rather than seeking ways to prevent pollution." he notes. He cites the industrial world and the southern United States. The industrial world ships approximately 20 million tons of waste to the developing world each year. In the southern United States, three out of every four off-site commercial hazardous waste landfills were located in predominantly African-American communities even though African-Americans only make up 20 per cent of that region's population (according to a study done in 1983 by the US General Accounting Office).

What has been done? In June, 1992, in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, the United Nations held a conference on environment and development. The result was the creation of a number of international policies, but few, if any, are being currently implemented. Other areas seem to show signs of international cooperation, such as environmental testing and fact compilation in the Antarctic region. Although these activities may seem unimportant, Antarctica is thought to be the virtual epicenter of changes and conditions for the entire planet. Water which passes through all of the major bodies of water on the earth has passed and will pass through the Antarctic region again. However, the progress made at present is not nearly enough according to most concerned environmentalists.

We are still left with many environmental and ecological problems, most of which are difficult for us as a global community to deal with: we lack the capital for the proper equipment and we refuse to trust one another on vital environmental issues. Many, if not all, countries of the world recognize that we need to bring our environment back to a point where it will remain stable, but they do not agree on a method for bringing this about and therefore every little has been done.

Energy

Energy is a necessity of life; our industrial

and economic growth will be accompanied by an increased demand for energy. Therefore, long term availability of energy resources must be taken account for a secure future.

There are two forms of energy resources; one is non-renewable such as coal, oil, natural gas, and wood and the other is renewable such as geothermal, solar, wind, hydropower and biomass. The term "non-renewable resource" implies that such resources are finite. Because of the limited supply and the fact that they produce carbon dioxide, the chief cause of global warming, the consumption of these fuels should be reduced, replacing them with alternative renewable resources. However, it is very difficult to replace non-renewable resources, because additional technological development is needed before some of the renewable resources can compete with non-renewable resources.

Natural gas is used in many areas, especially for home heating and for special processes in industry. American industry uses about 48% of all natural gas; residential and commercial use accounts for about 37%; electricity production now uses over 14%. The amount of electricity we get from natural gas will rise in the 1990s as new gas-fired power plants are built. The price of natural gas today is very low. Because of this, some experts worry whether we will have the new supplies of natural gas needed in the 1990s. Increasing the number of natural gas-fired power plants could also increase dependence on foreign oil for many countries. Already, nearly two thirds of all power plants that use natural gas can switch from gas to oil, and must do so if natural gas supplies run short. While natural gas will play an important role in the production of energy, it would be unwise to depend on it or any other fuel by itself as the only source to meet our growing energy needs.

At 10 percent of total, hydropower was our third leading source of electricity (behind coal and nuclear) in U.S. in 1991. But America has already used up most of its large-scale hydroelectric potential. There are simply not enough new dam sites that can be tapped for major new electrical generating capacity.

Energy Sources Used To Generate U.S. Electricity in 1991:

54.8% Coal	9.3% Gas
21.8% Nuclear	3.8% oil
9.9% Hydro	0.4% other

Other renewable resources such as geothermal, solar, wind and biomass, including wood wastes and municipal garbage, show great promise. They can contribute more in the years ahead. But they now provide less than one half of one percent of our electricity in U.S. and their contribution will not be much larger than that by the year 2000, according to the U.S. Department of Energy. Sunlight is abundant and free. So far, however, the cost of converting it to energy is not competitive for large scale use, although technological advances continue to bring the cost down. In some parts of U.S., wind power is practical for generating a small portion of the electricity required. Yet all the wind turbines in U.S., produce less electricity than two large nuclear power plants. To provide reliable power when the sun does not shine and the wind does not blow, we must develop technologies to store energy. Until then, both solar and wind power must have backup energy supplies from the major sources including nuclear energy. As mentioned earlier, renewable resources have many problems too. The cost and technologies needed, violation of nature and safety to build, operate and maintain power plants are problems that cannot be avoided. So it is unlikely that, in the foreseeable future, renewable sources will be able to offer economically viable alternatives to fossil fuels of such magnitude that they will have a significant impact on the world's environment or overall energy balance. Nevertheless, a growing, but selective, role for renewables looks inevitable.

Since industrial and developed countries have more technologies and money and consume more energy than less industrial and less developed countries. Developed countries should look for and consume alternative renewable resources in order to conserve the finite resources and save the environment, and leave the economically priced non-renewable energy resources to the less developed countries. International responsibility involves careful usage of energy by all nations and the search for renewable sources of energy.

Biodiversity

Biodiversity is the variety of all life forms in an ecosystem. It has been threatened since humans first started to emigrate to the neighboring islands of continents. About 73 percent of the large-mammal genera and large birds that lived in the late Pleistocene Era are extinct. These extinctions occurred about the same time that Paleo-Indian hunters began to enter the New World, some 11 to 12,000 years ago.

When Polynesians travelled to the Pacific Islands, the first thing they needed when they got there was food. Slow, flightless birds and large mammals that had never encountered such evolved predators as humans were easy to catch and provided sufficient food. The earliest Americans were also big-game hunters, hunting mammoths and bison. When humans first went to Australia and New Zealand around 1000 A.D., they killed off the large, flightless moa birds along with at least twenty other species. Many experts believe it is not just a coincidence that the extinction of these animals occurred at the same time that humans first began to live there.

Biodiversity is one of our most valuable and least appreciated resources. Few people are aware of how greatly we depend on wild plants and other organisms for medicine, whether it be common painkillers like Aspirin or cures for deadly diseases like Hodgkins disease. Plants and organisms have cured things like, inflamed tissue, high blood pressure, fungal infections, and glaucoma. Certain types of anesthetics, antidepressants, and anti-carcinogens have also been found from the biodiversity of life.

Without biodiversity, many medicines might never have been developed. With the ongoing extinction of plants and organisms, we may lose many opportunities to discover the new healing properties of both medicines and the nutritional benefits of different foods, such as fruits and meat. Many foods that are native only to certain countries could provide food not only for the indigenous people but also for others. These foods might also be the key for sustaining some populations.

For thousands of years, people have been destroying the diversity of the world's animal life by poaching certain species, which in turn disrupts the

life-patterns of other animals that depended on them in the food chain. Disrupting natural habitats even very slightly can affect certain species that are finely adapted to their ecosystems. We know how important it is to maintain biological diversity for medicine, food, and most of all, animals, which have rights of their own. Industry has the power to increase productivity while simultaneously protecting biodiversity. For example, kenaf is a woody plant which is found in East Africa, related to cotton and okra, that can be used by pulp manufacturers to make paper pulp. It yields more pulp than many trees, but must be treated with minor chemicals to whiten its fibers. By using kenaf, pulp manufacturers would not have to destroy nearly as many forests to produce paper pulp. Those forests may well contain plants or animals that could be a vital future resource. The world is capable and is responsible for keeping biodiversity intact according to many.

Biodiversity is a major resource of each country, and also, a source of wealth. One example, Mecavor, derived from a fungus, was sold by Merck and Company for \$735 million in 1990. The Costa Rican government was given a share of the profits because the fungus came from the Costa Rica National Institute of Biodiversity. This example demonstrates that biodiversity can bring income to countries who enforce the concept, while making it profitable and useful for their peoples. And greater diversity would enhance the discovery of more products.

Maintenance of biodiversity is needed for the world to progress and to sustain itself. If there are fewer species left, then there is less hope of finding significant cures, medicines and nutritional benefits. The international community has a lot to gain from learning about the biodiversity life, and as much to lose from destroying it. We therefore have a responsibility to maintain biodiversity, not only for us, but for the future of the entire world.

Current Environmental Problems

Although the Cold War may be over, the earth is still threatened by environmental problems. Acid rain, ozone depletion, global warming and deforestation are four problems that the world faces. These problems were caused, or at least exacerbated, by human activities. They cannot be ignored because their devastating consequences affect the biodiversity of life and, ultimately, the human race.

ACID RAIN

Acid rain is precipitation that has reduced levels of pH or acidity. Acid is created by the reactions of ozone, pollutants and water. Ozone is broken down by sunlight into extremely unstable molecular oxygen. It then combines with water to make hydrogen peroxide and hydroxyl radical. Those substances then react with nitrogen oxides from motor vehicles or sulfur dioxides from the combustion of fossil fuels. The end result is acid rain.

Acid rain has threatening consequences. It kills fish in lakes and rivers. Acid rain destroys forests in countries like the UK, Sweden, and Finland although this process is still unclear to experts. And finally, acid rain deteriorates our monuments and buildings. Acid rain can be reduced by burning low sulfur fuels or cleaning sulfur from the fuel during combustion. Acid rain will also decrease when designs for clean automobile emissions are developed. However, nations are often not motivated to respond to these problems because the acid rain created by one country can be exported to another. Smoke stacks, if built high enough, can help companies transport their acid rain pollutants to other countries. The country, which is the victim of acid rain, can then do little to solve the problem.

OZONE LAYER

The ozone layer protects humans from the sun's dangerous ultraviolet radiation which causes cancer and can affect food supplies. Its depletion is therefore a major concern. It is triggered by the production and release of chlorofluorocarbons, also known as CFCs, from products like air conditioning, refrigerators, and aerosols. CFCs, when in the atmosphere, are broken down into chlorine by sunlight and then react with nitrogen dioxide, methane

and ozone to make stable chlorine nitrate and hydrochloric acid reservoirs. In the meantime, ozone is depleted. But the layer is more damaged in the Arctic and Antarctic. Stratospheric clouds of nacreous acid and nitric acid trihydrate cause a chemical reaction where the chlorine reservoirs release molecular chlorine in the winter. When the weather warms up, the molecular chlorine and ozone form chlorine monoxide and oxygen depleting the ozone.

The major users of CFCs are countries like the US, the former USSR, Japan, Germany, Italy, the UK and France. They are responsible for two thirds of all the CFC emissions. Nations should be motivated to stop the use of CFCs because the heaviest users, some of the wealthiest nations, are also among the most concerned with environmental preservation and reducing health risks. Countries would save more money by phasing out the use of CFCs in the long run. Health risks cost more than the extra money needed to develop replacements for these chemicals. Most people would gain rather than lose economically by stopping their use of CFCs. All nations have a stake in this problem because CFCs affect everybody.

GLOBAL WARMING

Global warming is a phenomenon that originates from the green house effect. The green house effect is caused by gases, known as green house gases or GCHs. They absorb and trap radiant heat and infrared radiation but let sunlight through thereby producing a higher mean temperature. GHGs are 50 percent carbon dioxide, 20 percent CFCs, 16 percent methane, 8 percent ozone and 6 percent nitrous acid. Carbon dioxide comes from the combustion of fossil fuels, methane mostly from deforestation, nitrous oxide from fertilizers and CFCs from human industry. CFCs however can trap 20,000 times as much heat as carbon dioxide and methane traps 20 to 30 times as much as carbon dioxide. The increase of GFCs is directly related to the ozone's depletion and deforestation. In the next century the average temperature will rise as much as two to five degrees Celsius according to some estimates. Whether or not global warming is a trend has been disputed, but scientists agree that the temperature of the air will rise from an increase in such gases.

The price of cutting carbon emissions to help stop global warming will be significant for the international community. Both developing and developed countries contribute to this problem, but not many are ready for a large economic sacrifice. Different nations argue different ways to help solve this issue. Countries that have a lot of people living at sea level or those relying on nuclear energy will gain by reducing their carbon emissions. On the other hand, developing countries have more to lose by doing this. The US, in particular, could have to pay significantly to reduce carbon emissions than to pay the price of global warming in the near future. That is why it has been suggested that cutting out only CFCs will be a sizable enough contribution. Nations have been trying to solve this problem, but with the least expense to themselves.

Experts currently estimate that we are losing over 1 acre of rainforest a second, more precisely 80 a minute, and in 1990, we lost 42 million acres of rainforest...

DEFORESTATION

While deforestation has occurred in both temperate and tropical zones, the loss of tropical rain forests has recently become one of the world's biggest concerns. The destruction is caused by miners, loggers, and farmers. Miners hunt for gold and minerals, often upsetting the indigenous people. Loggers chop down the trees and burn the forest. Then farmers and cattle ranchers use the thousands of acres burnt down for agriculture and pasture. After a couple of years, the soil is no longer usable and the farmers move onto new plots. Their slash and burn method has taken so much of the forest away that weather has changed, rains are postponed, and heat has increased. This destruction is greatest in the nations of the Amazon basin like Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela. South America is not the only area where tropical rain forests are being destroyed, but it does have one third of the world's entire rain forest. Brazil, in particular, has three fourths of the Amazon region within its borders.

Experts currently estimate that we are losing

over one acre of rain forest a second, more precisely 80 a minute, and in 1990 we lost 42 million acres of rain forest. The world's rain forest will be exhausted in 50 years if the world continues at this rate. This loss would include the extinction of 25 to 50 percent of all species on the earth. The rain forest is also essential in providing oxygen and absorbing dangerous carbon monoxide. However, some people in Brazil resent environmentalists from countries like the U.S. given the history of deforestation in the U.S. in the 19th century. Why should Brazil not have the same opportunity? Many environmentalists believe, however, that stopping the destruction would be more profitable than continuing with it. Selectively combing the forests for fruits, rubber and other products, in a process called sustainable development, would be six times more profitable than cutting for timber and over that for cattle pasture. Destruction, many environmentalists argue, will only provide short-term income.

Acid rain, ozone depletion, global warming and deforestation are specific environmental problems that must be faced. Almost every member in the international community has played a role in one or more of these issues. Continued destruction of the earth's ecosystems may eventually destroy the human race, and the international community has a responsibility to maintain its global habitat.

Conclusion

Now that the Cold War is over, the international community is facing a significant turning point in history.

But the truth is, it has been facing this turning point for at least four or five years, and it is still waiting to make the turn.

Ideological, political, and economic structures that were built during the Cold War have collapsed, and nations around the world are struggling to climb out of the rubble, and redefine themselves. The words are well-worn: we are no longer polarized by the Cold War; we are in a "New World Order," an "information age," a "communications revolution;" we are interconnected and mediated; we are a "global village;" we must work together, undergo drastic change, and save the planet; we must act globally, think locally, think before we act, act up, and act before it's too late.

We are. . . we must. . . or so we say. But can we? When? We have been here far too long. In spite of the "New World Order," we are still haunted by the old one.

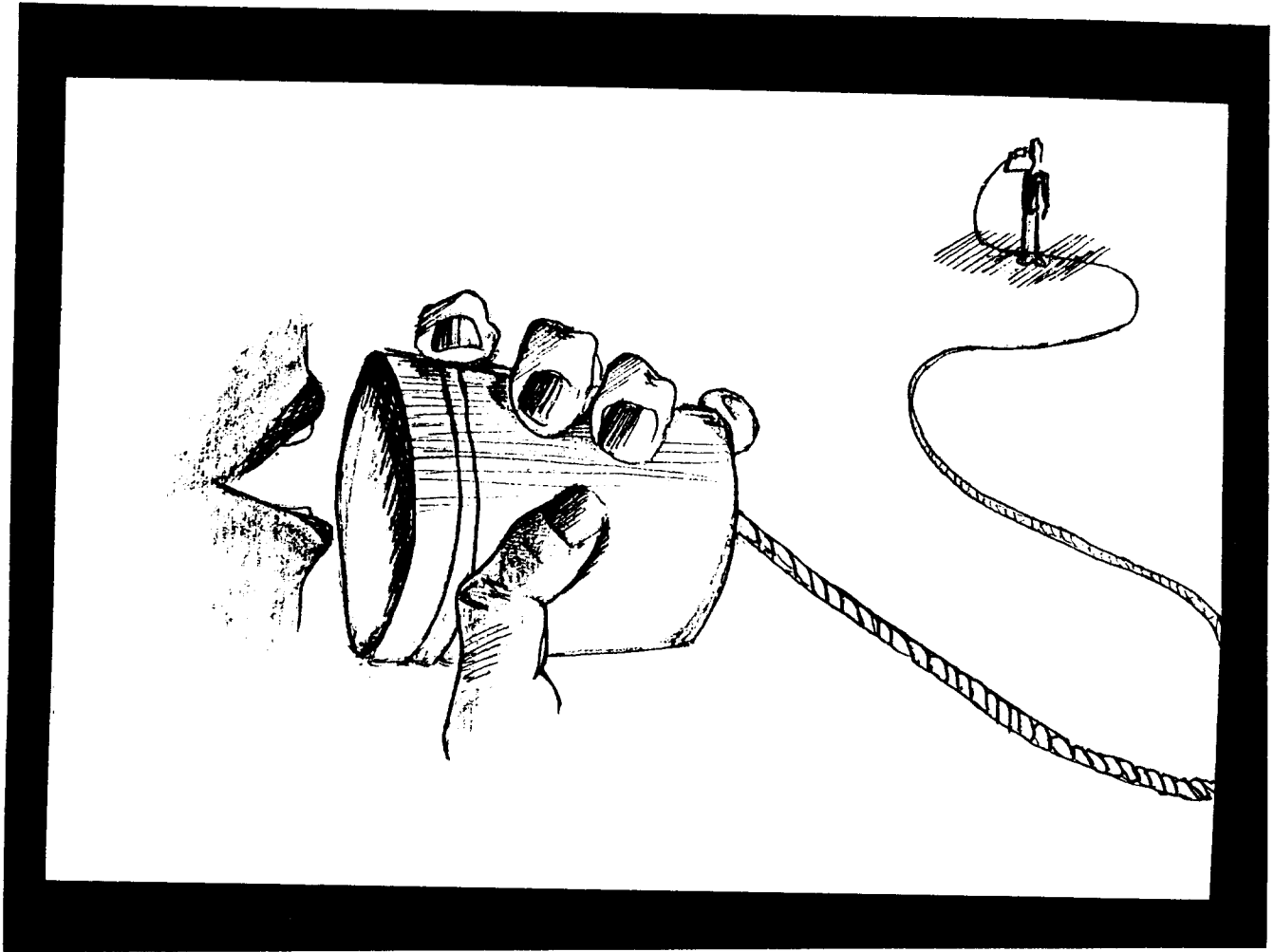
Past UNIS/UN Working Papers have been concerned with Human Rights, Women's Rights, the Environment, Environment and Development, and Ethnic Struggles. International Responsibility encompasses all of these concerns, and more. In many ways, this working paper is only a historically updated version of the 1991 Working Paper, which was entitled, "A New World Order: The Opportunity For Change."

The aim of this working paper has been to make its readers aware of the conflicts and concerns confronting the international community today. International responsibility begins with awareness, but it does not end there.

Responsibility means both awareness and action. International responsibility involves confronting and resolving conflicts, and the underlying problems which lead to conflicts, and not evading or ignoring them. Powerful nations have the most responsibility to the international community, because the consequences of their actions are greatest, but other nations must also assume responsibility. International responsibility is the framework not only for the actions of individual nations, but for cooperative, multilateral action.

The international community has yet to recognize and act on its international responsibility. The only organization that has the power to unite nations is the United Nations itself. Its role must now be reexamined, and strengthened. It must get to work. A viable plan for sustainable development must be put into effect in industrialized and industrializing nations. Constructive action must be taken to help the continuing plights of Bosnians, Somalis, Haitians, Kurds, refugees, indigenous peoples, and all others who need aid and support. The UN charter must be enforced if its laws are to be taken seriously. If the international community takes on its collective responsibility, perhaps five years from now it will reap the rewards that it has been talking about for the past five years.

Why is the international community still unsure of itself? It must gain strength, and grow tighter. Nations are selfish, and conflicts of interest can only be settled in an international arena, such as the United Nations, through power and politics. Nations must realize that they cannot benefit from a secure, peaceful, and democratic world unless they actually help to create it. But with this urgency for immediate, multilateral action, we cannot avoid the question: in whose interests? The bottom line is that self-interested nations, organizations, and individuals



Perceptions

(These perceptions are not necessarily the views of the
UNIS/UN Student Conference Organizing Committee)

The Status of Taiwan

By Michelle Chou and Kuan-Yu Chen

Many people ask the question , " Is Taiwan a country , or a state that belongs to Mainland China ?" This is very strange to us and, at the same time, difficult to answer. If Taiwan is a country , then the name would be " Republic of China. " If Taiwan is a state of China , the name would be " People's Republic of China. " We believe that no one can really answer this question, not even the people who live in Taiwan.

To understand the problem, it is necessary to examine the origins of Taiwan. After the Second World War, during 1949, the Communist Party and the Chinese National Party engaged in a civil war. The outcome of

this struggle was the establishment of Communism in China. For much of this century China was insecure and weak; therefore, the conditions were ripe for the rapid growth of the Communist Party and their revolution. Many People left because they were not willing to live under the ideals of communism. Who, then, left the mainland? The diverse population that moved to the tiny nearby island was made up of the rich and sometimes powerful, including many former military and government personnel. Not everyone had an equal opportunity to leave. Many complex transitional situations occurred during that time, and had long lasting effects on both sides of the sea. The choices were limited: there were only two places to go, either Hong Kong or Taiwan.

At that time, all the capitalistic nations were supportive of the Taiwan Chinese National Party that had originated in China. However, as time passed, the powerful western nations gradually changed their position, yielding to the demands of Communist China. Taiwan was no longer recognized for what it represented, as evidenced by the act that the United States broke diplomatic relations with Taiwan. As a result of this and other foreign political rejections, in 1971, the Peoples' Republic was accepted by the UN as representing China.

In reality, Taiwan is recognized internationally as a state of China. Its people also function as if it were truly a state belonging to China. Taiwan's government believes that its ruling party should control the government of this very tiny island so close to the mainland, but the rulers of China want the power and control to remain with them. But, upon examination of the people, the society, and the economy of Taiwan, one finds that the people are really independent from China. Taiwan works as a separate country.

In Taiwan, there are two important political parties: Kuomintang, the Chinese National Party, [the ruling party], and Democratic Socialist Party which is currently not in power. The National Party members, although born in Taiwan, are made up of Mandarin people who maintain the traditional concepts from the provinces of China. Opposing this group is the Democratic Socialist Party, people who are culturally different although they are Chinese as well. In my opinion, the latter group represents the true Taiwanese spirit. The goal of the Democratic Socialist Party is to define Taiwan as a separate and equal country. The leader of the ruling party states that ultimately, China and Taiwan, as state or country, will be together. The philosophy of the Chinese National Party tries to convince people that even though there is the right to the freedom of speech, this does not include the right to use speech to make people overthrow the Taiwanese government. In other words, although the government allows free thinking, it does not wish its people to act on this liberty and do whatever it wants to. The final point made clear by the leader of the ruling party is that ultimately China and Taiwan will be as one entity.

In the past ten years, Taiwan has achieved enormous economic growth. Taiwan has been accepted in the world market system and recognized by the international community as an economically powerful country distinct from China. Because the relationships between nations are determined by economic interests, the new generation of people in China have recognized Taiwan's economic ability and see an opportunity to learn from Taiwan. Recently, China has opened its markets to international trade. A substantial amount of international goods and services entering China come from Taiwan. Most people not from the region do not realize that business from the island has in the last two years migrated to the mainland along with large investments. Taiwan has gained easy access to China's markets because of its geographical proximity and the cultural advantage of having the same language. China is willing to accept ideas from Taiwan. The people in China want to benefit from the expertise and adopt the know-how of Taiwan. By allowing investments from Taiwan, China's economy will improve in geometric proportions. It is evident that the peoples of China accept this idea as they are clearly moving in this direction.

We believe that in the future, Taiwan and China's economy will become so interrelated that they will become mutually dependent upon each other, forcing them to work together, in spite of their political differences. As the older generations from both locations lose their influence and the new generations of people of Taiwan and China take control, this new arrangement will be accepted. All will live by it, and as promised by our prediction, China and Taiwan will be one entity. The old patterns of the Cold War, which ended in 1989, are being replaced by different ones, as evidenced by evolving Taiwan-China practices.

The Obstacles of Cross-Cultural Communication

by Alec Borisoff

"In my civilization, he who is different from me does not impoverish me -- he enriches me"
Saint-Exupery 1939

This statement may seem like a simple enough assumption. However, cultural differences have proved a major obstacle in international relations. Difficulty stems in part from the obvious differences members of different cultures might bring to bear on their encounters (i.e. obvious differences in dress, food, transportation...etc.). More difficulties to negotiate or acknowledge an opposite arise when members from different cultural groups, on the surface at least, seem similar.

Non-verbal communication is often the major impediment to effective cross-cultural communication. When members from different cultures are not aware of one another's non-verbal communication, misunderstandings often result. A good example would be the Asian culture, a high context, non-haptic (touching) culture. Often, people from this culture will not expect what they are saying to be taken literally; rather, they might put what they are saying, or at least what they are trying to say, into a certain context. People from this particular culture will rarely demonstrate signs of affection in public, and they tend to console more with differences in their tone of voice than to comforting via physical touch.

In contrast, people from such western European countries as Spain and Italy, most Latin American countries, and many middle eastern countries such as Greece, Israel and Syria, are comfortable showing public displays of affection (haptic), and are more inclined to state their thoughts literally (that is, they are low-context cultures). As a result, in both personal or professional situations, when these two totally different types of culture interact, it is not uncommon for one party to stereotype the other ("Those people are so rude; they're always pushing!", "These people are so cold, they never display any warmth."). These overt examples of cultural differences are matched by how different cultures value time, social organization, space, authority, and by obvious language barriers. There are many insignificant non-verbal acts which may have profound effects on one's partner in a cross-cultural encounter. An American, for instance, might in a relaxed position, put his feet up or cross his legs. If his partner were Middle-Eastern, and therefore from a culture that regards showing the sole of a shoe to be a sign of disrespect, the meeting might still continue verbally, but the American would have unwittingly offended the other person, and the conversation or negotiation may become less personal, with a resulting possible lack of productivity or an unsatisfactory outcome.

When the lives of people are at stake, these differences become major obstacles in the pursuit of a peaceful, fair, and acceptable compromise. What if negotiators weren't able to communicate because unknowingly, each negotiator neglected the different ways people from different cultures expect to be treated? Culture must be perceived as a beneficial tool as opposed to an obstacle when communicating. Understanding that different cultures have varying methods of problem solving and different perspectives on dealing with particular problems, will usually prove helpful when members of dissimilar cultures are attempting to communicate with one another.

Natural obstacles such as language will always exist when communicating inter-culturally. Other non-verbal obstacles, however, such as how to greet, how to look at one another, and how to deal with a conflict situation, are all learnable skills, surmountable obstacles. Negotiators must take responsibility for learning about these differences, and pay attention to them if progress with problems of international concern is to be achieved.

Many books have been written in each of these areas, toward the goal of breaking-down the barriers between cultures. It requires the willingness of nations and the goodwill of individual. It is this willingness to open one's heart and mind to the differences that exist between people, that allows, as Saint-Exupery put it, us to be "enriched rather than weakened by these differences."

Violence

by Ruvan Jagoda

Today more and more violent images are thrown before us in the media. Violence is nothing new to people, but now it is more common in my opinion. Violence during war times was considered a just way to resolve problems and hence was supported by many governments. However, violence not only occurs between countries, but in countries.

The US has had a rapid growth in rapes and shootings. The UK recently had a case of a kidnapping and murder of a two year old boy by two eleven-year olds. There is reported ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and there is an on going war in Sri Lanka. In my opinion, much of this violence is due to a lack in communication. The US is known as the "land of opportunity," but it is also now becoming known for its increasing rate of violence. People are often afraid to walk down the streets in fear of drive-by shootings. Many youngsters are deeply influenced by the violent themes which are shown to the American public, and many, like me, are disgusted with it.

Many youngsters are deeply influenced by the behavior displayed by the media day in and day out in the US. Celebrities are often seen on the news, not for little scandals, but for rape and attempted homicide. They are often seen by the youths of America, and young people want to emulate their great heros. This may be part of the reason kids carry guns to school.

Parents do not even know what their children do during and after school hours. Many say that this is a result of arduous work hours, but I think it is because of a lack of communication. If parents reached out to their children and took the time to hear their frustrations, they could both find a constructive way to solve their children's problems. Maybe even schools could have courses on communication. But instead of either of those two alternatives, children spend time in front of the TV.

Just recently, a story of a two year boy, who had been kidnapped, plagued the UK. Later, it was found that two eleven year old boys were responsible. Not only did they kidnap the two year old, but they brutally smashed his head with a brick. Where would two youngsters get such a violent idea? Many blame it on the media and their million dollar films, but what were two eleven year boys doing without supervision? Maybe the boys had emotional problems. I don't believe there was any communication prior to this incident to stop this brutal death.

In Bosnia, many innocent people are being killed because of their religious beliefs. A lot of people say it is due to the old rivalries which have been suppressed for so long. Why were their feelings suppressed? Why did the people not try to break down the barriers of prejudice and hate? Even the UN has tried to help the two sides talk and stop their violence. Many people don't seem to care, because the issue is not the new thing in the media. What the UN needs, in my opinion, is support from other countries rather than a just few key countries. The two sides in Bosnia should have no alternative except to sit down and talk.

Sri Lanka has been at war for many years: not a war with another country, but a war amongst its own people. The reason offered for this war is that the Tamil and the Singhalese wish to have separate parts of this country. Yet, many of them go to school together, play together and work together, only later to destroy years of bonding between the two groups. If Sri Lanka was to separate its different cultures, than it would destroy the unity. If the Singhalese and Tamils sat down and talked out their problems, then maybe it would result in a less violent solution.

The world needs to learn that if there is fighting within their own countries, that there will be more hatred in future generations. Communication is the key element that is needed to bring about this change. First, it should be taught at home and then it should be displayed for society. This would generate unity rather than division. Eliminating violence is part of international responsibility. It is my belief, that the world can only do this through increased communication.

Global Responsibility To Environmental Disaster

by Robert De Gracia

In 1991, when Mt. Pinatubo in the Philippines erupted, panic arose: the Government reported that 875 people had died and nearly 1.2 million people had lost their homes, shops, farms or jobs due to the volcano. Up to half a million victims fled to Manila, increasing population of the already overpopulated capital city. Over 24 towns, and more than 200,000 acres of farmland have been left barren by Pinatubo. Damage and rehabilitation costs are rising, further burdening the Philippines, which was already burdened before the eruption. How does the international community have the patience to deal with sudden disaster? Surely most nations would rather deal with their own domestic problems, which they consider to be more important. The environment has a mind of its own, and we cannot decide when a volcano will erupt, or a flood or hurricane will strike. However, we must deal with the problems that arise whenever nature decides to employ its wrath upon us, no matter what the costs.

The environment should be handled with will, devotion and consistency. The environment should be taken seriously, and should not be set aside whenever potential conflicts arise. Suppose we ignored the disaster and left the Philippines to handle subsequent the problems itself. The results would be obvious, especially considering its economic situation. The damage and rehabilitation costs would only continue to grow in the Philippines if it did not receive any aid from the international community. A disaster like a volcano eruption is an especially brutal case. For the next five years, major mud flow will continue to affect surrounding towns and farmland.

Twenty-two miles south of Mt. Pinatubo lies Bacolor, a once-prosperous trading center of 67,000 people. Although it managed to avoid major damage during the eruption, its streets were destroyed by 15-foot floods, which forced nearly all of its residents to flee. Towns like these will eventually perish if nations have insufficient capital to invest in them. It would be a shame to see more areas like this wither away from terrible disaster. We live collectively. This is our world, and these are our problems. It is necessary that we deal with them, and we do; but we do not deal with them together. Why is that?

In the U.S.A., more than 50 federal programs fund coastal development and redevelopment. The funding includes the costs of the building of highways and bridges and beach restoration. These programs have greatly affected the victims of Hurricane Andrew, where property damages totalled up to US\$15 billion. The US Department of the Interior reported in 1987 that the tax dollars that funded these programs were a major factor that aided massive coastal development in the past 40 years. Coastal development includes controlling beach erosion and rises in sea-level.

Closer to home, my family was asked to donate money to a group that wanted New York City to inhibit its use of incinerators, which pollute the air with toxic fumes. We gave about US \$50, and were told that we would be updated monthly about the progress of the situation. Unfortunately, we never heard from them again. So much for devotion and consistency. Maybe sometimes things just don't work out. There are no solutions to some problems. However, there is such a thing as an attempt. More international involvement would certainly make this world a happier place.

What is the role of the UN in "International Responsibility"?

by Christine Torrey

Article 1 of The UN Charter begins with a pledge to maintain international peace and security; to promote and encourage respect to human rights and equality; to promote international law; and to help develop better standards of life and more freedom for everyone. It has however failed to fulfill its promise. The United Nations is riven by the divergent political aims of the 183 member states. The United Nations reacts to crises and imposes band aid solutions. It is difficult to plan ahead but when confronted by crises, the UN must still respond very rapidly.

The Security Council determines whether a conflict situation between 2 countries constitutes a grave breach of international security and then poses counteractive measures. If it has been decided that action must be taken, economic and political sanctions are imposed. Force is considered a last action. According to the charter, the United Nations could have its own army, but it doesn't. A primary provision in the Charter is that if military intervention should be necessary member states are obliger to make troops available to the United Nations.

During the Gulf War, the Security Council gave the United States one of its permanent members permission to act on the United Nation's behalf. This was largely because the United States is reluctant to fight under the United Nations' command. The United Nations Security Council took action through the United States, because it realized that one can't easily pull together an international fighting force and have it be effective. The Case of Iraq versus Kuwait was submitted to the International Court of Justice in order to determine the common border. The court did this, and the UN marked the border, physically erecting border posts. The United Nations is now patrolling that border. In the ideal case, this is how the United Nations should work. The actions taken in Somalia were the first time the UN has intervned in a humanitarian crisis situation. People were starving to death. The charter does not provide a clause to help people who are starving to death, it only provides for countries who are a threat to the peace. The UN tried to recreate a political structure that the Somalis didn't even like or want, and imposed it on them. The Somalis considered it an act of foreign interference. The plans the United Nations made for political recreation for Somalia were inadequate, a fact which led to the current situation. The Clinton administration's continual changes in its policy on Somalia was another factor which led to further political disruption. Having troops from different countries, with different and often incompatible equipment, and military training (etc.) is anothe cause for what must be considered a failed intervention.

The conflict in the former Yugoslavia was one in which the United Nations would not have been able to intervene, (since it was an internal conflict). This was changed when Germany pushed for international recognition of the constituent republics of former Yugoslavia as independent states. This act enabled the Security Council to intervene. However the intervention was not decisive enough, and the UN continues to be hampered by its policy of using force to defend itself not to deter aggression.

With Somalia, Bosnia and Haiti, people have become so discouraged that they don't want to get involved in any peace-keeping operations. The United Nations is currently in at least 17 different locations on the globe and with the exception of Angola, has proven to be really effective only in the provision of electoral aid (such as in Namibia and Cambodia and soon South Africa). This leaves little room for optimism. The Untied States is now marshaling its armies to deal with one and a half wars at the same time. However, even with all its advanced technology and power, it can't deal with more than one war at a time. How much more would the United Nations have to do to deal effectively with the continuing call for military intervention? The UN's role as the world's policeman is a long way down the road.

Why the World Needs International Responsibility

by David Lyons

"So nature compels us to recognize the fact of mutual dependence, each life necessarily helping the other lives which are linked to it."

Albert Schweitzer

One of the new trends nowadays is the "information superhighway." Information, packed into brief sequences of light, scream across the world, back and forth, like a brilliant game of ping pong. As we plow into the 21st century, the focus of the world is turning towards a global communications system. But the multi-media cosmos is simply the medium for a new global political and economic forum; an interdependent and world spanning design. Trade to intergrate; the economies of the world are cooperating. These links are now becoming necessary, as new markets are needed for the almost universal capitalist system.

Of course, the spread of capitalism is linked to the dissolution of Soviet communism. As Russia and its fellow former Soviet republics fumble in this new political system, others are not so fortunate. The Soviet bloc had stayed the hand of civil war for forty years, but with the fall of the Berlin wall came the loss of stability. Former Yugoslavia has been a warzone for over three years now; in the Caucasus and Kazakhstan, there has been violence. In Russia, civil war almost began when President Boris Yeltsin dissolved the parliament. The end of communism has left China and Cuba alone, one slowly converting to capitalism and the latter suffering from severe sanctions.

Capitalism has shown its flaws as well. Besides a global recession, such occurrences as the BCCI scandal left American and British investors without millions of dollars and simultaneously laundered drug money. The Iran contra affair was simply a way of making money for arms dealers, who sold arms to Iran covertly thanks to government assistance. As the world continues to mesh, the threat of exploitation and misuse of such alliances grows. The Developing World is easy pickings for the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, known as the "Rich Man's Club" because of its wealthy membership status. Sweatshops in Southeast Asia are hosted by such companies as Nike, and children are used to pick jasmine for rich perfume companies.

The modern world has great opportunities before it, yet they are fast becoming real hazards. As ties and alliances grow, so do the dangers. A concept of responsibility must be introduced. With all the rights that countries now have, they must also realize the consequences of their actions, and consider their magnitude of every treaty they sign, every government they support, and everything else. A country must not only look at national security and the effect on their voters as they do now, but how it affects the people of another country. India was made by the World Bank to open its markets or face the wrath of sanctions. The result was that the the price of rice, the staple food for 30 percent of the population, (roughly nine hundred million people who live in poverty), rose substantially. Meanwhile decadent items such as television sets became cheaper. The very rich of India were therefore able to buy more televisions and the companies that sold them made more money.

International responsibility is crucial now that the nations of the world are supporting each other in a house of cards that grows more complicated by the minute. A certain set of guidelines, rules of engagement, in essence a sign of compassion and empathy, is needed in the fabric of our world politics. To recognize the problems of another nation and to assist them should not be for self benefit, but out of pure humanitarian motives. Ulterior motives are no longer feasible and are damaging to the world community. Actions must not be taken out of the world context, or someone will become the victims of the damage of whatever prosperity that is born. When nations look at their policy, their treaties, their programmes, their goals, some restraint must be invoked to secure the safety of other nations and their people. Problems abroad cannot be dismissed any longer as "someone else's problem," but as a problem that may need to be dealt with by the international community.

Finally, the individuals role should be taken into account. In many countries this is not possible because of the political atmosphere, or the individual's economic status. Where the individual has the right to voice

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Special Thanks to

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" 'Treat others as ends, never as means.' And myself as an end only in my capacity as a means: to shift the dividing line in my being between subject and object to a position where the subject, even if it is in me, is outside and above me - so that my whole being may become an instrument for that which is greater than I."

Dag Hammarskjold, Markings

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