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35TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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December 11, 1983, Sunday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section 1; Part 1; Page 6, Column 1; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 499 words

HEADLINE: EXCERPTS FROM LECH WALSEA'S NOBEL SPEECH

BYLINE: AP

DATELINE: OSLO, Dec. 10

BODY:

Following is the text of the speech by Lech Walesa delivered here today by his wife, Danuta, who accepted the Nobel Peace Prize for her husband. The speech was translated by the Norwegian Foreign Ministry from the Polish.

You are aware of the reasons why I could not come to your capital city and receive personally this distinguished prize. On this solemn day my place is among those with whom I have grown and to whom I belong - the workers of Gdansk.

Let my words convey to you the joy and the never extinguished hope of the millions of my brothers, the millions of working people in factories and offices, associated in the union whose very name expresses one of the noblest aspirations of humanity. Today all of them, like myself, feel greatly honored by the prize.

With deep sorrow I think of those who paid with their lives for their loyalty to Solidarity, of those who are behind prison bars and who are victims of repression. I think of all those with whom I have traveled the same road and with whom I share the trials and tribulations of our time.

For the first time a Pole has been awarded a prize which Alfred Nobel founded for activities toward bringing the nations of the world closer together.

Desire for Peace and Justice

The most ardent hopes of my compatriots are linked with this idea; in spite of the violence, cruelty and brutality which characterize the conflicts splitting the present-day world.

We desire peace, and that is why we have never resorted to physical force.

We crave for justice, and that is why we are so persistent in the struggle for our rights.

We seek freedom of convictions, and that is why we have never attempted to enslave man's conscience nor shall we ever attempt to do so.

We are fighting for the right of the working people to organize and for the dignity of human labor. We respect the dignity and the rights of every man and every nation. The road to a brighter future for the world leads through honest

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reconciliation of conflicting interests and not through hatred and bloodshed. To follow that road means to enhance the moral power of the all-embracing idea of human solidarity.

I feel happy and proud that over the past few years this idea has been so closely connected with the name of my homeland.

Poland Lives On, Victorious

In 1905, when Poland did not appear on the map of Europe, Henryk Sienkiewicz said when receiving the Nobel Prize for Literature: 'She was pronounced dead, yet here is a proof that she lives on. She was declared incapable to think and to work, and here is proof to the contrary. She was pronounced defeated, and here is proof that she is victorious.'

Today nobody claims that Poland is dead. But the words have acquired a new meaning.

May I express to you, the distinguished representatives of the Norwegian people, my most profound gratitude for confirming the vitality and strength of our idea by awarding the Nobel Peace Prize to the chairman of Solidarity.

TYPE: text

SUBJECT: Terms not available

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 5/6/88

FOR: *Tony / speechwriter (Clark)*

FROM: TOM GRISCOM

- Action
- Your Comment
- Let's Talk
- FYI

Major foreign policy events by President Reagan have been guided by a central theme. At the Washington summit last December, the message of "a first step toward peace" became the image that was woven into all of the remarks and other activities associated with that four-day meeting. At one time, even General Secretary Gorbachev used the phrase and months later, that were still references to "first step" in describing the INF summit.

Similar work has been done to construct a central message for the upcoming meeting in Moscow between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev. For this meeting, the theme: a brighter future and a safer world for all people will be used.

This message encompasses the President's full four-part agenda: arms control, human rights, regional issues and bi-lateral exchanges. Any one of these areas can be taken and expanded under this broad theme. It also allows us to recognize that this is a relationship that has been established by this President, that does offer hope for the future, and that has begun a process of arms reduction which impacts on all people -- not just those in the United States or the Soviet Union.

The other central message is future. The events that are on the President's schedule while highlighting his agenda, also allow the focus to be on the future. In this country, the message that the President carries to high school and college students, to business and professional groups, is the same: one of optimism and enthusiasm for tomorrow, for the future. It challenges us to reach beyond today's limits and search for what may be just out of reach but still within sight. Hopefully, the President can challenge those who hear his voice -- whether in Moscow, our here or around the world -- that the future can be different, brighter, and is worth trying to achieve. The opportunity for President Reagan to set the sights for the future of East-West relations, to give his perspective of how to build for continued progress in all areas of his agenda is central to the message for this summit.

Even done properly, there should be no doubt that a single summit does not signal the end of a process. It should be used to fortify the points that have been made and to offer the direction for continued discussions. The Moscow summit is an important event; but only one event in a growing number of contacts between our two countries. The President's agenda will go forward after this summit is completed and our message must point ahead while looking at the accomplishments of the past.

to the study of wave motion. His work on the conservation of energy familiarized him with the problems of energy transfer. These two areas coalesced in his later years in his studies of meteorology, but the phenomena were so complex that he could do little more than point the way to future areas of research.

Helmholtz was the end product of the development of classical mechanics. He pushed it as far as it could go. When he died in Berlin on September 8, 1894, the world of physics was poised on the brink of revolution. The discovery of X-rays, radioactivity, and relativity led to a new kind of physics in which Helmholtz' achievements, although impressive, had little to offer the new generation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. There are two biographies of Helmholtz available to the reader of English. LEO KOENIGSBERGER, *Hermann von Helmholtz*, 3 vol. (1902-03; abr. Eng. trans., 1906, reprinted 1965), is often technical and sometimes difficult to understand. J.G. MCKENDRICK, *Hermann Ludwig Ferdinand von Helmholtz* (1899), deals only with Helmholtz' medical career. RICHARD M. and ROSLYN P. WARREN have published a collection of Helmholtz' writings on perception, entitled *Helmholtz on Perception: Its Physiology and Development* (1968), with critical comments. Helmholtz' *Popular Lectures on Scientific Subjects*, 2 vol. (1873; 2nd series, 1881), are excellent introductions to his thought.

(L.P.W.)

Helsinki

The capital of Finland since 1812, and that nation's leading seaport, Helsinki, despite a turbulent history stretching back for more than four centuries, is one of the most modern of European cities in terms of character and appearance. Founded in 1550, it was ravaged by a plague in 1710 and burned to the ground in 1713. Large parts of the city were destroyed by another great fire in 1808, and there is little physical evidence of its early history. Its development has also mirrored the strife-torn history of Finland: centuries of competitive Swedish and Russian domination, linked with national aspirations of marked individuality. Its destiny was controlled by a succession of visiting kings and tsars before it emerged, in 1917, as the administrative centre of the new Republic of Finland, and, as such, developed into the Helsinki of today. By the 1970s, it had become a vital economic and cultural centre, whose regional and international importance was well indicated by the popular titles given the city—"the daughter of the Baltic" and "the city between east and west." At intervals—for example, as host city to the 1952 Olympic Games—Helsinki has been known as an international sports centre, but from the 1960s onward, its name has equally often been connected with attempts to lessen international tension, as in the case of the American-Soviet talks on the limitation of strategic arms, begun in 1969. A further appellation—"the white city of the north"—draws attention to the physical appearance of the city, built largely of local light-coloured granite, and to the fact that, after Reykjavik, in Iceland, it is the world's most northerly capital. It has a spacious and well-planned atmosphere, and a stark but beautiful setting.

Historical development. For many centuries Finland, a part of the Swedish realm, was the scene of repeated wars between that nation and the growing Russian state. It was against this background that King Gustav Vasa of Sweden founded Helsinki, on June 12, 1550. The young settlement—whose Swedish name is Helsingfors—was intended to compete, in the economic field, with the city of Reval (now Tallinn, in the Estonian S.S.R.) situated on the opposite side of the Gulf of Finland. Helsinki was originally located on the Vantaa estuary but moved down to its present location, a promontory with a fine, island-sheltered harbour, in 1640. The trading centre numbered fewer than 2,000 when the plague of 1710 killed most of the inhabitants. Three years later it was burned by Swedish forces retreating from an attack by the fleet of the Russian tsar Peter the Great, and development was hindered by further Russian attacks later in the 18th century. Another fire, in 1808, added to the city's difficulties.

In 1809, Finland was ceded to Russia. The national capital during the period of Swedish hegemony had been Turku (Åbo) in the southwest of the country, facing Sweden, and thus both political and military motives played a part in the decision of the Russian tsar Alexander I to move the capital of the new grand Duchy from Turku to Helsinki, in 1812. In 1748 the settlement became much more secure when a fortress—once called the Gibraltar of the north—was constructed on a group of small islands outside the harbour of Helsinki, although the fortress (called Sveaborg by the Swedes and later Suomenlinna by the Finns) was bombarded by a French-British fleet in 1855 during the Crimean War.

Meanwhile, the centre of Helsinki had been completely reconstructed in an impressive imperial and monumental style, under the influence of a German-born architect, C.L. Engel, active in the then Russian capital, St. Petersburg. The completed city centre was comprised of a number of distinctive buildings still to be seen in the 1970s. These include government buildings, the main building of Helsinki University, and the cathedral, known as the Great Church, completed in 1852. All of them surround the broad expanse of Senate Square, which is often considered to be one of the most beautiful in the whole of Europe. Not far from the square rise the cupolas of the Uspenski Orthodox Cathedral, one of the few recognizable reminders of the period of Russian rule. Tsar Nicholas I visited Helsinki in person in 1833, and the health spa that subsequently opened attracted members of the Russian upper class from Moscow and St. Petersburg over a period of decades.

In the 1860s and 1870s industrialization brought great changes to the social and economic fabric of the city and started a development that made Helsinki Finland's largest industrial city. Population—a mere 4,000 in 1810—increased rapidly and was over 22,000 by 1860, 60,000 by 1890, and 111,000 by 1904. Although the policy of Tsar Alexander II toward Finland and its capital was liberal, by the end of the 19th century the Russians saw social changes within the grand duchy, including a national Finnish movement, as a threat to their position. Nicholas II and his governor general, Nikolay Bobrikov, initiated a russification program. Bobrikov, who had assumed dictatorial powers, was shot by a young Finn in 1904, and Helsinki became the centre of a group of activists working for the liberation of Finland. A national declaration of independence was proclaimed by the parliament in Helsinki in December 1917, and the capital was occupied by Finnish red guards and Russian units during the ensuing short but bloody civil war between "white" and "red" zones. Conditions soon became more stabilized, with the Helsinki parliament electing Finland's first president in 1919. The following half century saw the full development of Helsinki into an important centre of trade, industry, and culture, a process interrupted only by the war years of the 1940s.

A distinctive architectural style, modern in concept and graceful in execution, achieved prominence during this period, complementing the buildings of a century earlier. The railway station (designed by Eliel Saarinen, 1914) and the National Pensions Institute (by Alvar Aalto, 1956) were notable examples of the work of Finnish architects with international reputation. At the turn of the century the population had numbered less than 100,000; by the early 1970s greater Helsinki—including a number of modern suburbs acquired during the 1940s—had more than 815,000 inhabitants. The spacious and well-planned atmosphere of the city was nevertheless successfully maintained.

The site. Helsinki is surrounded by the sea on three sides, and only 68 square miles (177 square kilometres) of its total administrative area of 173 square miles (448 square kilometres) consist of land. The city can expand only to the north, northwest and northeast, and it is in these areas that the 17 new suburbs of the mid-20th century are located. Helsinki is located at 60° N latitude (comparable to the location of Greenland's Kap Farvel, Nunivak Island of Alaska, and the upper Kamchatka Peninsula of the Soviet Union), but the Baltic Sea influ-

Reconstruction and growth

Modern architecture

ence contributes to a rather mild climate. The average summer temperature is 61° F (+16° C) and the average winter temperature 21° F (-6° C). Icebreaker activity keeps at least part of the extensive harbour facilities open during the winter months. Helsinki is mainly built on rock, but there are only a few high points, while parts of the present centre of the city are actually built on filled-in seabed.

The people. Helsinki proper had 525,628 inhabitants in 1969, of whom a majority—291,000—were women. Greater Helsinki numbered about 815,000 persons in 1971, nearly 18 percent of Finland's total population. There was a continued movement of people into and out of the central city, with an average annual net gain of some 5,000 citizens by the late 1960s and early 1970s. Those leaving Helsinki proper went mostly to the suburbs of greater Helsinki. In the early 1970s the majority of the city's inhabitants—some 60 percent—had been born elsewhere. Reflecting its heritage, Helsinki is a bilingual city, with 85 percent of the population claiming Finnish, and 14 percent Swedish, as their mother tongues. As in the case of other northern European cities, the religious composition of Helsinki is overwhelmingly Protestant, with 85 percent adhering to the Lutheran faith. A small minority—about 2 percent—is Orthodox. Of the economically active population, 24 percent work in industry, 30 percent in the service professions, and 25 percent in commercial activities. About 22 percent of the population of Helsinki is in the 0-14 age group, with a tenth in the over-65 group.

Economic life. Helsinki's economic life and development is based on its excellent harbours and on good railway and road connections to the extensive interior of the nation. More than half of Finland's total imports consequently pass through Helsinki, and are handled by the large wholesale enterprises in the city. Only 10 percent of the national exports, on the other hand, pass through Helsinki, as the largest export ports are elsewhere along the Finnish coast. In her capacity as Finland's largest industrial city, Helsinki is responsible for 17 percent of the nation's gross industrial production, with food and metal processing, printing, textiles, and clothing among the main industries. Many of those products exhibit the functional contemporary design for which the nation is famous. In connection with expansion programs, some of the larger industries had moved to the outer Helsinki region in the 1970s. The Wärtsilä shipyard (producing icebreakers, liners, and cable-laying ships) and the wares of the Arabia porcelain factory, one of the largest of its kind in Europe, are, in their distinctive ways, internationally famous.

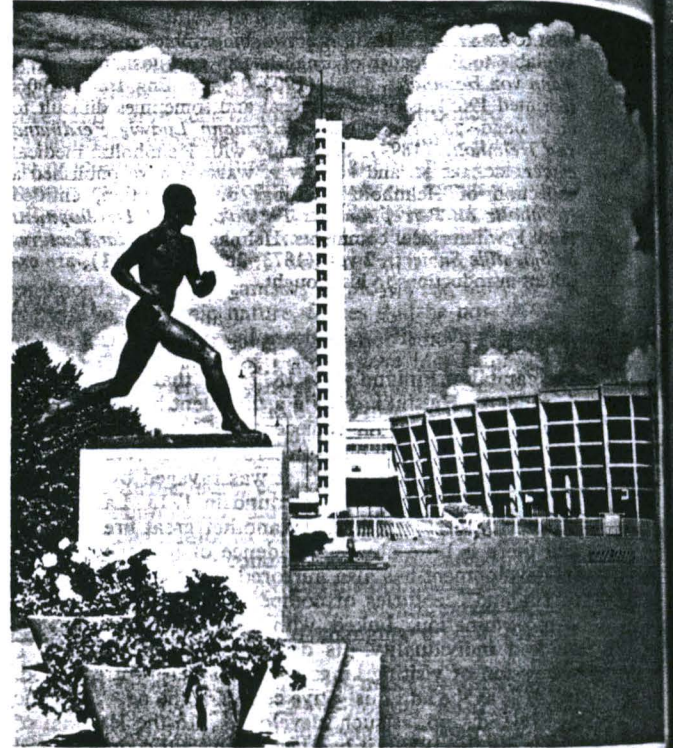
Political and governmental institutions. The parliament and the government of Finland meet and function in Helsinki. A city council has headed the municipal government since 1875. Elected every fourth year, it is the highest policy-making body of the capital. The city board and various committees prepare and execute the decisions of the council. The city board includes the mayor and six assistant city managers, together with 11 members who are elected each year by the City Council, on the basis of the relative strength of the political parties represented on that body. The city managers are responsible for matters concerning real estate, hospitals, public utilities, education and culture, construction and public works, and personal and social welfare, while the mayor is responsible for central administration and finance. The city board is assisted by some 50 administrative boards and commissions.

The presidential palace is located in Helsinki, which, as a capital, also houses the highest courts of the country, and the Bank of Finland.

Services. Many of the services provided for by the city of Helsinki—notably education in elementary and trade schools and in medical care—are free, or almost free. Of the total municipal expenditure, some 27 percent is used for medical care and social welfare functions, 10 percent for education, 9 percent for public works, and some 20 percent for such public utilities as electricity, water, gas, and transportation. Large sums are also invested in long-

term transportation projects. In 1968 the City Council voted to construct Helsinki's first subway, which will total 7.2 miles, and of which 2.4 miles will be tunnel. The first Finnish-constructed "test train" for the subway was ready in 1972. Some 400,000 passengers are carried daily by municipally run buses and streetcars. The number of motor vehicles in the city is close to 100,000, of which more than 80,000 are private cars. The physical geography of Helsinki, constricting routes through the neck of a promontory, makes transportation and traffic planning a constant problem, even in this well laid out city.

By courtesy of the Finnish Tourist Association



Helsinki Stadium, with a statue (foreground) of Paavo Nurmi, the famous Finnish athlete.

Cultural life and recreation. Thirteen theatres, an opera and ballet company, and three symphony orchestras contributed to the year-round cultural activity of the Finnish capital in the early 1970s. An annual Helsinki festival features world famous orchestras and artists and a program of rich variety. In addition to museums and art galleries, the cultural interests of Helsinki citizens are furthered by a fine, modern city theatre, by Timo Penttilä, with an audience capacity of more than 1,000, and a new concert building, of a striking design, by Alvar Aalto. Helsinki University, with 23,000 students, is the largest university in Scandinavia.

Helsinki is a city for recreation. The sea, open or frozen, gives opportunity for sports ranging from yachting to a somewhat perilous car racing, and there are close to 300 separate sports grounds for both winter and summer events. The city provides close to 200 miles of ski routes, and there are numerous spacious parks, where young and old alike can enjoy the Helsinki air, which—thanks to the influence of sea breezes—is surprisingly clean for an industrial city. The many beaches and rocky islands are covered with sunbathers in the summer, while in winter the frozen bays are dotted with people fishing through the ice.

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Since the end of World War II, relations between the United States and the Soviet Union have been the most critical issue on our foreign policy agenda. As we all know, the ups and downs in that relationship have not only had a most significant effect on the two countries directly involved, but have truly been felt throughout the world.

Every aspect of our relationship with the Soviet Union is, therefore, of worldwide interest. One such aspect, of great importance to the people of our country, is human rights. It is not surprising, therefore, that the recent improvement in our relations with the Soviet Union has run parallel with the betterment of human rights conditions in that country.

It's my job to call the shots as I see them with regard to human rights conditions in the Soviet Union. There is no doubt that meaningful human rights changes have taken place in the Soviet Union during the last two years. They are more than changes in facade. They are changes which have significantly and meaningfully improved the lives of some individuals and of conditions generally. At the same time we must note that a great many human rights problems persist in the Soviet Union. The basic standards contained in the Helsinki Accords are not

met in the Soviet Union today. But a debate seems to be going on there on a number of issues, including issues related to human rights. There are those who seem interested in moving forward toward a better society, one that increases respect for the rights and the dignity of the individual. And there appear to be those who insist on holding the line or even to regress toward greater rigidity and repression. I have no doubt that the sympathies of the people of our country are with those who wish to open up Soviet society and want to enhance the rights of the individual.

When we use the term "human rights," one of the most basic rights that comes to mind instantly is freedom of speech. There is more such freedom now in the Soviet Union than there was two years ago. Many persons who had been imprisoned for the expression of dissenting views have been released from prison. But I regret to say that to this very day there are men serving long prison sentences at hard labor in Siberian camps for offenses against Soviet law which involve nothing other than the written or spoken word. These prisoners publicized their political views at a time when speaking out in dissent brought the heavy hand of the KGB down in you. The clear, internationally-recognized standard, as spelled out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is that "everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression." I have no doubt that in our country and throughout the democratic world there is an expectation that the Soviet Union will live up to

that standard and put this issue behind it by freeing every last person now in prison for nothing other than the verbal or written expression of dissenting views.

Mere freeing of political prisoners, however, is not enough to set things right. A good many of those who are freed discover that they are discriminated against when they look for housing or for jobs. If the Soviet Union wants to wipe the slate clean on this issue it should not only release all political prisoners but give them an opportunity to assume a role in life free of any taint due to their past conviction on political grounds.

Freedom of religion is another vitally important human rights issue with which we are concerned. Here, too, we have seen some recent progress in the Soviet Union. The rigid controls which the state has imposed on the free exercise of religion have been relaxed. But the system of controls has been maintained. No church, synagogue, mosque, or other house of worship may exist unless government permission has been obtained for it to operate. No activity may be sponsored by a church unless the government permits it. And anyone who engages in religious activity which has not been duly authorized by the government commits an offense for which he can be punished. Quite a number of people have, in fact, been punished and have served long prison sentences for the unauthorized practice of religion. Here, too, I am glad to say

that a good many persons who have served prison sentences for the unauthorized practice of religion have now been released and that during the last two years no one has been imprisoned on that ground.

But unless there is some basic change, which allows the free exercise of religion without government interference, the Soviet Union will not be in compliance with the international standard that "everyone has a right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion." We hope that this issue, too, will be one which Soviet authorities will decide to put behind them by ending government regulation of religion.

The issue of emigration has been another matter of concern to us. The international standard provides that "everyone has a right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country." We have a hard time understanding why any country wants to keep someone forcibly within its borders who wants to leave. In this connection, too, we are glad to see that the Soviet Union has now made some modification in its rules and regulations. During the last twelve months, more persons have been allowed to emigrate from the Soviet Union than were permitted to leave during the preceding six years. A good many persons who had for more than a decade been denied the opportunity of leaving the country were finally allowed to go. Also, most recently there has been a substantial increase in the number of persons allowed to leave the Soviet Union on

short trips, on family visits.

Here, too, we are pleased at the progress, but continue to be concerned about the limits on forward movement. Some people continue to be denied the right to leave on the ground that they have secret information even though they have been separated from any secret work for many years and the information they possessed has by now become either publicly known or is totally obsolete. We hope that these cases will now be looked at rationally and the decision will be made to let these people and their families leave at long last.

THE INTERNATIONAL COVENANTS
ON HUMAN RIGHTS
AND OPTIONAL PROTOCOL

**International Covenant on
Economic, Social and
Cultural Rights**

THE STATES PARTIES TO
THE PRESENT COVENANT,

Considering that, in accordance with the principles proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations, recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Recognizing that these rights derive from the inherent dignity of the human person,

Recognizing that, in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the ideal of free human beings enjoying freedom from fear and want can only be achieved if conditions are created whereby everyone may enjoy his economic, social and cultural rights, as well as his civil and political rights,

Considering the obligation of States under the Charter of the United Nations to promote universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and freedoms,

Realizing that the individual, having duties to other individuals and to the community to which he belongs, is under a responsibility to strive for the promotion and observance of the rights recognized in the present Covenant,

Agree upon the following articles:

PART I

Article 1

1. All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their eco-

nomie, social and cultural development.

2. All peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic co-operation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and international law. In no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence.

3. The States Parties to the present Covenant, including those having responsibility for the administration of Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories, shall promote the realization of the right of self-determination, and shall respect that right, in conformity with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

PART II

Article 2

1. Each State Party to the present Covenant undertakes to take steps, individually and through international assistance and co-operation, especially economic and technical, to the maximum of its available resources, with a view to achieving progressively the full realization of the rights recognized in the present Covenant by all appropriate means, including particularly the adoption of legislative measures.

2. The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to guarantee that the rights enunciated in the present Covenant will be exercised without discrimination of any kind as to race, colour, sex, language, religion, politi-

cal or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

3. Developing countries, with due regard to human rights and their national economy, may determine to what extent they would guarantee the economic rights recognized in the present Covenant to non-nationals.

Article 3

The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to ensure the equal right of men and women to the enjoyment of all economic, social and cultural rights set forth in the present Covenant.

Article 4

The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize that, in the enjoyment of those rights provided by the State in conformity with the present Covenant, the State may subject such rights only to such limitations as are determined by law only in so far as this may be compatible with the nature of these rights and solely for the purpose of promoting the general welfare in a democratic society.

Article 5

1. Nothing in the present Covenant may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights or freedoms recognized herein, or at their limitation to a greater extent than is provided for in the present Covenant.

2. No restriction upon or derogation from any of the fundamental human rights recognized or existing in any country in virtue of law, conventions, regulations or custom shall be admitted on the pretext that the present Covenant does not recognize such rights or that it recognizes them to a lesser extent.

PART III

Article 6

1. The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right to work, which includes the right of everyone to the opportunity to gain his living by work which he freely chooses or accepts, and will take appropriate steps to safeguard this right.

2. The steps to be taken by a State Party to the present Covenant to achieve the full realization of this right shall include technical and vocational guidance and training programmes, policies and techniques to achieve steady economic, social and cultural development and full and productive employment under conditions safeguarding fundamental political and economic freedoms to the individual.

Article 7

The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to the enjoyment of just and favourable conditions of work which ensure, in particular:

- (a) Remuneration which provides all workers, as a minimum, with:
 - (i) Fair wages and equal remuneration for work of equal value without distinction of any kind, in particular women being guaranteed conditions of work not inferior to those enjoyed by men, with equal pay for equal work;
 - (ii) A decent living for themselves and their families in accordance with the provisions of the present Covenant;
- (b) Safe and healthy working conditions;
- (c) Equal opportunity for everyone to be promoted in his employment to an appropriate higher level, subject to no considerations other than those of seniority and competence;
- (d) Rest, leisure and reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic

holidays with pay, as well as remuneration for public holidays.

Article 8

1. The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to ensure:

(a) The right of everyone to form trade unions and join the trade union of his choice, subject only to the rules of the organization concerned, for the promotion and protection of his economic and social interests. No restrictions may be placed on the exercise of this right other than those prescribed by law and which are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security or public order or for the protection of the rights and freedoms of others;

(b) The right of trade unions to establish national federations or confederations and the right of the latter to form or join international trade-union organizations;

(c) The right of trade unions to function freely subject to no limitations other than those prescribed by law and which are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security or public order or for the protection of the rights and freedoms of others;

(d) The right to strike, provided that it is exercised in conformity with the laws of the particular country.

2. This article shall not prevent the imposition of lawful restrictions on the exercise of these rights by members of the armed forces or of the police or of the administration of the State.

3. Nothing in this article shall authorize States Parties to the International Labour Organisation Convention of 1948 concerning Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize to take legislative measures which would prejudice, or apply the law in such a manner as would prejudice, the guarantees provided for in that Convention.

Article 9

The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to social security, including social insurance.

Article 10

The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize that:

1. The widest possible protection and assistance should be accorded to the family, which is the natural and fundamental group unit of society, particularly for its establishment and while it is responsible for the care and education of dependent children. Marriage must be entered into with the free consent of the intending spouses.

2. Special protection should be accorded to mothers during a reasonable period before and after childbirth. During such period working mothers should be accorded paid leave or leave with adequate social security benefits.

3. Special measures of protection and assistance should be taken on behalf of all children and young persons without any discrimination for reasons of parentage or other conditions. Children and young persons should be protected from economic and social exploitation. Their employment in work harmful to their morals or health or dangerous to life or likely to hamper their normal development should be punishable by law. States should also set age limits below which the paid employment of child labour should be prohibited and punishable by law.

Article 11

1. The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions. The States Parties will take appropriate steps to ensure the realization of this right, recognizing

to this effect the essential importance of international co-operation based on free consent.

2. The States Parties to the present Covenant, recognizing the fundamental right of everyone to be free from hunger, shall take, individually and through international co-operation, the measures, including specific programmes, which are needed:

(a) To improve methods of production, conservation and distribution of food by making full use of technical and scientific knowledge, by disseminating knowledge of the principles of nutrition and by developing or reforming agrarian systems in such a way as to achieve the most efficient development and utilization of natural resources;

(b) Taking into account the problems of both food-importing and food-exporting countries, to ensure an equitable distribution of world food supplies in relation to need.

Article 12

1. The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health.

2. The steps to be taken by the States Parties to the present Covenant to achieve the full realization of this right shall include those necessary for:

(a) The provision for the reduction of the stillbirth-rate and of infant mortality and for the healthy development of the child;

(b) The improvement of all aspects of environmental and industrial hygiene;

(c) The prevention, treatment and control of epidemic, endemic, occupational and other diseases;

(d) The creation of conditions which would assure to all medical service and medical attention in the event of sickness.

Article 13

1. The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to education. They agree that education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity, and shall strengthen the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. They further agree that education shall enable all persons to participate effectively in a free society, promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations and all racial, ethnic or religious groups, and further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

2. The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize that, with a view to achieving the full realization of this right:

(a) Primary education shall be compulsory and available free to all;

(b) Secondary education in its different forms, including technical and vocational secondary education, shall be made generally available and accessible to all by every appropriate means, and in particular by the progressive introduction of free education;

(c) Higher education shall be made equally accessible to all, on the basis of capacity, by every appropriate means, and in particular by the progressive introduction of free education;

(d) Fundamental education shall be encouraged or intensified as far as possible for those persons who have not received or completed the whole period of their primary education;

(e) The development of a system of schools at all levels shall be actively pursued, an adequate fellowship system shall be established, and the material conditions of teaching staff shall be continuously improved.

3. The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to have respect for the liberty of parents and, when applicable, legal guardians to choose for their children schools, other than those established by the public au-

thorities, which conform to such minimum educational standards as may be laid down or approved by the State and to ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions.

4. No part of this article shall be construed so as to interfere with the liberty of individuals and bodies to establish and direct educational institutions, subject always to the observance of the principles set forth in paragraph 1 of this article and to the requirement that the education given in such institutions shall conform to such minimum standards as may be laid down by the the State.

Article 14

Each State Party to the present Covenant which, at the time of becoming a Party, has not been able to secure in its metropolitan territory or other territories under its jurisdiction compulsory primary education, free of charge, undertakes, within two years, to work out and adopt a detailed plan of action for the progressive implementation, within a reasonable number of years, to be fixed in the plan, of the principle of compulsory education free of charge for all.

Article 15

1. The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone:

- (a) To take part in cultural life;
- (b) To enjoy the benefits of scientific progress and its applications;
- (c) To benefit from the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

2. The steps to be taken by the States Parties to the present Covenant to achieve the full realization of this right shall include those necessary for the conservation, the development and the diffusion of science and culture.

3. The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to respect the freedom indispensable for scientific research and creative activity.

4. The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the benefits to be derived from the encouragement and development of international contacts and co-operation in the scientific and cultural fields.

PART IV

Article 16

1. The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to submit in conformity with this part of the Covenant reports on the measures which they have adopted and the progress made in achieving the observance of the rights recognized herein.

2. (a) All reports shall be submitted to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who shall transmit copies to the Economic and Social Council for consideration in accordance with the provisions of the present Covenant.

(b) The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall also transmit to the specialized agencies copies of the reports, or any relevant parts therefrom, from States Parties to the present Covenant which are also members of these specialized agencies in so far as these reports, or parts therefrom, relate to any matters which fall within the responsibilities of the said agencies in accordance with their constitutional instruments.

Article 17

1. The States Parties to the present Covenant shall furnish their reports in stages, in accordance with a programme to be established by the Economic and Social Council within one year of the entry into force of the present Covenant after consultation with

the States Parties and the specialized agencies concerned.

2. Reports may indicate factors and difficulties affecting the degree of fulfilment of obligations under the present Covenant.

3. Where relevant information has previously been furnished to the United Nations or to any specialized agency by any State Party to the present Covenant, it will not be necessary to reproduce that information, but a precise reference to the information so furnished will suffice.

Article 18

Pursuant to its responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations in the field of human rights and fundamental freedoms, the Economic and Social Council may make arrangements with the specialized agencies in respect of their reporting to it on the progress made in achieving the observance of the provisions of the present Covenant falling within the scope of their activities. These reports may include particulars of decisions and recommendations on such implementation adopted by their competent organs.

Article 19

The Economic and Social Council may transmit to the Commission on Human Rights for study and general recommendation or, as appropriate, for information the reports concerning human rights submitted by States in accordance with articles 16 and 17, and those concerning human rights submitted by the specialized agencies in accordance with article 18.

Article 20

The States Parties to the present Covenant and the specialized agencies concerned may submit comments to the Economic and Social Council on any general recommendation under ar-

ticle 19 or reference to such general recommendation in any report of the Commission on Human Rights or any documentation referred to therein.

Article 21

The Economic and Social Council may submit from time to time to the General Assembly reports with recommendations of a general nature and a summary of the information received from the States Parties to the present Covenant and the specialized agencies on the measures taken and the progress made in achieving general observance of the rights recognized in the present Covenant.

Article 22

The Economic and Social Council may bring to the attention of other organs of the United Nations, their subsidiary organs and specialized agencies concerned with furnishing technical assistance any matters arising out of the reports referred to in this part of the present Covenant which may assist such bodies in deciding, each within its field of competence, on the advisability of international measures likely to contribute to the effective progressive implementation of the present Covenant.

Article 23

The States Parties to the present Covenant agree that international action for the achievement of the rights recognized in the present Covenant includes such methods as the conclusion of conventions, the adoption of recommendations, the furnishing of technical assistance and the holding of regional meetings and technical meetings for the purpose of consultation and study organized in conjunction with the Governments concerned.

Article 24

Nothing in the present Covenant

shall be interpreted as impairing the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and of the constitutions of the specialized agencies which define the respective responsibilities of the various organs of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies in regard to the matters dealt with in the present Covenant.

Article 25

Nothing in the present Covenant shall be interpreted as impairing the inherent right of all peoples to enjoy and utilize fully and freely their natural wealth and resources.

Article 26

1. The present Covenant is open for signature by any State Member of the United Nations or member of any of its specialized agencies, by any State Party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice, and by any other State which has been invited by the General Assembly of the United Nations to become a party to the present Covenant.

2. The present Covenant is subject to ratification. Instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

3. The present Covenant shall be open to accession by any State referred to in paragraph 1 of this article.

4. Accession shall be effected by the deposit of an instrument of accession with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

5. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall inform all States which have signed the present Covenant or acceded to it of the deposit of each instrument of ratification or accession.

Article 27

1. The present Covenant shall enter into force three months after the

date of the deposit with the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the thirty-fifth instrument of ratification or instrument of accession.

2. For each State ratifying the present Covenant or acceding to it after the deposit of the thirty-fifth instrument of ratification or instrument of accession, the present Covenant shall enter into force three months after the date of the deposit of its own instrument of ratification or instrument of accession.

Article 28

The provisions of the present Covenant shall extend to all parts of federal States without any limitations or exceptions.

Article 29

1. Any State Party to the present Covenant may propose an amendment and file it with the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The Secretary-General shall thereupon communicate any proposed amendments to the States Parties to the present Covenant with a request that they notify him whether they favour a conference of States Parties for the purpose of considering and voting upon the proposals. In the event that at least one third of the States Parties favours such a conference, the Secretary-General shall convene the conference under the auspices of the United Nations. Any amendment adopted by a majority of the States Parties present and voting at the conference shall be submitted to the General Assembly of the United Nations for approval.

2. Amendments shall come into force when they have been approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations and accepted by a two-thirds majority of the States Parties to the present Covenant in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

3. When amendments come into

force they shall be binding on those States Parties which have accepted them, other States Parties still being bound by the provisions of the present Covenant and any earlier amendment which they have accepted.

Article 30

Irrespective of the notifications made under article 26, paragraph 5, the Secretary-General of the United Nations shall inform all States referred to in paragraph 1 of the same article of the following particulars:

(a) Signatures, ratifications and accessions under article 26;

(b) The date of the entry into force of the present Covenant under article 27 and the date of the entry into force of any amendments under article 29.

Article 31

1. The present Covenant, of which the Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the United Nations.

2. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall transmit certified copies of the present Covenant to all States referred to in article 26.

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

THE STATES PARTIES TO THE PRESENT COVENANT,

Considering that, in accordance with the principles proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations, recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Recognizing that these rights derive from the inherent dignity of the human person,

Recognizing that, in accordance with the Universal Declaration of

Human Rights, the ideal of free human beings enjoying civil and political freedom and freedom from fear and want can only be achieved if conditions are created whereby everyone may enjoy his civil and political rights, as well as his economic, social and cultural rights,

Considering the obligation of States under the Charter of the United Nations to promote universal respect for and observance of, human rights and freedoms,

Realizing that the individual, having duties to other individuals and to the community to which he belongs, is under a responsibility to strive for the promotion and observance of the rights recognized in the present Covenant,

Agree upon the following articles:

PART I

Article 1

1. All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

2. All peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic co-operation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and international law. In no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence.

3. The States Parties to the present Covenant, including those having responsibility for the administration of Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories, shall promote the realization of the right of self-determination, and shall respect that right, in conformity with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

PART II

Article 2

1. Each State Party to the present Covenant undertakes to respect and to ensure to all individuals within its territory and subject to its jurisdiction the rights recognized in the present Covenant, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

2. Where not already provided for by existing legislative or other measures, each State Party to the present Covenant undertakes to take the necessary steps, in accordance with its constitutional processes and with the provisions of the present Covenant, to adopt such legislative or other measures as may be necessary to give effect to the rights recognized in the present Covenant.

3. Each State Party to the present Covenant undertakes:

(a) To ensure that any person whose rights or freedoms as herein recognized are violated shall have an effective remedy, notwithstanding that the violation has been committed by persons acting in an official capacity;

(b) To ensure that any person claiming such a remedy shall have his right thereto determined by competent judicial, administrative or legislative authorities, or by any other competent authority provided for by the legal system of the State, and to develop the possibilities of judicial remedy;

(c) To ensure that the competent authorities shall enforce such remedies when granted.

Article 3

The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to ensure the equal right of men and women to the enjoyment of all civil and political rights set forth in the present Covenant.

Article 4

1. In time of public emergency which threatens the life of the nation and the existence of which is officially proclaimed, the States Parties to the present Covenant may take measures derogating from their obligations under the present Covenant to the extent strictly required by the exigencies of the situation, provided that such measures are not inconsistent with their other obligations under international law and do not involve discrimination solely on the ground of race, colour, sex, language, religion or social origin.

2. No derogation from articles 6, 7, 8 (paragraphs 1 and 2), 11, 15, 16 and 18 may be made under this provision.

3. Any State Party to the present Covenant availing itself of the right of derogation shall immediately inform the other States Parties to the present Covenant, through the intermediary of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, of the provisions from which it has derogated and of the reasons by which it was actuated. A further communication shall be made, through the same intermediary, on the date on which it terminates such derogation.

Article 5

1. Nothing in the present Covenant may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms recognized herein or at their limitation to a greater extent than is provided for in the present Covenant.

2. There shall be no restriction upon or derogation from any of the fundamental human rights recognized or existing in any State Party to the present Covenant pursuant to law, conventions, regulations or custom on the pretext that the present Covenant does not recognize such rights or that it recognizes them to a lesser extent.

PART III

Article 8

Article 6

1. Every human being has the inherent right to life. This right shall be protected by law. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his life.

2. In countries which have not abolished the death penalty, sentence of death may be imposed only for the most serious crimes in accordance with the law in force at the time of the commission of the crime and not contrary to the provisions of the present Covenant and to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. This penalty can only be carried out pursuant to a final judgement rendered by a competent court.

3. When deprivation of life constitutes the crime of genocide, it is understood that nothing in this article shall authorize any State Party to the present Covenant to derogate in any way from any obligation assumed under the provisions of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

4. Anyone sentenced to death shall have the right to seek pardon or commutation of the sentence. Amnesty, pardon or commutation of the sentence of death may be granted in all cases.

5. Sentence of death shall not be imposed for crimes committed by persons below eighteen years of age and shall not be carried out on pregnant women.

6. Nothing in this article shall be invoked to delay or to prevent the abolition of capital punishment by any State Party to the present Covenant.

Article 7

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. In particular, no one shall be subjected without his free consent to medical or scientific experimentation.

1. No one shall be held in slavery; slavery and the slave-trade in all their forms shall be prohibited.

2. No one shall be held in servitude.

3. (a) No one shall be required to perform forced or compulsory labour;

(b) Paragraph 3 (a) shall not be held to preclude, in countries where imprisonment with hard labour may be imposed as a punishment for a crime, the performance of hard labour in pursuance of a sentence to such punishment by a competent court;

(c) For the purpose of this paragraph the term "forced or compulsory labour" shall not include:

(i) Any work or service, not referred to in subparagraph (b), normally required of a person who is under detention in consequence of a lawful order of a court, or of a person during conditional release from such detention;

(ii) Any service of a military character and, in countries where conscientious objection is recognized, any national service required by law of conscientious objectors;

(iii) Any service exacted in cases of emergency or calamity threatening the life or well-being of the community;

(iv) Any work or service which forms part of normal civil obligations.

Article 9

1. Everyone has the right to liberty and security of person. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention. No one shall be deprived of his liberty except on such grounds and in accordance with such procedure as are established by law.

2. Anyone who is arrested shall be informed, at the time of arrest, of the reasons for his arrest and shall be promptly informed of any charges against him.

3. Anyone arrested or detained on a criminal charge shall be brought promptly before a judge or other officer authorized by law to exercise judicial power and shall be entitled to trial within a reasonable time or to release. It shall not be the general rule that persons awaiting trial shall be detained in custody, but release may be subject to guarantees to appear for trial, at any other stage of the judicial proceedings, and, should occasion arise, for execution of the judgement.

4. Anyone who is deprived of his liberty by arrest or detention shall be entitled to take proceedings before a court, in order that that court may decide without delay on the lawfulness of his detention and order his release if the detention is not lawful.

5. Anyone who has been the victim of unlawful arrest or detention shall have an enforceable right to compensation.

Article 10

1. All persons deprived of their liberty shall be treated with humanity and with respect for the inherent dignity of the human person.

2. (a) Accused persons shall, save in exceptional circumstances, be segregated from convicted persons and shall be subject to separate treatment appropriate to their status as unconvicted persons;

(b) Accused juvenile persons shall be separated from adults and brought as speedily as possible for adjudication.

3. The penitentiary system shall comprise treatment of prisoners the essential aim of which shall be their reformation and social rehabilitation. Juvenile offenders shall be segregated from adults and be accorded treatment

appropriate to their age and legal status.

Article 11

No one shall be imprisoned merely on the ground of inability to fulfil a contractual obligation.

Article 12

1. Everyone lawfully within the territory of a State shall, within that territory, have the right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose his residence.

2. Everyone shall be free to leave any country, including his own.

3. The above-mentioned rights shall not be subject to any restrictions except those which are provided by law, are necessary to protect national security, public order (*ordre public*), public health or morals or the rights and freedoms of others, and are consistent with the other rights recognized in the present Covenant.

4. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of the right to enter his own country.

Article 13

An alien lawfully in the territory of a State Party to the present Covenant may be expelled therefrom only in pursuance of a decision reached in accordance with law and shall, except where compelling reasons of national security otherwise require, be allowed to submit the reasons against his expulsion and to have his case reviewed by, and be represented for the purpose before, the competent authority or a person or persons especially designated by the competent authority.

Article 14

1. All persons shall be equal before the courts and tribunals. In the determination of any criminal charge against him, or of his rights and obligations in a suit at law, everyone shall be

entitled to a fair and public hearing by a competent, independent and impartial tribunal established by law. The Press and the public may be excluded from all or part of a trial for reasons of morals, public order (*ordre public*) or national security in a democratic society, or when the interest of the private lives of the parties so requires, or to the extent strictly necessary in the opinion of the court in special circumstances where publicity would prejudice the interests of justice; but any judgement rendered in a criminal case or in a suit at law shall be made public except where the interest of juvenile persons otherwise requires or the proceedings concern matrimonial disputes or the guardianship of children.

2. Everyone charged with a criminal offence shall have the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law.

3. In the determination of any criminal charge against him, everyone shall be entitled to the following minimum guarantees, in full equality:

(a) To be informed promptly and in detail in a language which he understands of the nature and cause of the charge against him;

(b) To have adequate time and facilities for the preparation of his defence and to communicate with counsel of his own choosing;

(c) To be tried without undue delay;

(d) To be tried in his presence, and to defend himself in person or through legal assistance of his own choosing; to be informed, if he does not have legal assistance, of this right; and to have legal assistance assigned to him, in any case where the interests of justice so require, and without payment by him in any such case if he does not have sufficient means to pay for it;

(e) To examine, or have examined, the witnesses against him and to obtain the attendance and examination of witnesses on his behalf under the same conditions as witnesses against him;

(f) To have the free assistance of an

interpreter if he cannot understand or speak the language used in court;

(g) Not to be compelled to testify against himself or to confess guilt.

4. In the case of juvenile persons, the procedure shall be such as will take account of their age and the desirability of promoting their rehabilitation.

5. Everyone convicted of a crime shall have the right to his conviction and sentence being reviewed by a higher tribunal according to law.

6. When a person has by a final decision been convicted of a criminal offence and when subsequently his conviction has been reversed or he has been pardoned on the ground that a new or newly discovered fact shows conclusively that there has been a miscarriage of justice, the person who has suffered punishment as a result of such conviction shall be compensated according to law, unless it is proved that the non-disclosure of the unknown fact in time is wholly or partly attributable to him.

7. No one shall be liable to be tried or punished again for an offence for which he has already been finally convicted or acquitted in accordance with the law and penal procedure of each country.

Article 15

1. No one shall be held guilty of any criminal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a criminal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time when the criminal offence was committed. If, subsequent to the commission of the offence, provision is made by law for the imposition of a lighter penalty, the offender shall benefit thereby.

2. Nothing in this article shall prejudice the trial and punishment of any person for any act or omission which, at the time when it was committed, was criminal according to the gen-

eral principles of law recognized by the community of nations.

Article 16

Everyone shall have the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 17

1. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary or unlawful interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to unlawful attacks on his honour and reputation.

2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 18

1. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. This right shall include freedom to have or to adopt a religion or belief of his choice, and freedom, either individually or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in worship, observance, practice and teaching.

2. No one shall be subject to coercion which would impair his freedom to have or to adopt a religion or belief of his choice.

3. Freedom to manifest one's religion or beliefs may be subject only to such limitations as are prescribed by law and are necessary to protect public safety, order, health, or morals or the fundamental rights and freedoms of others.

4. The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to have respect for the liberty of parents and, when applicable, legal guardians to ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions.

Article 19

1. Everyone shall have the right to hold opinions without interference.

2. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice.

3. The exercise of the rights provided for in paragraph 2 of this article carries with it special duties and responsibilities. It may therefore be subject to certain restrictions, but these shall only be such as are provided by law and are necessary:

(a) For respect of the rights or reputations of others;

(b) For the protection of national security or of public order (*ordre public*), or of public health or morals.

Article 20

1. Any propaganda for war shall be prohibited by law.

2. Any advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence shall be prohibited by law.

Article 21

The right of peaceful assembly shall be recognized. No restrictions may be placed on the exercise of this right other than those imposed in conformity with the law and which are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security or public safety, public order (*ordre public*), the protection of public health or morals or the protection of the rights and freedoms of others.

Article 22

1. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of association with others, including the right to form and join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

2. No restrictions may be placed on the exercise of this right other than

those which are prescribed by law and which are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security or public safety, public order (*ordre public*), the protection of public health or morals or the protection of the rights and freedoms of others. This article shall not prevent the imposition of lawful restrictions on members of the armed forces and of the police in their exercise of this right.

3. Nothing in this article shall authorize States Parties to the International Labour Organisation Convention of 1948 concerning Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize to take legislative measures which would prejudice, or to apply the law in such a manner as to prejudice, the guarantees provided for in that Convention.

Article 23

1. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

2. The right of men and women of marriageable age to marry and to found a family shall be recognized.

3. No marriage shall be entered into without the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

4. States Parties to the present Covenant shall take appropriate steps to ensure equality of rights and responsibilities of spouses as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution. In the case of dissolution, provision shall be made for the necessary protection of any children.

Article 24

1. Every child shall have, without any discrimination as to race, colour, sex, language, religion, national or social origin, property or birth, the right to such measures of protection as are required by his status as a minor, on the part of his family, society and the State.

2. Every child shall be registered immediately after birth and shall have a name.

3. Every child has the right to acquire a nationality.

Article 25

Every citizen shall have the right and the opportunity, without any of the distinctions mentioned in article 2 and without unreasonable restrictions:

(a) To take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives;

(b) To vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret ballot, guaranteeing the free expression of the will of the electors;

(c) To have access, on general terms of equality, to public service in his country.

Article 26

All persons are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law. In this respect, the law shall prohibit any discrimination and guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination on any ground such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Article 27

In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, or to use their own language.

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Department of Public Information

t: EVERYONE'S UNITED NATIONS

This volume is a compact reference book on the United Nations and its family of organizations. It describes the structure and activities of the United Nations and the 17 intergovernmental agencies related to it, concentrating on their work during the 12 years up to 1977/1978. It forms a companion volume to the eighth edition of EVERYMAN'S UNITED NATIONS, published in March 1968, which gives a more detailed account of the activities and evolution of the United Nations during its first 20 years, 1945 through 1965. Together, the two volumes constitute a basic history of the Organization. A comprehensive history may be found in the series entitled YEARBOOK OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

Ninth Edition



UNITED NATIONS • NEW YORK

CHARTER
of the
UNITED NATIONS
and
STATUTE
of the
INTERNATIONAL
COURT OF JUSTICE

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,

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.

CHAPTER I
PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES

ARTICLE 1

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 co-operation 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.

ARTICLE 2

The Organization and its Members, in pursuit of the Pur-

poses 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.

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 110.

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.

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.

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 co-operation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments, and may make recommendations with regard to such principles to the Members or to the Security Council or to both.

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. Any such question 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 co-operation in the political field and encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification;

b. promoting international co-operation 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.

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 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.

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.

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 sessions 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.

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.

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.

Procedure

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.

CHAPTER VI

PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

ARTICLE 33

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

2. The Security Council shall, when it deems necessary, call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.

ARTICLE 34

The Security Council may investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

ARTICLE 35

1. Any Member of the United Nations may bring any dispute, or any situation of the nature referred to in Article 34, to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly.

2. A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may bring to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly any dispute to which it is a party if it accepts in advance, for the purposes of the dispute, the obligations of pacific settlement provided in the present Charter.

3. The proceedings of the General Assembly in respect of matters brought to its attention under this Article will be subject to the provisions of Articles 11 and 12.

ARTICLE 36

1. The Security Council may, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 or of a situation of like

nature, recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.

2. The Security Council should take into consideration any procedures for the settlement of the dispute which have already been adopted by the parties.

3. In making recommendations under this Article the Security Council should also take into consideration that legal disputes should as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of the Court.

ARTICLE 37

1. Should the parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 fail to settle it by the means indicated in that Article, they shall refer it to the Security Council.

2. If the Security Council deems that the continuance of the dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, it shall decide whether to take action under Article 36 or to recommend such terms of settlement as it may consider appropriate.

ARTICLE 38

Without prejudice to the provisions of Articles 33 to 37, the Security Council may, if all the parties to any dispute so request, make recommendations to the parties with a view to a pacific settlement of the dispute.

CHAPTER VII

ACTION WITH RESPECT TO THREATS TO THE PEACE, BREACHES OF THE PEACE, AND ACTS OF AGGRESSION

ARTICLE 39

The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security.

ARTICLE 40

In order to prevent an aggravation of the situation, the Security Council may, before making the recommendations or deciding upon the measures provided for in Article 39, call upon the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures as it deems necessary or desirable. Such provisional measures shall be without prejudice to the rights, claims, or position of the parties concerned. The Security Council shall duly take account of failure to comply with such provisional measures.

ARTICLE 41

The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations.

ARTICLE 42

Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace

and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 43

1. All Members of the United Nations, in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance, and facilities, including rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

2. Such agreement or agreements shall govern the numbers and types of forces, their degree of readiness and general location, and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be provided.

3. The agreement or agreements shall be negotiated as soon as possible on the initiative of the Security Council. They shall be concluded between the Security Council and Members or between the Security Council and groups of Members and shall be subject to ratification by the signatory states in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

ARTICLE 44

When the Security Council has decided to use force it shall, before calling upon a Member not represented on it to provide armed forces in fulfilment of the obligations assumed under Article 43, invite that Member, if the Member so desires, to participate in the decisions of the Security Council concerning the employment of contingents of that Member's armed forces.

ARTICLE 45

In order to enable the United Nations to take urgent military measures, Members shall hold immediately available national air-force contingents for combined international enforcement action. The strength and degree of readiness of these contingents and plans for their combined action shall be determined, within the limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to in Article 43, by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

ARTICLE 46

Plans for the application of armed force shall be made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

ARTICLE 47

1. There shall be established a Military Staff Committee to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, the regulation of armaments, and possible disarmament.

2. The Military Staff Committee shall consist of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives. Any Member of the United Nations not permanently represented on the Committee shall be invited by the Committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the Committee's responsibilities requires the participation of that Member in its work.

3. The Military Staff Committee shall be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. Questions

relating to the command of such forces shall be worked out subsequently.

4. The Military Staff Committee, with the authorization of the Security Council and after consultation with appropriate regional agencies, may establish regional sub-committees.

ARTICLE 48

1. The action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security shall be taken by all the Members of the United Nations or by some of them, as the Security Council may determine.

2. Such decisions shall be carried out by the Members of the United Nations directly and through their action in the appropriate international agencies of which they are members.

ARTICLE 49

The Members of the United Nations shall join in affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Security Council.

ARTICLE 50

If preventive or enforcement measures against any state are taken by the Security Council, any other state, whether a Member of the United Nations or not, which finds itself confronted with special economic problems arising from the carrying out of those measures shall have the right to consult the Security Council with regard to a solution of those problems.

ARTICLE 51

Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defence shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.

CHAPTER VIII

REGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

ARTICLE 52

1. Nothing in the present Charter precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.

2. The Members of the United Nations entering into such arrangements or constituting such agencies shall make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies before referring them to the Security Council.

3. The Security Council shall encourage the development of pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies either on the initiative of the states concerned or by reference from the Security Council.

4. This Article in no way impairs the application of Articles 34 and 35.

ARTICLE 53

1. The Security Council shall, where appropriate, utilize such regional arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority. But no enforcement action shall be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council, with the exception of measures against any enemy state, as defined in paragraph 2 of this Article, provided for pursuant to Article 107 or in regional arrangements directed against renewal of aggressive policy on the part of any such state, until such time as the Organization may, on request of the Governments concerned, be charged with the responsibility for preventing further aggression by such a state.

2. The term enemy state as used in paragraph 1 of this Article applies to any state which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory of the present Charter.

ARTICLE 54

The Security Council shall at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security.

CHAPTER IX
INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL
CO-OPERATION

ARTICLE 55

With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote:

- a. higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development;
- b. solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems; and international cultural and educational co-operation; and
- c. universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

ARTICLE 56

All Members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organization for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55.

ARTICLE 57

1. The various specialized agencies, established by inter-governmental agreement and having wide international responsibilities, as defined in their basic instruments, in economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related fields, shall be brought into relationship with the United Nations in accordance with the provisions of Article 63.

2. Such agencies thus brought into relationship with the United Nations are hereinafter referred to as specialized agencies.

ARTICLE 58

The Organization shall make recommendations for the co-ordination of the policies and activities of the specialized agencies.

ARTICLE 59

The Organization shall, where appropriate, initiate negotiations among the states concerned for the creation of any new specialized agencies required for the accomplishment of the purposes set forth in Article 55.

ARTICLE 60

Responsibility for the discharge of the functions of the Organization set forth in this Chapter shall be vested in the General Assembly and, under the authority of the General Assembly, in the Economic and Social Council, which shall have for this purpose the powers set forth in Chapter X.

CHAPTER X
THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

Composition

ARTICLE 61

1. The Economic and Social Council shall consist of fifty-four Members of the United Nations elected by the General Assembly.

2. Subject to the provisions of paragraph 3, eighteen members of the Economic and Social Council shall be elected each year for a term of three years. A retiring member shall be eligible for immediate re-election.

3. At the first election after the increase in the membership of the Economic and Social Council from twenty-seven to fifty-four members, in addition to the members elected in place of the nine members whose term of office expires at the end of that year, twenty-seven additional members shall be elected. Of these twenty-seven additional members, the term of office of nine members so elected shall expire at the end of one year, and of nine other members at the end of two years, in accordance with arrangements made by the General Assembly.

4. Each member of the Economic and Social Council shall have one representative.

Functions and Powers

ARTICLE 62

1. The Economic and Social Council may make or initiate studies and reports with respect to international economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related matters and may make recommendations with respect to any such matters to the General Assembly, to the Members of the United Nations, and to the specialized agencies concerned.

2. It may make recommendations for the purpose of promoting respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.

3. It may prepare draft conventions for submission to the General Assembly, with respect to matters falling within its competence.

4. It may call, in accordance with the rules prescribed by the United Nations, international conferences on matters falling within its competence.

ARTICLE 63

1. The Economic and Social Council may enter into agreements with any of the agencies referred to in Article 57, defining the terms on which the agency concerned shall be brought

into relationship with the United Nations. Such agreements shall be subject to approval by the General Assembly.

2. It may co-ordinate the activities of the specialized agencies through consultation with and recommendations to such agencies and through recommendations to the General Assembly and to the Members of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 64

1. The Economic and Social Council may take appropriate steps to obtain regular reports from the specialized agencies. It may make arrangements with the Members of the United Nations and with the specialized agencies to obtain reports on the steps taken to give effect to its own recommendations and to recommendations on matters falling within its competence made by the General Assembly.

2. It may communicate its observations on these reports to the General Assembly.

ARTICLE 65

The Economic and Social Council may furnish information to the Security Council and shall assist the Security Council upon its request.

ARTICLE 66

1. The Economic and Social Council shall perform such functions as fall within its competence in connexion with the carrying out of the recommendations of the General Assembly.

2. It may, with the approval of the General Assembly, perform services at the request of Members of the United Nations and at the request of specialized agencies.

3. It shall perform such other functions as are specified elsewhere in the present Charter or as may be assigned to it by the General Assembly.

Voting

ARTICLE 67

1. Each member of the Economic and Social Council shall have one vote.

2. Decisions of the Economic and Social Council shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

Procedure

ARTICLE 68

The Economic and Social Council shall set up commissions in economic and social fields and for the promotion of human rights, and such other commissions as may be required for the performance of its functions.

ARTICLE 69

The Economic and Social Council shall invite any Member of the United Nations to participate, without vote, in its deliberations on any matter of particular concern to that Member.

ARTICLE 70

The Economic and Social Council may make arrangements for representatives of the specialized agencies to participate, without vote, in its deliberations and in those of the commissions established by it, and for its representatives to participate in the deliberations of the specialized agencies.

ARTICLE 71

The Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organiza-

tions which are concerned with matters within its competence. Such arrangements may be made with international organizations and, where appropriate, with national organizations after consultation with the Member of the United Nations concerned.

ARTICLE 72

1. The Economic and Social Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.

2. The Economic and Social Council shall meet as required in accordance with its rules, which shall include provision for the convening of meetings on the request of a majority of its members.

CHAPTER XI

DECLARATION REGARDING

NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES

ARTICLE 73

Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories, and, to this end:

a. to ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their political, economic, social, and educational advancement, their just treatment, and their protection against abuses;

b. to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement;

c. to further international peace and security;

d. to promote constructive measures of development, to encourage research, and to co-operate with one another and, when and where appropriate, with specialized international bodies with a view to the practical achievement of the social, economic, and scientific purposes set forth in this Article; and

e. to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General for information purposes, subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in the territories for which they are respectively responsible other than those territories to which Chapters XII and XIII apply.

ARTICLE 74

Members of the United Nations also agree that their policy in respect of the territories to which this Chapter applies, no less than in respect of their metropolitan areas, must be based on the general principle of good-neighbourliness, due account being taken of the interests and well-being of the rest of the world, in social, economic, and commercial matters.

CHAPTER XII
INTERNATIONAL TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM

ARTICLE 75

The United Nations shall establish under its authority an international trusteeship system for the administration and supervision of such territories as may be placed thereunder by subsequent individual agreements. These territories are hereinafter referred to as trust territories.

ARTICLE 76

The basic objectives of the trusteeship system, in accordance with the Purposes of the United Nations laid down in Article 1 of the present Charter, shall be:

- a. to further international peace and security;
- b. to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned, and as may be provided by the terms of each trusteeship agreement;
- c. to encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion, and to encourage recognition of the interdependence of the peoples of the world; and
- d. to ensure equal treatment in social, economic, and commercial matters for all Members of the United Nations and their nationals, and also equal treatment for the latter in the administration of justice, without prejudice to the attainment of the foregoing objectives and subject to the provisions of Article 80.

ARTICLE 77

1. The trusteeship system shall apply to such territories in the following categories as may be placed thereunder by means of trusteeship agreements:

- a. territories now held under mandate;
- b. territories which may be detached from enemy states as a result of the Second World War; and
- c. territories voluntarily placed under the system by states responsible for their administration.

2. It will be a matter for subsequent agreement as to which territories in the foregoing categories will be brought under the trusteeship system and upon what terms.

ARTICLE 78

The trusteeship system shall not apply to territories which have become Members of the United Nations, relationship among which shall be based on respect for the principle of sovereign equality.

ARTICLE 79

The terms of trusteeship for each territory to be placed under the trusteeship system, including any alteration or amendment, shall be agreed upon by the states directly concerned, including the mandatory power in the case of territories held under mandate by a Member of the United Nations, and shall be approved as provided for in Articles 83 and 85.

ARTICLE 80

1. Except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship agreements, made under Articles 77, 79, and 81, placing each territory under the trusteeship system, and until such agreements

have been concluded, nothing in this Chapter shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples or the terms of existing international instruments to which Members of the United Nations may respectively be parties.

2. Paragraph 1 of this Article shall not be interpreted as giving grounds for delay or postponement of the negotiation and conclusion of agreements for placing mandated and other territories under the trusteeship system as provided for in Article 77.

ARTICLE 81

The trusteeship agreement shall in each case include the terms under which the trust territory will be administered and designate the authority which will exercise the administration of the trust territory. Such authority, hereinafter called the administering authority, may be one or more states or the Organization itself.

ARTICLE 82

There may be designated, in any trusteeship agreement, a strategic area or areas which may include part or all of the trust territory to which the agreement applies, without prejudice to any special agreement or agreements made under Article 43.

ARTICLE 83

1. All functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendment, shall be exercised by the Security Council.

2. The basic objectives set forth in Article 76 shall be applicable to the people of each strategic area.

3. The Security Council shall, subject to the provisions of the trusteeship agreements and without prejudice to security considerations, avail itself of the assistance of the Trusteeship Council to perform those functions of the United Nations under the trusteeship system relating to political, economic, social, and educational matters in the strategic areas.

ARTICLE 84

It shall be the duty of the administering authority to ensure that the trust territory shall play its part in the maintenance of international peace and security. To this end the administering authority may make use of volunteer forces, facilities, and assistance from the trust territory in carrying out the obligations towards the Security Council undertaken in this regard by the administering authority, as well as for local defence and the maintenance of law and order within the trust territory.

ARTICLE 85

1. The functions of the United Nations with regard to trusteeship agreements for all areas not designated as strategic, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendment, shall be exercised by the General Assembly.

2. The Trusteeship Council, operating under the authority of the General Assembly, shall assist the General Assembly in carrying out these functions.

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Annual Review of United Nations Affairs
A Chronology and Fact Book of
The United Nations

1941 - 1979

6th Edition

Thomas Hovet, Jr.

Erica Hovet

With a preface to the first edition by the late

Andrew W. Cordier

*Formerly Under-Secretary in charge of General Assembly and
Related Affairs of the United Nations*

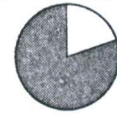
Oceana Publications, Inc.

Dobbs Ferry, New York

1979

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Human rights rating: 20%



Population: 275,000,000
 Life expectancy: 69
 Infant mortality (0-1 year)
 per 1,000 births: 20

Income per head: US\$3,400
 % of GNP spent on military: 4.98
 % of GNP spent by state on health: } 31.95
 % of GNP spent by state on education: }

Form of government: one-party communist state

United Nations covenants:
 ratified - Civil and Political Rights;
 Economic, Social and Cultural Rights;
 Convention on equality for women.

YES	3	
yes	7	
NO		27
no	3	

FACTORS AFFECTING HUMAN RIGHTS

The people are subordinate to the ideals and aims of the state and the ruling party. There has recently been an increase in the small number of human rights protesters and monitors prepared to defy the total surveillance by the security forces. Adherence to the Helsinki human rights accords was officially reaffirmed in 1983 in Madrid. Article 57 of the USSR constitution states: 'Respect for the individual and protection of the rights and freedoms of citizens are the duty of all state bodies . . . and officials.' The number of political prisoners is currently estimated at 10,000. The country is the world's leading arms exporter (US\$9.4 bn in 1984).

FREEDOM TO:

COMMENTS:

- | | | |
|--|------------|--|
| 1 Travel in own country | NO | Advance notice for internal travel permit needed |
| 2 Travel outside own country | NO | Illegal frontier crossings can mean death penalty if treason alleged. No travel permits for dissidents, those likely to be influenced by impressions gained abroad, and those without foreign currency (almost everyone) |
| 3 Peacefully associate and assemble | NO | Only when in the interests of the people and when officially approved |
| 4 Teach ideas and receive information | NO | All curricula in line with Russian political and social ideas. Prison or expulsion for any deviation. Conformity imperative for students wishing to further career |
| 5 Monitor human rights violations | NO | Harassment, imprisonment or internal exile. New punitive measures introduced to discourage contacts with foreign visitors |
| 6 Publish and educate in ethnic language | yes | Some harassment and limitations on Hebrew, Ukrainian, etc |

FREEDOM FROM:

COMMENTS:

- | | | |
|--|-----------|--|
| 7 Serfdom, slavery, forced or child labour | NO | Estimates of labour camp population rise to 4 mn |
|--|-----------|--|

FREED

- 8 Extraj 'disap
- 9 Tortu state
- 10 Comp consc
- 11 Capit state
- 12 Court punis
- 13 Indef char
- 14 Comp state
- 15 Comp ideol
- 16 Delib cont

- 17 Polit
- 18 Cens telep

FREED

- 19 Pea
- 20 Mul and
- 21 Poli wor
- 22 Soc for
- 23 Soc for

FREEDOM FROM:	COMMENTS:
8 Extrajudicial killings or 'disappearances'	no Deaths usually occur from harsh conditions, denial of medical attention to prisoners, neglect in remote labour camps. Many inmates 'disappear'
9 Torture or coercion by the state	NO Beatings, psychiatric abuse, coercion, threats against family, etc
10 Compulsory work permits or conscription of labour	NO Direction of labour. Otherwise charged with 'parasitism' or similar
11 Capital punishment by the state	NO By shooting for 18 categories of offence. Murder, economic offences, subversion, gang rape, etc
12 Court sentences of corporal punishment	yes Degree of state-condoned violence against individuals must be seen as official corporal punishment
13 Indefinite detention without charge	NO Straight detention, detention in psychiatric hospitals, internal exile, etc
14 Compulsory membership of state organisations or parties	yes But most posts of influence and authority depend on party membership. This is also a prerequisite for rewarding careers
15 Compulsory religion or state ideology in schools	NO Marxism-Leninism a compulsory subject
16 Deliberate state policies to control artistic works	NO Artists following modern or unfashionable ideas may be limited by official disapproval. This could mean loss of livelihood, expulsion from union, etc. Policy applied with severity
17 Political censorship of press	NO All editors are party members
18 Censorship of mail or telephone-tapping	NO Constant and indepth surveillance. Authorities use many methods to discourage mail, etc to and from Western countries. Parcels from abroad incurring customs duty must have it paid by sender (to discourage books and gifts, which may reflect Western prosperity)

FREEDOM FOR OR RIGHTS TO:	COMMENTS:
19 Peaceful political opposition	NO None permitted. Article 5 of the USSR Constitution, however, states: 'Major matters of state shall be submitted to nationwide discussion and put to a popular vote (referendum)'
20 Multi-party elections by secret and universal ballot	NO All candidates for election to legislative chambers are pre-selected - one per constituency. Only form of opposition is to delete the selected name
21 Political and legal equality for women	yes Most senior posts held by men though women approach equal numbers at lower government levels
22 Social and economic equality for women	yes Traditional discrimination in some male-dominated areas
23 Social and economic equality for ethnic minorities	yes Small dissident minorities suffer discrimination and surveillance. Considered 'untrustworthy'

FREEDOM FOR OR RIGHTS TO:		COMMENTS:
24 Independent newspapers	NO	State owned and controlled
25 Independent book publishing	NO	State owned and controlled
26 Independent radio and television networks	NO	State owned and controlled
27 All courts to total independence	NO	All courts subject to pressures from party superiors especially in 'political' cases
28 Independent trade unions	NO	Unions are extension of government and have no real independence

LEGAL RIGHTS:		COMMENTS:
29 From deprivation of nationality	NO	Frequently practised against dissidents. Also against defecting tourists, artists, etc
30 To be considered innocent until proved guilty	NO	Legal rights ignored when accused in conflict with state or party. New law adds a further 5 years prison for 'wilful disobedience'
31 To free legal aid when necessary and counsel of own choice	no	Free legal aid but state-appointed counsel. 60% members of Communist Party
32 From civilian trials in secret	NO	Political and security cases <i>in camera</i> . Sometimes a method of excluding public from non-political cases
33 To be brought promptly before a judge or court	NO	At discretion of authorities
34 From police searches of home without a warrant	NO	Constitutional guarantees frequently ignored by security forces
35 From arbitrary seizure of personal property	no	Emigrants must give up property and some possessions

PERSONAL RIGHTS:		COMMENTS:
36 To inter-racial, inter-religious or civil marriage	YES	Rights respected
37 Equality of sexes during marriage and for divorce proceedings	YES	But some regional traditional inequalities for women - particularly among Muslims in Asian Soviets
38 To practise any religion	yes	Despite constitution, authorities may refuse church registration. General harassment of devout believers. Strict controls on imports of bibles, etc
39 To use contraceptive pills and devices	YES	Rights respected
40 To practise homosexuality between consenting adults	NO	Condemned as 'bourgeois perversion'

COMPULSORY DOCUMENTS FOR CITIZENS

Legally required at all times:	ID documents. Also for internal travel and registration at new destination
For employment in own country:	ID documents. Those working on collective farms have further restrictions
When applying for passport:	ID documents, police clearance, etc
Period of validity of passport:	One trip only. External passports difficult to obtain except when on state business
Countries forbidden to holder:	Travel restricted to permitted journey

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The Economist

World Human Rights Guide

Originated and compiled by
Charles Humana



Facts On File Publications
New York, New York • Oxford, England



AN
APPEAL FOR
RELIGIOUS FREEDOM
IN THE SOVIET UNION
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Обращение по Поводу Празднования Тысячелетия Крещения Киевской Руси

Свобода Религии Народам Советского Союза

Генеральному секретарю ЦК КПСС
Михаилу Сергеевичу Горбачёву.

I. ГОД 1988 ЯВЛЯЕТСЯ ГОДОМ ПРАЗДНОВАНИЯ тысячелетия прихода христианства на Киевскую Русь. Хотя эта годовщина имеет особое значение для христиан во всём мире, но это также повод для людей доброй воли ознакомиться с огромным и разнообразным духовным наследием всех народов, всех религиозных общин, населяющих Советский Союз: православных, католиков, протестантов, евреев, мусульман и буддистов.

Религиозная свобода была признана в качестве неотъемлемого права человека в таких основных международных документах, как Устав Организации Объединённых Наций, Всеобщая Декларация прав человека, Международный Пакт о гражданских и политических правах, Международный Пакт об экономических, социальных и культурных правах, Конвенция о борьбе с дискриминацией в области образования, Заключительный акт Хельсинского совещания по безопасности и сотрудничеству в Европе, Декларация ООН о ликвидации всех форм нетерпимости и дискриминации на основе религии или убеждений. Под всеми этими документами стоит подпись Советского Союза, который торжественно присягал хранить верность принципам, изложенным в этих документах. Мировая общественность считает, что соблюдение таких неотъемлемых прав человека, как свобода религиозных убеждений является краеугольным камнем в деле укрепления мира между народами.

К сожалению, теперешняя государственная политика СССР направлена на оказание давления на верующих всех исповеданий и ограничивает в большой степени деятельность религиозных объединений. Вместе с верующими в Советском Союзе мы хотим надеяться, что эта удивительная дата—празднование тысячелетия Крещения Киевской Руси—может стать поворотным

An Appeal for Religious Freedom in the Soviet Union On the Occasion of the Millennium of Christianity In Kievan Rus'

To Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev
General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

I. 1988 MARKS THE MILLENNIUM OF CHRISTIANITY in Kievan Rus'. While this anniversary has special meaning for the Christian community throughout the world, it also provides an occasion for all men and women of goodwill to celebrate the great and varied spiritual heritages carried by the peoples of the Soviet Union—Orthodox, Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist.

Religious freedom has been acknowledged as a fundamental human right in such landmark steps towards the growth of international law as the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Social, Economic, and Cultural Rights, the Convention Against Discrimination in Education, the Helsinki Final Act, and the U.N. Declaration Against All Forms of Religious Intolerance—agreements to which the Soviet Union has solemnly pledged its adherence. The international community recognizes that respect for such fundamental human rights as religious freedom is an essential building block of peace, within and among nations.

Unhappily, present state policy in the U.S.S.R. puts pressure on religious believers of all faiths, and circumscribes the activities of religious communities. We join with believers in the Soviet Union who hope that this remarkable anniversary, the Millennium of Christianity in Kievan Rus', can become the occasion for fundamental change in Soviet state policy and practice toward religious communities.

We the undersigned, Americans of many different creeds and political persuasions, joined by a common concern for human rights and peace, appeal to you, General Secretary Gorbachev, to honor your nation's commitments to international agreements on the fundamental human right of religious freedom.

We are heartened by the progress our two countries have made in the area of arms reduction, and by your call for a new era of openness in the Soviet Union.

моментом в политике и практике советского государства по отношению к религиозным объединениям.

Мы, нижеподписавшиеся американские граждане самых различных религиозных убеждений и политических взглядов, с тревогой следим за положением с соблюдением прав человека, а также за перспективами укрепления мира. Мы обращаемся к Вам, Генеральный Секретарь Горбачев, и призываем Вас выполнить обязательства СССР в области соблюдения свободы религии, налагаемые на него международными документами, под которыми стоит подпись советских представителей.

Нас обнадеживает тот прогресс, который был достигнут нашими странами в области сокращения вооружений и Вашим собственным призывом к открытости и гласности в Советском Союзе.

Нас обнадеживает, что определенное число лиц, несправедливо репрессированных, были освобождены и что некоторые другие получили разрешение эмигрировать из страны.

Но мы призываем провести более глубокие, перманентные реформы в соответствии с Вашими заявлениями о гласности, перестройке и демократизации. Мы призываем Вас положить конец непрекращающейся дискриминации и преследованиям верующих в СССР.

Мы верим в то, что значительный прогресс в соблюдении прав человека и особенно свободы религии будет иметь благотворное влияние на характер взаимоотношений между двумя странами и таким образом будет способствовать делу сохранения мира на земле.

II. МЫ ЗАЯВЛЯЕМ О СВОЕЙ СОЛИДАРНОСТИ С верующими всех религий в Советском Союзе и призываем Вас принять немедленные меры для введения конкретных конституционных и юридических изменений, которые бы обеспечили полную свободу религии в СССР:

- Мы призываем изменить формулировку статьи 52 Советской Конституции таким образом, чтобы она гарантировала не только право на совершение

We note the resolution of a number of individual emigration and prisoner cases.

But we urge deeper, more permanent change, commensurate with your commitment to *glasnost*, *perestroika*, and democratization. Thus we urge you to redress the continuing pattern of discrimination and harassment against religious believers in your country.

We believe that significant progress in the matter of human rights, and especially on the fundamental right of religious freedom, will contribute to a new pattern of relationships between our countries, and thereby enhance the prospects of peace.

II. WE JOIN IN SOLIDARITY WITH BELIEVERS OF all faiths in the Soviet Union, urging you to undertake immediately the actions necessary to effect these specific constitutional and legal steps toward full religious freedom in the U.S.S.R.:

- We urge that Article 52 of the Soviet Constitution be amended so that citizens of the U.S.S.R. are guaranteed the right, not only to "religious worship," but also to "form religious associations and disseminate religious beliefs" on terms of full constitutional equality with atheistic organizations and atheistic propaganda. We urge you to restore to all religious associations the full status of "juridical person" under Soviet law.
- We urge that the Decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the R.S.F.S.R. of April 8, 1929 (and its equivalents in other Soviet republics, as amended by a decree of the R.S.F.S.R. Supreme Soviet Presidium of June 23, 1975), and the equivalent laws "On Religious Associations" adopted subsequently in other Union republics, be repealed. In particular, we urge you:
 - to return to individual religious groups the houses of worship, religious artifacts and religious books which have been expropriated by the authorities;
 - to restore the right to construct and own new houses of worship;
 - to allow religious instruction of children, young people and adults outside the public school system;

религиозных обрядов, но и право создавать религиозные ассоциации и право распространения религиозных убеждений на основе полного равенства с атеистическими организациями, занимающимися распространением атеистической пропаганды. Мы призываем Вас вернуть религиозным ассоциациям статус юридического лица в советском законодательстве.

- Мы призываем Вас отменить декрет Всероссийского центрального исполнительного Комитета и Совета народных комиссаров РСФСР от 8 апреля 1929 года (и его эквиваленты в союзных республиках, введённых декретом Президиума Верховного Совета РСФСР от 23 июня 1975 года), а также сходные законы о религиозных объединениях, введённых позже в союзных республиках.

В частности мы призываем Вас:

- Вернуть верующим церкви и молитвенные дома, а также церковную утварь и религиозные книги, экспроприированные властями;
 - Дать право верующим строить новые церкви или восстанавливать старые;
 - Разрешить религиозное обучение детей, молодёжи и взрослых во внешкольное время;
 - Отменить запрет на благотворительную деятельность религиозных объединений;
 - Покончить с требованиями предварительной регистрации государственными органами религиозных ассоциаций и священнослужителей;
- Мы призываем отменить статьи 142 и 227 Уголовного Кодекса РСФСР и их эквиваленты в других республиках, а также декрет Президиума Верховного совета РСФСР «О применении статьи 142 уголовного кодекса РСФСР» и декрета «Об административной ответственности за нарушение законодательства о религиозных культах» и их эквивалентов в союзных республиках, как законов, противоречащих основному конституционному закону об отделении церкви от государства.

- to lift the ban against charitable activities by religious groups;
- and to end the requirements of preliminary state “registration” of religious associations and the clergy.

- We urge that Articles 142 and 227 of the R.S.F.S.R. Criminal Code (and their equivalents in other republican criminal codes), as well as the March 18, 1966 Decrees of the R.S.F.S.R. Supreme Soviet Presidium “On the Application of Article 142 of the R.S.F.S.R. Criminal Code” and “On the Administrative Liability for the Violation of the Legislation on Religious Cults” (and the equivalent decrees adopted by the Supreme Soviet Presidia of the other Union republics), be repealed as contrary to the constitutional separation of church and state.
- We urge you to publish and submit for public reconsideration, with the participation of religious believers, all hitherto secret or only partially-published decrees and instructions setting the structure, powers, and procedures of the Council for Religious Affairs [C.R.A.] attached to the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, its republican and oblast branches and commissioners. We urge that you assure representation on the C.R.A., at all government levels, of representatives of religious believers, and that the activities of the Council for Religious Affairs be guaranteed full legality and publicity (*glasnost*).
- We urge you to legalize the Greek Catholic (Uniate or Ukrainian Catholic) Church and other religious groups (such as, for example, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church) that were banned by the Stalin government, and to restore to these religious groups the churches, houses of prayer, religious artifacts, monastic and seminary buildings, and other confiscated property necessary for their religious activities.

III. THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT OF RELIGIOUS freedom, as codified in the U.N. Declaration Against All Forms of Religious Intolerance, has many concrete expressions in daily life. Therefore we urge the following:

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- Мы призываем Вас опубликовать и вынести на всенародное обсуждение с участием верующих все остающиеся до сих пор секретными инструкции и неполностью опубликованные декреты и инструкции, определяющие структуру, полномочия и протокол работы Совета по религиозным делам (СРД) при Совете министров СССР и его республиканских и областных отделов и уполномоченных.
 - Мы призываем Вас обеспечить представительство членов религиозных ассоциаций в этих учреждениях на всех уровнях, а также полную гласность и обязательное соблюдение законов при исполнении сотрудниками этих учреждений служебных обязанностей.
 - Мы призываем Вас легализовать существование Униатской Украинской католической Церкви и других религиозных групп, как, например, Украинская Автокефальная церковь. Обе эти церкви были при Сталине поставлены государством вне закона. Мы призываем Вас вернуть этим церквям храмы, молитвенные дома, церковную утварь, монастырские и семинарские помещения и другое конфискованное имущество, необходимое для их религиозной деятельности.

III. НЕОТЪЕМЛЕМОЕ ПРАВО НА РЕЛИГИОЗНУЮ СВОБОДУ, как это зафиксировано в Декларации ООН о ликвидации всех форм нетерпимости на основе религии или убеждений, должно находить конкретное выражение в повседневной жизни народа. Поэтому мы призываем к принятию следующих мер:

- Всем узникам совести и осужденным по религиозным мотивам должна быть объявлена амнистия.
- Верующим должно быть предоставлено право свободно исповедовать свою веру без вмешательства, преследований и запугивания со стороны властей. Требование принудительной регистрации властями верующих, священнослужителей даже до начала их религиозной деятельности должно быть отменено. Также должно быть отменено право властей на

-
- A general amnesty should be declared for all religious prisoners of conscience.
 - Religious believers should be able to practice their faith without interference, harassment, or persecution. The requirements for compulsory state "registration" of religious congregations and the clergy, prior to their starting their activities, should be abolished, along with the prerogative of state authorities to veto any members of congregations' executive and auditing committees. Membership on these committees (including chairmanship) should be open to the clergy.
 - Religious communities should enjoy the freedom to preach, to publish, and to disseminate their teachings through the mass media. Independent religious publishing institutions should not be hindered in their work.
 - Parents should be able to transmit their faith to their children without being harassed or discriminated against on this account. Religious organizations should be able to conduct institutions of religious education without state interference. Clergy should be allowed, with parental permission, to provide religious instruction to children. School children and students at secondary or university levels should not be pressured to join organizations espousing atheism; punished for declining to do so; or otherwise be denied equality of educational opportunity and advancement on account of their religious beliefs and practices.
 - The state should not interfere in the appointment of seminary faculties, and should relinquish its control over the appointment of candidates to seminaries.
 - Religious believers, including children, should be able to absent themselves from work or from school on religious holidays.
 - Believers who wish to emigrate from the Soviet Union on religious grounds should be allowed to do so.
 - Believers, clergy, and religious groups in the Soviet Union who wish to maintain contacts with fellow-believers and religious institutions throughout the world should be free to do so.
-

запрещение к участию в церковных и приходских советах тех или иных лиц, выбранных верующими для этой цели. Членство в этих советах, включая пост председателя, должно быть открыто духовенству.

- Религиозные объединения должны иметь право проповедовать, публиковать и распространять свое религиозное учение при помощи средств массовой информации. Независимые религиозные издательства должны иметь возможность свободно осуществлять свои функции.
 - Родителям должно быть предоставлено право свободно обучать своих детей основам их религии без страха преследований или дискриминации. Религиозным организациям должно быть предоставлено право создавать школы для обучения основам религии и этот процесс не должен нарушаться вмешательством государственных органов. Духовенство должно иметь право с разрешения родителей осуществлять обучение детей основам религии. Государственные органы не должны оказывать давления на студентов и школьников с тем, чтобы заставить их вступать в организации, проповедующие атеизм. Учащиеся должны быть свободны от страха преследования или дискриминации в случае отказа вступить в такие организации. Они не должны подвергаться дискриминации в образовании или продвижении по службе по религиозным мотивам.
 - Государство не должно вмешиваться в распределение штатов в семинариях и в выбор кандидатов для поступления в семинарии и духовные школы.
 - Верующие, включая детей, должны иметь свободу отсутствовать на работе—и школьных занятиях—в дни религиозных праздников.
 - Верующие, которые хотят эмигрировать из СССР по религиозным мотивам, должны иметь эту возможность.
 - Верующим, священнослужителям и религиозным объединениям в СССР, которые хотят поддерживать контакты с верующими или религиозными
-

Religious communities should enjoy the full rights of social organizations in the Soviet Union. Religious communities should be able to solicit funds for charitable activities, to engage in works of charity, to own property, and to participate in organizations such as temperance societies.

Religious services should be permitted in hospitals, prisons, and homes for the aged. Religious believers should be able to wear religious symbols, and to have access to religious literature, while they are in hospitals, prisons, and homes for the aged.

IV. ESTABLISHMENT OF THESE BASIC GUARANTEES of the fundamental right of religious freedom is an important measure of the status of human rights in the Soviet Union. We call on you, Mr. General Secretary, to demonstrate your commitment to peace by assuring all the peoples of the Soviet Union the right of religious freedom, which is an essential guarantor of peace. We appeal to you, on this occasion of the Millennium of Christianity in Kievan Rus', to join with us in working for an international community committed to defending the dignity of human beings as a fundamental requisite of peace.

организациями в других странах, должна быть предоставлена эта возможность.

- Религиозные объединения должны пользоваться теми же правами, что и другие общественные организации в СССР. Им должно быть предоставлено право собирать пожертвования на благотворительные цели, заниматься благотворительной деятельностью, владеть имуществом и принимать участие в работе таких организаций, как общество трезвости.
- Необходимо разрешить совершение богослужений в больницах, тюрьмах, старческих домах. Верующим должно быть разрешено носить отличительные знаки их вероисповедания и иметь доступ к религиозной литературе в период пребывания в больнице, тюрьме или старческом доме.

IV. УСТАНОВЛЕНИЕ ЭТИХ ОСНОВНЫХ ГАРАНТИЙ религиозной свободы будет важной меркой, по которой международная общественность будет судить о положении прав человека в Советском Союзе. Мы призываем вас, Господин Генеральный Секретарь, продемонстрировать свою приверженность делу мира и предоставить народам Советского Союза свободу вероисповедания, которая сама является надёжным гарантом мира на земле.

В связи с празднованием Тысячелетия Крещения Киевской Руси мы призываем Вас присоединиться к мировой общественности в деле защиты человеческого достоинства как необходимого условия воцарения мира на земле.

Signatories to the *Appeal for Religious Freedom in the Soviet Union**

(List in formation)

John F. Ahearne
Vice President and Senior Fellow, Resources for the Future

Mark R. Amstutz
Chairman, Department of Political Science, Wheaton College

Hadley Arkes
Professor of Political Science, Amherst College

Ben Armstrong
Executive Director, National Religious Broadcasters

Dawoud Assad
President, Council of Masajaaad

William Bentley Ball
Attorney

Paul Baltakis, O.F.M.
Roman Catholic Bishop for Lithuanians outside Lithuania

Fred Barnes
Senior Editor, The New Republic

George W. Bashore
Bishop, Boston Area, United Methodist Church

Fred Baumann
Assistant Professor, Kenyon College

Arnold Beichman
Research Fellow, Hoover Institution

Maurice M. Benitez
Bishop, Diocese of Texas, Episcopal Church

Peter L. Berger
University Professor, Boston University

Joseph Cardinal Bernardin
Archbishop of Chicago

Walter Berns
John M. Olin University Professor, Georgetown University

Tim Blanchard
General Director, Conservative Baptist Association of America

Maurice Blond
President, Interfaith Movement, Inc.

Albert Boiter
Associate Editor, Religion in Communist Dominated Areas

Mary Ellen Bork
Chairman of the Board, Thomas More Society of America

Robert H. Bork
John M. Olin Scholar in Legal Studies, American Enterprise Institute

Rudy Boschwitz
U.S. Senator, Minnesota

Barbara Boxer
U.S. Representative, California

Joseph Boyle
Professor of Philosophy, University of St. Michael's College

Jeffrey Boutwell
Staff Director, International Security Studies, American Academy of Arts and Sciences

Bill Bradley
U.S. Senator, New Jersey

Alan Brinkley
Associate Professor of History, Harvard University

Kathleen M.A. Brooks
Vice President and Executive Director, Children's Relief Fund

John H. Bunzel
Senior Research Fellow, Hoover Institution

Kenyon C. Burke
Associate General Secretary, Division of Church and Society, National Council of Churches

W. Glenn Campbell
Director, Hoover Institution Senior Regent, University of California

Dick Cheney
U.S. Representative, Wyoming

Pamela Braun Cohen
National President, Union of Councils for Soviet Jews

Alberto Coll
Professor, U.S. Naval War College

Charles W. Colson
Chairman, Prison Fellowship

John W. Cooper
Senior Research Fellow, Ethics and Public Policy Center

Thomas C. Cornell
National Secretary, Catholic Peace Fellowship

Jim Courter
U.S. Representative, New Jersey

Michael Cromartie
Research Associate, Ethics and Public Policy Center

Dean C. Curry
Associate Professor of Political Science, Messiah College

Richard T. Davies
President, Research Center for Religion and Human Rights in Closed Societies

Richard Deats
Director, U.S.-USSR Reconciliation, Fellowship of Reconciliation

Stan DeBoe, O.S.S.T.
Director, Office of Persecuted Believers, Holy Trinity Fathers

Dennis DeConcini
U.S. Senator, Arizona

Midge Decter
Executive Director, Committee for the Free World

G.B. DeLashmet
Executive Vice President Abitibi-Price Sales Corporation

Christopher DeMuth
President, American Enterprise Institute

J.S. Denton
President, National Forum Foundation

Candace DeRussy
Executive Officer, The American Foundation for Resistance International

Robert Destro
Associate Professor of Law, Catholic University of America

Edd Doerr
Executive Director, Americans For Religious Liberty

Felix Dubneac
Archimandrite and Editor of Gandiresiarta

Paul A. Duffey
Secretary, Council of Bishops, United Methodist Church

Robert P. Dugan, Jr.
Director, Office of Public Affairs, National Association of Evangelicals

Thomas H. Dunkerton
President, Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship

Bernard J. Dwyer
U.S. Representative, New Jersey

Charles M. Fairbanks, Jr.
Research Professor, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University

Roland Faley, T.O.R.
Executive Director, Conference of Major Superiors of Men

Harris W. Fawell
U.S. Representative, Illinois

Edward Feighan
U.S. Representative, Ohio

Edwin J. Feulner, Jr.
President, The Heritage Foundation

James Finn
Editorial Director, Freedom House

Peter T. Flaherty
Chairman, Citizens for Reagan

William J. Flynn
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Mutual of America

Ernest L. Fortin
Professor of Theology, Boston College

Marvin Fox
Philip W. Lown Professor of Jewish Philosophy, Brandeis University

William C. Frey
Bishop, Diocese of Colorado, Episcopal Church

Milton Friedman
Senior Research Fellow, Hoover Institution; Professor Emeritus, University of Chicago

Felice Gaer
Executive Director, International League for Human Rights

Franklin I. Gamwell
Dean and Professor, The Divinity School, University of Chicago

Suzanne Garment
Resident Scholar, American Enterprise Institute

Marc Gellman
Rabbi, Temple Beth Torah

Carl Gershman
President, National Endowment for Democracy

Ann Gillen, S.H.C.J.
Executive Director, National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry

Nathan Glazer
Professor, Harvard University

Ernest Gordon
President, Christian Rescue Effort for the Emancipation of Dissidents

Robert Grant
Chairman, Christian Voice President, American Freedom Coalition

Bill Green
U.S. Representative, New York

Oscar Handlin
Carl M. Loeb University Professor, Harvard University

Olexa R. Harbuziuk
President, All-Ukrainian Evangelical Baptist Fellowship

Owen Harries
Editor, The National Interest

C. Lowell Harriss
Professor Emeritus of Economics, Columbia University

Thomas J. Harvey
Executive Director, Catholic Charities U.S.A.

Alden M. Hathaway
Bishop, Diocese of Pittsburgh, Episcopal Church

Stanley Hauerwas
Professor of Theological Ethics, The Divinity School, Duke University

Carl F.H. Henry
Evangelical Author and Theologian

Arthur Hertzberg
Vice President, World Jewish Congress

Ira Michael Heyman
Chancellor, University of California at Berkeley

Kent R. Hill
Executive Director, Institute on Religion and Democracy

John P. Hittinger
Associate Professor, College of St. Francis

Leroy C. Hodapp
Bishop, Indiana Area, United Methodist Church

Paul Hollander
Professor, University of Massachusetts at Amherst

David Hollenbach, S.J.
Associate Professor of Moral Theology, Weston School of Theology

Sidney Hook
Senior Research Fellow, Hoover Institution

John A. Howard
Retired President, The Rockford Institute

Steny H. Hoyer
U.S. Representative, Maryland

Blahoslav Hruby
Executive Director, Research Center for Religion and Human Rights in Closed Societies

Earl G. Hunt, Jr.
Bishop, Florida Area, United Methodist Church

George W. Hunt, S.J.
President and Editor-in-Chief, America

Henry J. Hyde
U.S. Representative, Illinois

Helen H. Jackson
Chairman, Henry M. Jackson Foundation

John E. Jacob
President and CEO, National Urban League

Kenneth M. Jensen
Director of Research and Studies, U.S. Institute of Peace

James Turner Johnson
Professor of Religion, Rutgers University

Nancy L. Johnson
U.S. Representative, Connecticut

Albert E. Jolis
Executive Director, American Institute for Resistance International

Barbara Jordan
Lyndon B. Johnson Centennial Chair in National Policy, University of Texas

Francis I. Kane
Chairman, Philosophy Department, Salisbury State College

Alfred Kazin
Newman Professor of American Civilization, Cornell University

Stephen F. Keller
Vice-Chairman, Seidler Amdec Securities, Inc.

Penn Kemble
President, Prodemca

Charles R. Kesler
Associate Director, The Henry Salvatori Center, Claremont McKenna College

Ghazi Khankan
Director, Voice of Islam

Russell Kirk
President, The Educational Reviewer, Inc.

Evron Kirkpatrick
President, Helen Dwight Reid Educational Foundation

Leonid Kishkovsky
President-elect, National Council of Churches; Secretary for Ecumenical Affairs, Orthodox Church in America

Leon Klenicki
Director, Inter-faith Affairs, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Stephen Klitzman
Chairman, Committee on International Human Rights, Section of International Law and Practice, American Bar Association

Francis B. Koper
Rector, SS. Cyril and Methodius Seminary

Vladislav Krasnov
Professor, Monterey Institute of International Studies

Charles Krauthammer
Senior Editor, The New Republic

Franklin D. Kreutzer
International President, United Synagogue of America

Irving Kristol
Senior Fellow, American Enterprise Institute

Tom Lantos
U.S. Representative, California

Bernard Cardinal Law
Archbishop of Boston

William H. Lazareth
Bishop, Metropolitan New York Synod, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America

Ernest W. Lefever
President, Ethics and Public Policy Center

Leslie Lenkowsky
President, Institute for Educational Affairs

Samuel L. Lewis
President, U.S. Institute of Peace

Charles Lichtenstein
Distinguished Fellow, The Heritage Foundation

William O. Lipinski
U.S. Representative, Illinois

Sidney Liskofsky
Director, Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights

Herbert London
Dean, Gallatin Division, New York University

Joseph E. Lowery
President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Edward D. Lozansky
Executive Director, Free University

Dan Lungren
U.S. Representative, California

Edward Madigan
U.S. Representative, Illinois

Roger M. Mahony
Archbishop of Los Angeles and Chairman, International Policy Committee, United States Catholic Conference

John L. May
Archbishop of St. Louis

R. Bruce McCollm
Executive Director, Freedom House

Donald J. McCrary
Executive Editor, Eternity

Michael C.D. McDaniel
Bishop, North Carolina Synod, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America

Thomas A. McDill
President, The Evangelical Free Church of America

James P. McFadden
Chairman, National Committee of Catholic Laymen

Ralph McNerny
Michael P. Grace Professor of Medieval Philosophy, University of Notre Dame

Cornelius M. McRae
Rector/President, Pope John XXIII National Seminary

Mohammed T. Mehdi
Secretary-General, National Council on Islamic Affairs

Billy A. Melvin
Executive Director, National Association of Evangelicals

Robert H. Michel
U.S. Representative, Illinois

John Miller
U.S. Representative, Washington

Jim Moody
U.S. Representative, Wisconsin

Louis E. Moore
Director, International Affairs, Communications Workers of America, AFL-CIO

Constance A. Morella
U.S. Representative, Maryland

John P. Murtha
U.S. Representative, Pennsylvania

Kenneth A. Myers
Editor, This World

Micah H. Naftalin
National Director, Union of Councils for Soviet Jews

Victor Nakas
Washington Branch Manager, Lithuanian Information Center

Richard John Neuhaus
Director, Rockford Institute Center on Religion and Society

Bruce Nichols
Director, Education and Studies, Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs

Michael F. Noone, Jr.
Associate Professor of Law, Catholic University of America

David Novak
Visiting Professor, Department of Talmud, Jewish Theological Seminary of America

Michael Novak
George Frederick Jewett Scholar, American Enterprise Institute

James Nuechterlein
Editor, The Cresset

Margaret Nulty, S.C.
Associate Director, Leadership Conference of Women Religious

William V. O'Brien
Professor of Government, American University

Brian O'Connell
Program Coordinator, Peace, Freedom, and Security Studies Program, National Association of Evangelicals

Joseph A. O'Hare, S.J.
President, Fordham University

Kevin R. O'Neil
President, American Buddhist Movement

Heinz R. Pagels
President, International League for Human Rights

Allan M. Parrent
Professor, Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary in Virginia

Charles Pashayan, Jr.
U.S. Representative, California

Jordan Paust
Professor of Law, University of Houston

Robert L. Payton
Scholar-In-Residence, University of Virginia

J. Richard Peck
Editor, International Christian Digest

Nicolai Petro
Director, Center for Contemporary Russian Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies

William Phillips
Editor, Partisan Review

Robert Pickus
*President,
World Without War Council*

Juliana Geran Pilon
*Consultant,
U.S. Department of Interior*

Norman Podhoretz
Editor, Commentary

John Porter
U.S. Representative, Illinois

Victor S. Potapov
*Rector, Russian Orthodox
Cathedral of St. John the Baptist*

Casimir Pugevicius
*Executive Director,
Lithuanian Catholic Religious Aid*

Quentin L. Quade
*Executive Vice President,
Marquette University*

Earl Rabb
*Emeritus Director,
Jewish Community Relations
Council of San Francisco*

I. Andrew Rader
*Chief Executive Officer
(Retired), Allen-Bradley Co.*

Thomas J. Reese, S.J.
*Fellow,
Woodstock Theological Center*

James Reichley
*Senior Fellow,
The Brookings Institution*

Don Ritter
U.S. Representative, Pennsylvania

Charles S. Robb
*Attorney
Former Governor of Virginia*

Adrian Rogers
*President, Southern Baptist
Convention; Pastor, Bellevue
Baptist Church, Memphis*

Morton M. Rosenthal
*Director,
Department of Latin American
Affairs, Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith*

Eugene V. Rostow
*Distinguished Visiting Professor
of Law and Diplomacy, National
Defense University*

Toby Roth
U.S. Representative, Wisconsin

Robert Royal
*Vice President for Research,
Ethics and Public Policy Center*

M. Holt Ruffin
*Executive Director,
World Without War Council
of Greater Seattle*

Andre Ryerson
*Chairman,
Allied Organizations
for Freedom*

James V. Schall, S.J.
*Associate Professor,
Georgetown University*

Paul Seabury
*Professor of Political Science,
University of California at Berkeley*

Dale Shaheen
*Vice President, National
Council on Islamic Affairs*

Albert Shanker
*President,
American Federation
of Teachers, AFL-CIO*

Nina Shea
*Washington Director,
The Puebla Institute*

Amy L. Sherman
*Program Officer,
The James Madison Foundation*

Donald W. Shriver, Jr.
*President,
Union Theological Seminary*

Bud Shuster
U.S. Representative, Pennsylvania

Ronald J. Sider
*Executive Director,
Evangelicals for Social Action*

David Sidorsky
*Professor of Philosophy,
Columbia University*

Philip Siegelman
*Professor of Political Science,
San Francisco State University*

Henry Siegman
*Executive Director,
American Jewish Congress*

Thomas M. Simmons
*President,
National Council of Catholic Laity*

William E. Simon
*Chairman of the Board,
WSPG International, Inc.
Former U.S. Secretary
of the Treasury*

Thomas W. Skladony
*Vice President,
Institute for Educational Affairs*

James W. Skillen
*Executive Director,
Association for Public Justice*

Chris Smith
U.S. Representative, New Jersey

Steven L. Snyder
*President,
Christian Solidarity International*

Jerry Solomon
U.S. Representative, New York

Vincent R. Sombrotto
*President, National Association
of Letter Carriers, AFL-CIO*

George Soros
*President,
Soros Fund Management*

Paul E. Spring
*Bishop,
Northwestern Pennsylvania
Synod, Evangelical Lutheran
Church in America*

J. Francis Stafford
Archbishop of Denver

Stephen Sulyk
*Archbishop of Philadelphia,
Metropolitan for Ukrainian
Catholics in the United States*

Harry G. Summers, Jr.
Syndicated Columnist

Leonard Sussman
*Senior Scholar in International
Communications, Freedom House*

Charles H. Townes
*University of California at
Berkeley*

Yuri Tuvim
*Development Group Manager,
Millipore Corporation*

Ernest van den Haag
*John M. Olin University
Professor, Fordham University
Law School*

Dale Vree
Editor, New Oxford Review

Myron W. Wasylyk
*Director,
Ukrainian National
Information Service*

**James D. Watkins, U.S.N.
(ret.)**
*Former Chief of
Naval Operations*

Ben Wattenberg
*Senior Fellow,
American Enterprise Institute*

Carolyn Weatherford
*Executive Director,
Woman's Missionary Union,
Southern Baptist Convention*

Vin Weber
U.S. Representative, Minnesota

George Weigel
*President,
The James Madison Foundation*

W. Bruce Weinrod
*Director of Foreign Policy and
Defense Studies, The Heritage
Foundation*

Ted Weiss
U.S. Representative, New York

Jacqueline Grennan Wexler
*President,
National Conference of
Christians and Jews*

Robert S. Woito
*Director,
World Without War Council—
Midwest*

Frank R. Wolf
U.S. Representative, Virginia

Michael J. Woodruff
*Director,
Center for Law and Religious
Freedom, Christian Legal Society*

William S. Woods, Jr.
*Retired Vice President,
The Sun Company, Inc.*

R. James Woolsey
Attorney

Helen Bates Yakobson
*Professor Emeritus of Russian,
George Washington University
Chairman,
The Millennium Committee*

Gus Yatron
U.S. Representative, Pennsylvania

Amy Young
*Executive Director,
International Human Rights
Law Group*

James Zwerneman
Treasurer, Christians in Commerce

* Organizational affiliations are for identification purposes only. Signatories join the Appeal as individuals.

The "Appeal for Religious Freedom" is a project of the James Madison Foundation, in cooperation with the Puebla Institute and the Trinitarians. Information on the Appeal may be obtained by writing Amy L. Sherman, Program Officer, James Madison Foundation, 1030 15th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005, or by calling the Foundation at (202) 842-1514.



U.S. Department of State

KATHERINE C. CHUMACHENKO

Special Assistant
to the Assistant Secretary
Bureau of Human Rights
and Humanitarian Affairs

(202) 647-1573

Office of the Press Secretary
(Helsinki, Finland)

For Immediate Release

May 27, 1987

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE PAASIKIVI SOCIETY
AND
THE LEAGUE OF FINNISH-AMERICAN SOCIETIES

Finlandia Hall
Helsinki, Finland

3:05 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very much. Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Prime Minister, and ladies and gentlemen, let me begin by saying thank you to our hosts, the Finnish government, the Paasikivi Society, and the League of Finnish-American Societies. It's a particular honor for me to come here today. This year -- the "Year of Friendship," as Congress has proclaimed it, between the United States and Finland -- this year marks the 350th anniversary of the arrival of the first Finns in America and the establishment of a small Scandinavian colony near what is today Wilmington, Delaware. An ancient people in a new world -- and that is the story, not only of those Finns, but of all the peoples who braved the seas, to settle in and build my country, a land of freedom for a nation of immigrants.

Yes, they founded a new world, but as they crossed the oceans, the mountains, and the prairies, those who made America carried the old world in their hearts -- the old customs, the family ties, and, most of all, the belief in God, a belief that gave them the moral compass and ethical foundation by which they explored an uncharted frontier and constructed a government and nation of, by, and for the people.

And so, although we Americans became a new people, we also remain an ancient one, for we're guided by ancient and universal values -- values that Prime Minister Holkeri spoke of in Los Angeles this February when, after recalling Finland's internationally recognized position of neutrality, he added that Finland is "tied to Western values of freedom, democracy, and human rights."

And let me add here that for America, those ties are also the bonds of our friendship. America respects Finland's neutrality. We support Finland's independence. We honor Finland's courageous history. We value the creative statesmanship that has been Finland's gift to world peace. And in this soaring hall -- which is the great architect Alvar Aalto's statement of hope for Finland's future -- we reaffirm our hope and faith that the friendship between our nations will be unending.

We're gathered here today in this hall because it was here, almost 13 years ago, that the 35 nations of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe signed the Helsinki Final Act -- a document that embodies the same ethical and moral principles and the same hope for a future of peace that Finns and so many other European immigrants gave America. The Final Act is a singular statement of hope. Its "three baskets" touch on almost every aspect of East-West relations, and taken together form a kind of map through the wilderness of mutual hostility to open fields of peace and to a common home of trust among all of our sovereign nations -- neutrals, non-aligned, and Alliance members alike. The Final Act sets new standards of conduct for our nations and provided the mechanisms by which to apply those standards.

MORE

Yes, the Final Act goes beyond arms control -- once the focus of international dialogue. It reflects a truth that I have so often noted -- nations do not distrust each other because they are armed; they are armed because they distrust each other. The Final Act grapples with the full range of our underlying differences and deals with East-West relations as an interrelated whole. It reflects the belief of all our countries that human rights are less likely to be abused when a nation's security is less in doubt; that economic relations can contribute to security, but depend on the trust and confidence that come from increasing ties between our peoples, increasing openness, and increasing freedom; and that there is no true international security without respect for human rights.

I can hardly improve on the words President Koivisto used in this hall two years ago when he recalled that, "security is more than the protection of borders and social structures. It is emphasized in the Final Act that individual persons who live in the participating states have to feel in their own lives security which is based on respect for fundamental human rights and basic freedoms."

And beyond establishing these integrated standards, the Final Act establishes a process for progress. It sets up a review procedure to measure performance against standards. And -- despite the doubts of the critics -- for the past 13 years, the signatory states have mustered the political will to keep on working and making progress.

Let me say that it adds -- it seems particularly appropriate to me that the Final Act is associated so closely with this city and this country. More than any other diplomatic document, the Final Act speaks to the yearning that Finland's longtime President, Urho Kekkonen, spoke of more than a quarter century ago when he said, in his words, "It's the fervent hope of the Finnish people that barriers be lowered all over Europe and that progress be made along the road of European unity." And he added that this was, as he put it, "for the good of Europe, and thus of humanity as a whole." Well, those were visionary words. That vision inspired and shaped the drafting of the Final Act and continues to guide us today.

Has the Final Act and what we call the Helsinki process worked or not? Many say it hasn't, but I believe it has.

In the security field, I would point to the most recent fruit of the process -- the Stockholm Document of confidence- and security-building measures in Europe. This agreement lays down the rules by which our 35 states notify each other of upcoming military activities in Europe; provides detailed information on these activities in advance; and lets the others know their plans for very large military activities one or two years in advance and agrees not to hold such maneuvers unless this notice is given; invites observers to their larger military activities; and permits on-site inspections to make sure the agreement is honored.

I am happy to note that since our representatives shook hands to seal this agreement a year and a half ago, all 35 states have, by and large, honored both the letter and the spirit of the Stockholm Document. The Western and neutral and non-aligned states have set a strong example in providing full information about their military activities. In April, Finland held its first military activity subject to the Stockholm notification requirements and voluntarily invited observers to it. The Soviet Union and its allies also have a generally good record of implementation, though less forthcoming than the West. Ten on-site inspections have been conducted so far, and more and more states are exercising their right to make such inspections. I can't help but believe that making inspections a matter of routine business will improve openness and enhance confidence.

Nor was Stockholm the end of the process. In Vienna, all 35 signatory states are considering how to strengthen the confidence-

and security-building measures, in the context of a balanced outcome at the CSCE follow-up meeting that includes significant progress on human rights.

In the economic field, as in the security field, I believe there has been progress, but of a different kind. Issues and negotiations regarding security are not simple, but military technology makes arms and armies resemble each other enough so that common measures can be confidently applied. Economic relations, by contrast, are bedeviled by differences in our systems. Perhaps increases in nonstrategic trade can contribute to better relations between East and West, but it's difficult to relate the state-run economies of the East to the essentially free-market economies of the West. Perhaps some of the changes underway in the state-run economies will equip them better to deal with our businessmen and open new arenas for cooperation. But our work on these issues over the years has already made us understand that differences in systems are serious obstacles to expansion of economic ties, and since understanding of unpleasant realities is part of wisdom, that, too, is progress.

The changes taking place in the Eastern countries of the continent go beyond changes in their economic systems and greater openness in their military activities -- changes have also begun to occur in the field of human rights, as was called for in the Final Act. The rest of us would like to see the changes that are being announced actually registered in the law and practice of our Eastern partners and in the documents under negotiation in the Vienna follow-up to the Helsinki Conference.

Much has been said about the human rights and humanitarian provisions in the Final Act and the failure of the Eastern bloc to honor them. Yet, for all the bleak winds that have swept the plains of justice since that signing day in 1975, the Accords have taken root in the conscience of humanity and grown in moral and, increasingly, in diplomatic authority. I believe that this is no accident. It reflects an increasing realization that the agenda of East-West relations must be comprehensive -- that security and human rights must be advanced together, or cannot truly be secured at all. But it also shows that the provisions in the Final Act reflect standards that are truly universal in their scope. The Accords embody a fundamental truth, a truth that gathers strength with each passing season, and that will not be denied -- the truth that, like the first Finnish settlers in America, all our ancient peoples find themselves today in a new world and that, as those early settlers discovered, the greatest creative and moral force in this new world, the greatest hope for survival and success, for peace and happiness, is human freedom.

Yes, freedom -- the right to speak, to print, the right to worship, to travel, to assemble -- the belief -- the right to be different, the right, as the American philosopher, Henry David Thoreau, wrote, "to step to the music of a different drummer." This is freedom as most Europeans and Americans understand it, and freedom as it is embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and, yes, in the Helsinki Accords. And far more than the locomotive or the automobile, the airplane or the rocket, more than radio, television or the computer -- this concept of liberty is the most distinct, peculiar, and powerful invention of the civilization we all share.

Indeed, without this freedom there would have been no mechanical inventions, for inventions are eccentricities. The men and women who create them are visionaries, just like artists and writers. They see what others fail to see and trust their insights when others don't. The same freedom that permits literature and the arts to flourish, the same freedom that allows one to attend church, synagogue, or mosque without apprehension, that same freedom from oppression and supervision is the freedom that has given us, the peoples of Western Europe and North America, our dynamism, our

economic growth, and our inventiveness. Together with Japan and Australia, and many others, we have lived in this state of freedom, this House of Democracy, since the end of the Second World War. The House of Democracy is a house whose doors are open to all. Because of it, because of the liberty and popular rule we've shared, today we also share a prosperity more widely distributed and extensive, a political order more tolerant and humane than has ever before been known on Earth.

To see not simply the immediate but the historic importance of this, we should remember how far many of our nations have traveled -- and how desolate the future of freedom and democracy once seemed.

For much of this century, the totalitarian temptation, in one form or another, has beckoned to mankind, also promising freedom -- but of a different kind than the one we celebrate today. This concept of liberty is as the Czechoslovak writer, Milan Kundera, has put it, "the age-old dream of a world where everybody would live in harmony, united by a single common will and faith, without secrets from one another" -- the freedom of imposed perfection.

Fifty, forty, even as recently as thirty years ago, the contest between this utopian concept of freedom on one hand and the democratic concept of freedom on the other seemed a close one. Promises of a perfect world lured many Western thinkers and millions of others besides. And many believed in the confident prediction of history's inevitable triumph.

Well, few do today. Just as democratic freedom has proven itself incredibly fertile -- fertile not merely in a material sense, but also in the abundance it has brought forth in the human spirit -- so, too, utopianism has proven brutal and barren.

Albert Camus once predicted that, in his words, "when revolution in the name of power and of history becomes a murderous and immoderate mechanism, a new rebellion is consecrated in the name of moderation of life." Isn't this exactly what we see happening across the mountains and plains of Europe and even beyond the Urals today? In Western Europe, support for utopian ideologies -- including support among intellectuals -- has all but collapsed, while in the nondemocratic countries, leaders grapple with the internal contradictions of their system and some ask how they can make that system better and more productive.

In a sense, the front line in the competition of ideas that has played in Europe and America for more than 70 years has shifted East. Once it was the democracies that doubted their own view of freedom and wondered whether utopian systems might not be better. Today, the doubt is on the other side.

In just two days, I will meet in Moscow with General Secretary Gorbachev. It will be our fourth set of face-to-face talks since 1985. The General Secretary and I have developed a broad agenda for U.S.-Soviet relations -- an agenda that is linked directly to the agenda of the Final Act.

Yes, as does the Final Act, we will discuss security issues. We will pursue progress in arms reduction negotiations across the board and continue our exchanges on regional issues.

Yes, we will also discuss economic issues, although, as in the Helsinki process, we have seen in recent years how much the differences in our systems inhibit expanded ties and how difficult it is to divorce economic relations from human rights and other elements of that relationship.

And, yes, as our countries did at Helsinki, we will take up other bilateral areas, as well -- including scientific, cultural, and people-to-people exchanges, where we've been hard at work

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identifying new ways to cooperate. In this area, in particular, I believe we'll see some good results before the week is over.

And like the Final Act, our agenda now includes human rights as an integral component. We have developed our dialogue and put in place new mechanisms for discussion. The General Secretary has spoken often and forthrightly on the problems confronting the Soviet Union. In his campaign to address these shortcomings, he talks of "glasnost" and "perestroika" -- openness and restructuring, words that to our ears have a particularly welcome sound. And since he began his campaign, things have happened that all of us applaud.

The list includes the release from labor camps or exile of people like Andrei Sakharov, Irina Ratushinskaya, Anatoly Koryagin, Josef Begun, and many other prisoners of conscience; the publication of books like Dr. Zhivago and Children of the Arbat; the distribution of movies like "Repentance," that are critical of aspects of the Soviet past and present; allowing higher levels of emigration; greater toleration of dissent; General Secretary Gorbachev's recent statements on religious toleration; the beginning of Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan.

All this is new and good. But at the same time, there is another list, defined not by us but by the standards of the Helsinki Final Act and the sovereign choice of all participants, including the Soviet Union, to subscribe to it. We need look no further through the Final Act to see where Soviet practice does not -- or does not yet -- measure up to Soviet commitment.

Thirteen years after the Final Act was signed, it's difficult to understand why cases of divided families and blocked marriages should remain on the East-West agenda; or why Soviet citizens who wish to exercise their right to emigrate should be subject to artificial quotas and arbitrary rulings. And what are we to think of the continued suppression of those who wish to practice their religious beliefs? Over three hundred men and women whom the world sees as political prisoners have been released. There remains no reason why the Soviet Union cannot release all people still in jail for expression of political or religious belief, or for organizing to monitor the Helsinki Act.

The Soviets talk about a "common European home," and define it largely in terms of geography. But what is it that cements the structure of clear purpose that all our nations pledged themselves to build by their signature of the Final Act? What is it but the belief in the inalienable rights and dignity of every single human being? What is it but a commitment to true pluralist democracy? What is it but a dedication to the universally understood democratic concept of liberty that evolved from the genius of European civilization? This body of values -- this is what marks, or should mark, the common European home.

Mr. Gorbachev has spoken of, in his words, "the artificiality and temporariness of the bloc-to-bloc confrontation and the archaic nature of the 'iron curtain.'" Well, I join him in this belief and welcome every sign that the Soviets and their allies are ready, not only to embrace, but to put into practice the values that unify, and, indeed, define contemporary Western European civilization and its grateful American offspring.

Some 30 years ago, another period of relative openness, the Italian socialist, Pietro Nenni, long a friend of the Soviet Union, warned that it was wrong to think that the relaxation could be permanent in, as he said, "the absence of any system of judicial guarantees." And he added that only democracy and liberty could prevent reversal of the progress underway.

There are a number of steps, which, if taken, would help ensure the deepening and institutionalization of promising reforms. First, the Soviet leaders could agree to tear down the Berlin Wall

and all barriers between Eastern and Western Europe. They could join us in making Berlin itself an all-European center of communications, meetings, and travel.

They could also give legal and practical protection to free expression and worship. Let me interject here that at one time Moscow was known as the City of the Forty Forties, because there were 1,600 belfries in the churches of the city. The world welcomes the return of some churches to worship after many years. But there are still relatively few functioning churches and almost no bells. Mr. Gorbachev recently said, as he put it, "Believers are Soviet people, workers, patriots, and they have the full right to express their conviction with dignity." Well, I applaud Mr. Gorbachev's statement. What a magnificent demonstration of goodwill it would be for the Soviet leadership for church bells to ring out again, not only in Moscow but throughout the Soviet Union.

But beyond these particular steps, there's a deeper question. How can the countries of the East not only grant but guarantee the protection of rights?

The thought and practice of centuries has pointed the way. As the French constitutional philosopher, Montesquieu, wrote more than 200 years ago, "There is no liberty if the judiciary power be not separated" from the other powers of government. And like the complete independence of the judiciary, popular control over those who make the laws provides a vital, practical guarantee of human rights. So does the secret ballot. So does the freedom of citizens to associate and act for political purposes or for free collective bargaining.

I know that for the Eastern countries such steps are difficult, and some may say it's unrealistic to call for them. Some said in 1975 that the standards set forth in the Final Act were unrealistic; that the comprehensive agenda it embodied was unrealistic. Some said, earlier in this decade, that calling for global elimination of an entire class of U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range nuclear missiles was unrealistic; that calling for 50-percent reductions in U.S. and Soviet strategic offensive arms was unrealistic; that the Soviets would never withdraw from Afghanistan. Well, is it realistic to pretend that rights are truly protected when there are no effective safeguards against arbitrary rule? Is it realistic, when the Soviet leadership itself is calling for glasnost and democratization, to say that judicial guarantees, or the independence of the judiciary, or popular control over those who draft the laws, or freedom to associate for political purposes are unrealistic? And finally, is it realistic to say that peace is truly secure when political systems are less than open?

We believe that realism is on our side when we say that peace and freedom can only be achieved together, but that they can indeed be achieved together if we're prepared to drive toward that goal. So did the leaders who met in this room to sign the Final Act. They were visionaries of the most practical kind. In shaping our policy toward the Soviet Union, in preparing for my meetings with the General Secretary, I have taken their vision -- a shared vision, subscribed to by East, West, and the proud neutral and nonaligned countries of this continent -- as my guide. I believe the standard that the framers of the Final Act set -- including the concept of liberty it embodies -- is a standard for all of us. We can do no less than uphold it and try to see it turn, as the Soviets say, into "life itself."

We in the West will remain firm in our values; strong and vigilant in defense of our interests; ready to negotiate honestly for results of mutual and universal benefit. One lesson we drew again from the events leading up to the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces Treaty was that, in the world as it is today, peace truly does depend on Western strength and resolve. It is a lesson we will continue to heed.

But we're also prepared to work with the Soviets and their allies whenever they're ready to work with us. By strength we do not mean diktat, that is, an imposed settlement; we mean confident negotiation. The road ahead may be long -- but not as long as our countries had before them 44 years ago when Finland's great President J.K. Paasikivi, told a nation that had shown the world uncommon courage in a harrowing time: "A path rises up from the slope from the floor of the valley. At times the ascent is gradual, at other times steeper. But all the time one comes closer and closer to free, open spaces, above which God's ever brighter sky can be seen. The way up will be difficult, but every step will take us closer to open vistas."

I believe that in Moscow, Mr. Gorbachev and I can take another step toward a brighter future and a safer world. And I believe that, for the sake of all our ancient peoples, this new world must be a place both of democratic freedom and of peace. It must be a world in which the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act guides all our countries like a great beacon of hope to all mankind for ages to come.

Thank you and God bless you. And bear with me now --
Onnea ja memestysta koko suomen kansalle. (Applause.) Thank you.
Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

3:37 P.M. (L)