

The 1990 Draft Charter
Suggested For a
Better United Nations Organization
to Emerge From the Original
and Serve All Peoples
in the Next Half Century

Now is the time for "We the People"
of the world to influence and persuade the
leaders and governments to develop a
Better United Nations Organization to serve
humankind for the next fifty years on this earth.

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(1945)

FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

POUR LES ETATS-UNIS D'AMÉRIQUE:

美利堅合衆國:

За Соединенные Штаты Америки:

POR LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS DE AMÉRICA:

E. A. Tamm
Cordell Hull
Tom E. Dewey
Arthur Vandenberg
Joseph P. Bloom
Charles A. Eaton
Harold E. Stassen
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The United Nations Charter (1945)

Even before World War II was over, the United Nations met in San Francisco from April 25 to June 26, 1945, to create a new world organization to preserve peace. The Charter that was written and signed in San Francisco was reproduced in exact facsimile by the Department of State and each signatory nation was officially supplied with a copy. This is the United States' official copy. It is bound in gold-embossed blue morocco leather as is the original and bears on the cover the seal of the United Nations. Reproduced here is the signatory page of the United States and Great Britain. Opposite, is the signatory page of the Soviet Union.

Lent to The Freedom Train by the Department of State

THE 1990 DRAFT CHARTER

**suggested for a better United Nations Organization
to emerge from the original**

Presented, urgently, to the peoples of the world and to their governments, in this 45th Anniversary year of the first United Nations Charter, by one of the drafters and signers of the 1945 original Charter, Harold E. Stassen.

A Better United Nations Organization

Foreword
Harold E. Stassen
1990

"We the People" on this earth were meant to live in peace!

Thus, as we enter the 45th Year of the United Nations organization, it is my view that it is very, very urgent that a better United Nations organization emerge from the original. "We the People" need a better United Nations organization.

A multi-year plan and program to bring this about would make sense for all peoples everywhere.

Notwithstanding the major changes in the world, it is also vital that the United States continue to be militarily very powerful and very alert, even as the structure of that strength adjusts, and the cost decreases.

It is anticipated that the Soviet Union will continue to be militarily very powerful.

These two Special Super-Powers will have the continuing capability of destroying each other and the rest of the world!

These two Special Super-Powers have the continuing responsibility to establish verified limitations and reductions of armaments.

As the only one now living of the eight who were appointed in 1945 by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and then reappointed by President Harry Truman, to draft and sign the original Charter in 1945, I feel a special responsibility. The other seven were Senator Arthur Vandenberg, Republican of Michigan; Senator Tom Connally, Democrat of Texas; Congressman Charles Eaton, Republican of New Jersey; Congressman Sol Bloom, Democrat of New York; the Honorable Cordell Hull, a Statesman of Tennessee; Secretary of State Edward Stettinius; and Dr. Virginia Gildersleeve, Dean at Barnard College at Columbia University.

I respectfully submit that anyone who pauses to reflect with anticipation on the probable developments in the next generation, the next forty or fifty years, on this earth, in space, and under the oceans, must conclude that a better organization of the nations of the world is needed.

Responding to an invitation to participate in the 40th Anniversary of the original conference in San Francisco; and to open up and stimulate the process of reemergence; acting as an individual, I drafted in 1985 a Charter to provide for a better United Nations organization to step forth from the original.

In 1985, I forwarded an advance copy of the draft to the Ambassadors and Representatives of the 159 Members, and to the Secretary of State of the United States and the Secretary General of the United Nations, and spoke of it at the 40th Anniversary Commemoration.

On the basis of many suggestions and criticisms received on that draft, I revised the draft in 1987 and again in 1989.

This 1990 Draft is a further revision based on many comments, suggestions, and continuing study and research.

This 1990 draft reflects reactions and analysis of the momentous changes that have taken place and are taking place in the USSR, in Eastern Europe, in China, and throughout the Globe.

I realize, of course, that some will say and write that it is very presumptuous for me to individually present a document of the dimensions of these pages.

I am, however, encouraged to do so, by the urgent need, and the fact that when we were working on the original Charter the cynics, and doubters, and negators, and Armageddonites were saying and writing that we were wasting our time, we were dreamers, that the original fifty would never agree, and furthermore that a third World War was inevitable in the next twenty-five years. That meant an inevitable third World War in 1960 or 1965 or 1970!

Many also ridiculed and attacked then my speaking and writing of the "next fifty years."

Thus, it is important, while you evaluate my present efforts at looking head for fifty years, to note what I said and wrote forty and fifty years ago.

In April 1951, as the concluding page of a collection of my writings and speeches published and edited by Ambassador Amos Peaslee, you will find at Page 434 the following:

I recognize that predictions which go wrong can do much to discredit an individual. Yet impelled by the seriousness of the world situation, I have given my frank appraisal, which is based not only on my personal observations and the conferences I have participated in around the world on my recent journey, but also on years of study. If my countrymen

and other free men adopt and carry out intelligent and alert policies which will take advantage of the weaknesses of the Soviet system and will hold up the hands of peace-loving and democratic nations, I look forward, first, to a continuing stalemate of the Russian threat of a new world war and therefore to the greater likelihood that all-out World War III will not start; second, to increased trouble behind the Iron Curtain countries and within Russia itself; third, to the failure of the Communist attempts to infiltrate and undermine the nations on the outside; and, finally, to the collapse of the Communist dictatorships and their ruthless and godless systems.

Beyond this, I believe will come the liberation and upward climb of mankind toward those better conditions that a free and democratic world can provide. This latter goal will not come quickly, but I anticipate that the half century that lies before the youth of today will see this expanding freedom, this better life.

This 1990 draft Charter takes into account my view that the inter-relationships of peoples of different religious faiths and beliefs will have a very important impact on the prospects of war and peace and on solutions of problems without violence.

Thus I am now proposing the establishment of an annual Worldwide Conference of Religions at the United Nations.

This is set forth in Chapter XXIV, Articles 167-166.

It is my further view that the success in establishing effective and efficient governments with democracy will be a continuing challenge of political science.

Thus, I include a new Research Institute of Peoples and Government.

This is set forth in Chapter XXV, Articles 167-173.

I am continuing to propose that first of all such a new Charter should set forth anew in its preamble the aims and objectives of the peoples of the world for the decades ahead.

The new suggested Charter would also provide for:

1. A sound and fair and sensible voting method in the Assembly and in a new Central Cabinet of Administrators to make the United Nations more effective in preserving world peace and promoting progress over the next forty years,

2. A Universe Environmental Institute devoted to safeguarding the earth and the Universe against pollution of air and water and land,
3. A United Nations Police Peace Force to combat terrorism and drug abuse, and stabilize trouble spots around the globe,
4. Three new methods of reaching peaceful solutions to disputes between nations,
5. An inspection service, as well as a commitment to not send nuclear weapons into space,
6. A new financial basis.

I will comment briefly on these.

It is crucial that there be a method of voting which is sound, and fair, and sensible. At the present time less than 10 percent of the world's population and less than 10 percent of the world's production can make up a majority vote in the General Assembly. This is not democracy. It is not logical, or sensible. It arises from an excessive, narrow-minded, out of date worship of a national sovereignty. The consequential deterioration of status of the Assembly and of the United Nations is harmful to the future of all peoples, including those within the smallest states.

On the basis of my long experience, and the suggestions of others, I am suggesting that the voting method for the future should be brought into effect in relationship to a new Central Cabinet of 25 Administrators, consisting of representatives of the major states, and of all other states through groupings.

The Assembly itself should be continued with a one state one voice system, to carry forward the world open forum for all people.

The new voting power, on the other hand, is to be used in establishing a representation, and in the methods of action, of the Assembly and a new Central Cabinet of Administrators. I am proposing that the vote range from 1,000 votes for the ten major states, to one vote for the smallest.

The method of arranging the standing of states should be to give equal effect to three factors:

Total Population

Annual Gross National Production

Annual Per Capita Production

Ranking all Members on these three factors, and then combining the factors, results in a listing such as suggested in Annex B of the Draft Charter, with the scale of votes moving through groups of ten.

I do believe that decisions in the decades ahead of such a Central Cabinet of Administrators, and of an Assembly, acting on such a voting basis, would have a rather sound and realistic relationship to a decision by the peoples of the world, and their governments, at any given time.

Very urgent also is a method for the peoples of the world to move effectively against terrorism and against hostage taking.

This would be one of the major assignments of a new 250,000 Member United Nations Police Peace Force.

Their other tasks would be to quiet down and stabilize trouble spots in the world, while the efforts toward solution proceeded; and to interdict the international movement of hazardous and illegal drugs.

There is an essential need that all peoples everywhere have hope that their problems, their plight, their potential, be considered, without resort to violence.

Thus, the next major need for the future is to improve the peace-making facilities and techniques and methods of the United Nations.

The draft Charter proposes three new controversy-solving entities:

A World Panel of Mediators

A World Board of Arbitrators

A World Court of Equity

A sound and assured and more adequate and equitable method of financing is also critical.

I am proposing a method that may be said to have some relationship to the super highway toll road. It is for a small charge of one percent on the import and export of goods and materials.

The existence of a successful United Nations will make a basic contribution for future world trade, even as the volume of trade has shown such unprecedented growth in these past 45 years.

Finally, the definition of the status of the Soviet Union and the United States needs exceptional attention and thought and ingenuity.

This is especially significant in order to keep nuclear weapons out of space, to provide for effective inspections, and to decrease the danger of a catastrophic nuclear third world war!

You will find in the draft Charter a mixture of restraints and responsibilities and power for the special super powers and for all states, which I suggest will reflect in the organization a good mirror of the facts of the world.

This mirror would function within the overall objective to foster conditions for creative competition and evolution of social, economic, and political systems without violence and without world war.

The new Charter would continue, with some changes, the Assembly, the Security Council, the Social and Economic Council, the Trusteeship Council, the World Court, and the Secretariat.

The new Charter also provides for the potential of an annual "We the People" Assembly of accredited non-governmental organizations.

I am again emphasizing an invitation for all who wish to be included in the very broad category of peacemakers, to come forward with suggestions and counter-proposals and initiatives for these decades ahead.

I said I was realistic about the difficulties; and may I add that I do not consider these difficulties to be as great as were those we confronted in making the original start 45 years ago!

When we did reach the agreement of the 50 and all signed the document, we were not naive, we did not declare that we had guaranteed future peace. We said we had established a beach-head in the age-old struggle of the peoples to find the path of lasting peace.

I reemphasize now that a better United Nations organization is imperative. The beginnings of the process for such a better United Nations organization would at once brighten the hopes of all humanity on this earth!

Otherwise, there will be a deepening deterioration of the present United Nations organization, growing anarchy among states, mounting terrorism, spreading local wars, repeated unilateral action by super-powers, and escalating danger of a nuclear catastrophe.

But if "We the People" of the worldwide human race now move forward from the beach-head of 45 years ago, there can be tremendous benefits to all peoples of all races of all nations in the decades ahead!

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Harold E. Stassen". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "H" and a long, sweeping underline.

Harold E. Stassen
1990

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NOTE:

To facilitate study, the relevant portions of the 1945 original and present Charter are presented on the left-hand page; and the 1990 suggestions are on the right-hand page.

When the suggested Charter provisions do not have a 1945 parallel, the left-hand page is left blank.

THE ORIGINAL 1945 UNITED NATIONS CHARTER
(The Present Charter)

WE THE PEOPLES
OF THE UNITED NATIONS
DETERMINED

to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which
twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and

to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and
worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of
nations large and small, and

to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the
obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international
law can be maintained, and

to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger
freedom,

1990

A SUGGESTED CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

"WE THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD DETERMINED

to save our own and succeeding generations from the scourge of world war, which in this age of nuclear bombs carries a catastrophic threat to all humanity;

to foster conditions under which the competition of systems, economic, social and political, may take place without violence or war; and to encourage cooperative reaching out for common action for mutual well-being of peoples;

to care for this earth and safeguard the environment of the universe against hazardous pollution of air and water and land;

to establish methods and structures to consider all threats to peace and controversies between peoples and nations and to assist in reaching creative, sound, fair, just solutions;

to decrease violent terrorism, which afflicts innocent children and women, as well as men; and in fact damages the future prospects of all peoples and increases the perils of war;

to end hunger, which is now a tragic experience of many peoples;

to overcome diseases and illness and infections which afflict humanity;

to extend humanitarian and expert aid in earthquakes, hurricanes, typhoons, volcanic eruptions, nuclear accidents, and other major disasters;

to advance the peaceful use of outer space for the well-being of humankind through Stars Peace and to decrease the danger of a future Star War;

to open the way for information, larger freedom, opportunity, and hope for the greater fulfillment and enjoyment of life for all of the children of all of the races of humankind;

to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women, and of nations large and small, with respect for their sovereignty and their culture;

THE ORIGINAL 1945 UNITED NATIONS CHARTER
(The Present Charter)

AND FOR THESE ENDS

to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another
as good neighbours, and

to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and

to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of
methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common
interest, and

to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

HAVE RESOLVED TO
COMBINE OUR EFFORTS TO
ACCOMPLISH THESE AIMS

Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives
assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full
powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present
Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international
organization to be known as the United Nations.

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A SUGGESTED CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

AND FOR THESE ENDS

to practice tolerance and live together creatively and in peace with one another as good neighbors;

to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security;

to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and by the institution of methods, that armed forces shall not be used, save in the common interest; and

to employ, with wisdom, international organizations and methods for the promotion of the economic, social, and cultural advances of all peoples;

HAVE RESOLVED TO COMBINE OUR EFFORTS TO ACCOMPLISH THESE ENDS, AND

Accordingly, our respective governments, through representatives assembled, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to this Charter of the United Nations, to supersede upon its ratification in accordance with the terms hereof, the previous Charter of the United Nations; and do hereby establish a renewed international organization to be known as the United Nations.

THE ORIGINAL 1945 UNITED NATIONS CHARTER
(The Present Charter)

Chapter I

PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES

Article I

The Purposes of the United Nations are:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;
2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;
3. To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and
4. To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

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A SUGGESTED CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

CHAPTER I

PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES

ARTICLE I

The purpose of the United Nations is:

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

2. To establish conditions under which competition of systems, economic, social, cultural and political, may take place without resort to violence, or terrorism, or war, and under which there may be a cooperative reaching out for common action for mutual well-being of all peoples;

3. To care for this earth and establish safeguards for the environment of the universe against the hazardous pollution of air and water and land;

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

5. To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all men, women, and children, without distinction as to race, language, or religions;

6. To administer those areas of this earth and of the space around this earth which are not within the sovereign jurisdiction of any state;

7. To be a center for harmonizing the actions of the nations in the attainment of these common ends.

THE ORIGINAL 1945 UNITED NATIONS CHARTER
(The Present Charter)

Article 2

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

1. The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members.
2. All Members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter.
3. All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.
4. All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.
5. All Members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter, and shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action.
6. The Organization shall ensure that states which are not Members of the United Nations act in accordance with these Principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.
7. Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.

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A SUGGESTED CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Article 2

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

1. The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members, and of universally encompassing within it the contemporary governments of all peoples on this earth.
2. All Members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership shall fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with this Charter.
3. All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security are not endangered, and justice may be attained.
4. All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.
5. No Member which possesses nuclear weapons shall ever use such weapons against a Member that is not engaged in massive military aggression, and all such Members shall open their territories to reasonable United Nations inspection to assure the fulfillment of this commitment.
6. No Member shall send nuclear weapons into space, and all Members shall permit United Nations inspectors to assure the absence of nuclear weapons before the launching of any object into space.
7. All Members shall give the United Nations assistance in accordance with this Charter, and shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive enforcement action.
8. The Organization shall ensure that states which are not Members of the United Nations act in accordance with these Principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.
9. Nothing contained in this Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under this Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter IX.

THE ORIGINAL 1945 UNITED NATIONS CHARTER
(The Present Charter)

Chapter II

MEMBERSHIP

Article 3

The original Members of the United Nations shall be the states which, having participated in the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco, or having previously signed the Declaration by United Nations of 1 January 1942, sign the present Charter and ratify it in accordance with Article 10.

Article 4

1. Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations.

2. The admission of any such state to membership in the United Nations will be effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

Article 5

A Member of the United Nations against which preventive or enforcement action has been taken by the Security Council may be suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. The exercise of these rights and privileges may be restored by the Security Council.

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CHAPTER II

MEMBERSHIP

Article 3

The original Members of the United Nations under this Charter shall be the states which sign this Charter and ratify it in accordance with Article 167 within one year of the date on which the minimum requirements for ratification are completed for the effective enactment of this Charter.

Article 4

1. Membership in the United Nations is open universally to all states, the effective governments of which accept the obligations contained in this Charter.

2. The admission of any such state to Membership in the United Nations after the original Members will be effected by a decision of the General Assembly, with the concurrence of the Central Cabinet of Administrators.

3. Membership in the United Nations through such acceptance of the obligations contained in this Charter by the effective government of any state, shall not constitute approval of such government by the United Nations, or by the Member states, or of either the form or the personnel or the practices of such government.

Article 5

A Member of the United Nations against which preventive or enforcement action has been taken by the Security Council may be suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. The exercise of these rights and privileges may be restored by the Security Council.

Article 6

A Member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the Principles contained in this Charter may be suspended from the Organization by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Central Council of Administrators or by the Security Council.

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Article 6

A Member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the Principles contained in the present Charter may be expelled from the Organization by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

Chapter III

ORGANS

Article 7

1. There are established as the principal organs of the United Nations: a General Assembly, a Security Council, an Economic and Social Council, a Trusteeship Council, an International Court of Justice, and a Secretariat.

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

Article 8

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

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A SUGGESTED CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

CHAPTER III

INSTITUTIONS

Article 7

1. There are established as the principal institutions of the United Nations: a General Assembly, a Security Council, a Central Cabinet of Administrators, a Universe Environmental Institution, a Peace Force, an Inspection Corps, an Economic and Social Council, a Trusteeship Council, an International Court of Justice, a World Court of Equity, a World Board of Arbitration, a World Panel of Mediators, and a Secretariat.

2. Such subsidiary organs as may be found necessary may be established in accordance with this Charter. Subsidiary organs established under the original Charter shall be continued under this Charter.

Article 8

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

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Chapter IV

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Composition

Article 9

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

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

Functions and Powers

Article 10

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

Article 11

1. The General Assembly may consider the general principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments, and may make recommendations with regard to such principles to the Members or to the Security Council or to both.

2. The General Assembly may discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by any Member of the United Nations, or by the Security Council, or by a state which is not a member of the United Nations in accordance with Article 35, paragraph 2, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations with regard to any such questions to the state or states concerned or to the Security Council or to both.

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CHAPTER IV
THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Article 9

Composition

1. The General Assembly shall consist of all the Members of the United Nations.
2. Each Member shall have not more than three representatives in the General Assembly, and each member shall have equal rights to speak and express views in the sessions of the Assembly, and in all activities and forums of the Assembly.
3. Each member shall have the voting rights established by Article 18 and Annex B.

Article 10

Functions and Powers

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

Article 11

1. The General Assembly may consider the general principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments, and may make recommendations with regard to such principles to the Members or to the Security Council or to both.
2. The General Assembly may discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by any Member of the United Nations, or by the Security Council, or by the Central Cabinet of Administrators, or by a state which is not a Member of the United Nations in accordance with Article 116 and except

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Any such questions on which action is necessary shall be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly either before or after discussion.

3. The General Assembly may call the attention of the Security Council to situations which are likely to endanger international peace and security.

4. The powers of the General Assembly set forth in this Article shall not limit the general scope of Article 10.

Article 12

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

2. The Secretary-General, with the consent of the Security Council, shall notify the General Assembly at each session of any matters relative to the maintenance of international peace and security which are being dealt with by the Security Council and shall similarly notify the General Assembly, or the Members of the United Nations if the General Assembly is not in session, immediately the Security Council ceases to deal with such matters.

Article 13

1. The General Assembly shall initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of:

a. promoting international cooperation in the political field and encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification;

b. promoting international cooperation in the economic, social, cultural, educational, and health fields, and assisting in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

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as provided in Article 24, may make recommendations with regard to any such questions to the state or states concerned or to the Security Council or to both. Any such questions on which action is necessary shall be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly either before or after discussion.

3. The General Assembly may call the attention of the Security Council and of the Central Cabinet of Administrators to situations which are likely to endanger international peace and security.

4. The powers of the General Assembly set forth in this Article shall not limit the general scope of Article 10.

Article 12

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

2. The Secretary-General, with the consent of the Security Council, shall notify the General Assembly at each session of any matters relative to the maintenance of international peace and security which are being dealt with by the Security Council and shall similarly notify the General Assembly, or the Members of the United Nations if the General Assembly is not in session, immediately if the Security Council ceases to deal with such matters.

Article 13

1. The General Assembly shall initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of:

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2. The further responsibilities, functions and powers of the General Assembly with respect to matters mentioned in paragraph 1(b) above are set forth in Chapters IX and X.

Article 14

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

Article 15

1. The General Assembly shall receive and consider the annual and special reports from the Security Council; these reports shall include an account of the measures that the Security Council has decided upon or taken to maintain international peace and security.

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

Article 16

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

Article 17

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

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

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

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(a) promoting international cooperation in the political field and encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification;

(b) promoting international cooperation in the economic, social, cultural, educational, and health fields, and assisting in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion;

(c) safeguarding the environment of the earth and of the universe and preventing the deepening pollution of the air, the water, and the land;

(d) developing the resources of the seas and of space and of areas outside of the sovereign jurisdiction of the separate states.

Article 14

Subject to the provisions of Article 24, the General Assembly may recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations, including situations resulting from a violation of the provisions of this Charter setting forth the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.

Article 15

The General Assembly may provide for an annual "We the People" assembly of accredited non-governmental organizations which manifest a constructive interest in the purposes of the United Nations Charter.

Article 16

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

Article 17

The General Assembly shall receive and consider an annual report from the Central Cabinet of Administrators, and such special reports as may be made.

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Voting

Article 18

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

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Article 18

Voting

1. Each Member of the General Assembly shall have not less than one vote and not more than one thousand votes.

The specific number of voting rights of each member shall be established by taking into equal account three factors:

- (a) total population
- (b) annual gross national production
- (c) annual per capita production

All members shall be ranked on these three factors, and the three rankings shall be combined to establish the effective rankings.

The initial voting rights shall be as specified in Annex B. Thereafter, the rankings shall be reviewed and raised or lowered each five years on the basis of the best available statistics for the comparative three-year period, by decisions of the Assembly.

2. Decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the votes of the Members present and voting. These questions shall include: recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security, the election of the non-permanent Members of the Security Council, the election of the Members of the Economic and Social Council, the election of the Members of the Trusteeship Council in accordance with Article 77, the admission of new Members to the United Nations, the suspension of the rights and privileges of membership, questions relating to the operation of the trusteeship system, and budgetary questions.

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

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Article 19

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

Procedure

Article 20

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

Article 21

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

Article 22

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

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Chapter V

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Composition

Article 23

1. The Security Council shall consist of fifteen Members of the United Nations. The Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America shall be permanent members of the Security Council. The General Assembly shall elect ten other Members of the United Nations to be non-permanent members of the Security Council, due regard being specially paid, in the first instance to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution.

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

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

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CHAPTER V

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Article 23

Composition

1. The Security Council shall consist of nineteen Members of the United Nations. Brazil, the Peoples Republic of China, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic, India, Japan, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America, or such of these states as are Members of the United Nations, shall be permanent Members of the Security Council. Of these permanent Members, the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be special permanent Members. The eight permanent Members who are not special permanent Members may elect one of their number to have for a three-year term, all of the voting rights, and responsibility, authority, and restraints, of a special permanent Member. The General Assembly, acting with the voting rights provided in Article 181, shall elect additional Members of the Security Council to bring the total number to nineteen, due regard being specially paid, in the first instance to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution.

2. The non-permanent Members of the Security Council shall be elected for a term of two years. In the first election of the non-permanent Members, however, one-half shall be chosen for a term of one year. A retiring Member shall not be eligible for immediate re-election.

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

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Functions and Powers

Article 24

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

2. In discharging these duties the Security Council shall act in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. The specific powers granted to the Security Council for the discharge of these duties are laid down in Chapters VI, VII, VIII, and XII.

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

Article 25

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

Article 26

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

Voting

Article 27

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

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

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

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Article 24

Function and Powers

1. In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf.
2. In discharging these duties the Security Council shall act in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. The specific powers granted to the Security Council for the discharge of these duties are laid down in Chapters V, XVII, and XVIII.
3. The Security Council shall submit annual, and when necessary, special reports to the General Assembly for its consideration.

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

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

Article 27

Voting

1. Each Member of the Security Council shall have one vote.
2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of ten Members.
3. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of twelve Members including the concurring votes of the special permanent Members and the concurring vote of three-fourths of the permanent Members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter XVIII, a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting.

Article 28

1. The Security Council shall be so organized as to be able to function continuously. Each member of the Security Council shall for this purpose be represented at all times at the seat of the Organization.

2. The Security Council shall hold periodic meetings at which each of its members may, if it so desires, be represented by a member of the government or by some other specially designated representative.

3. The Security Council may hold meetings at such places other than the seat of the Organization as in its judgment will best facilitate its work.

Article 29

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

Article 30

The Security Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.

Article 31

Any Member of the United Nations which is not a member of the Security Council may participate, without vote, in the discussion of any question brought before the Security Council whenever the latter considers that the interests of that Member are specially affected.

Article 32

Any Member of the United Nations which is not a member of the Security Council or any state which is not a Member of the United Nations, if it is a party to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council, shall be invited to participate, without vote, in the discussion relating to the dispute. The Security Council shall lay down such conditions as it deems just for the participation of a state which is not a Member of the United Nations.

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1. The Security Council shall be so organized as to be able to function continuously. Each Member of the Security Council shall for this purpose be represented at all times at the seat of the Organization.
2. The Security Council shall hold periodic meetings at which each of its Members may, if it so desires, be represented by a Member of the government or by some other specially designated representative.
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Any Member of the United Nations which is not a Member of the Security Council or any state which is not a Member of the United Nations, if it is a party to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council, shall be invited to participate, without vote, in the discussion relating to the dispute. The Security Council shall lay down such conditions as it deems just for the participation of a state which is not a Member of the United Nations.

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NOTE -- No parallel provisions in 1945 Charter



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