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2021

Preface: The Annual Review of United Nations Affairs 2019/2020: Seeking to Restrain the Four Horsemen in the Shadow of COVID-19

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Available at: https://works.bepress.com/karl_sauvant/538/

Joachim Müller and Karl P. Sauvant, “Preface: The *Annual Review of United Nations Affairs 2019/2020*: Seeking to Restrain the Four Horsemen in the Shadow of COVID-19,” in Joachim Müller and Karl P. Sauvant, eds., *Annual Review of United Nations Affairs 2019/2020* (New York: Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2021), vol. I.¹

The *Annual Review of United Nations Affairs* (ARUNA) occupies a special place in the publications on the work of the United Nations: it provides readers with in-depth commentaries on the principal developments by a group of distinguished experts,² complemented by official UN documentation. This is done for the key organs of the Organization: the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the International Court of Justice, and the UN Secretariat.³ The period reviewed for the 2019/2020 edition of ARUNA coincides with the 74th annual session of the General Assembly, from September 17, 2019, to September 15, 2020. As one of the longest established annual publications on UN affairs, ARUNA is an important reference source for policy-makers, academic researchers, and anyone interested in this Organization.

In accordance with its comprehensive mandate, the United Nations is concerned with peace and security, development, social affairs, and human rights. The Organization has developed into a complex global institution with a well-established governance structure involving 193 member states. A large part of the Organization’s work can be considered routine UN business, including negotiating and elaborating treaty obligations, maintaining peacekeeping missions, implementing development projects, and providing for refugees. Many of the activities involved—important as they are—can be described as “low politics,” typically being under the radar of senior policy decision makers. On the other hand, “high politics” issues attract the attention of senior decision makers and include military conflicts and tensions, the virus pandemic, climate change, and migration.

UN Achievements and Priorities 2019/2020

On September 21, 2020, world leaders marked the UN’s 75th anniversary at the start of the General Assembly. The United Nations wanted to use the occasion for a grand consultation on the future of multilateralism.⁴ This was not to be, as COVID-19 had hijacked the global agenda. Instead, the Assembly adopted a renewed vision for collective global action, responding to the coronavirus pandemic, climate change,

¹ The views expressed here do not necessarily reflect those of the institutions with which the authors are affiliated.

² Details on the experts are shown below, under *Contributors and Co-editors*.

³ Due to its inactive nature, the Trusteeship Council is not included.

⁴ Daniel Franklin, “Special Report: The World Disorder,” *Economist*, June 20–26, 2020, p. 5.

extreme poverty, armed conflict, disarmament, disruptive technologies, and other global challenges.⁵

COVID-19

The initial response addressed a dual challenge: working to fight COVID-19 and achieving global goals. This was to be done while regular activities had slowed down or had come to a standstill, with staff working from home and meetings being canceled or delayed. Whereas the World Health Organization is the leading authority on scientific and public health information, the other parts of the UN system addressed the pandemic in their spheres of responsibility. In March 2020, Secretary-General António Guterres took a number of “high politics” steps and:

- launched a \$2 billion coordinated global humanitarian response plan to fight COVID-19 in 51 countries across South America, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia;
- called on G20 nations to launch a stimulus package worth trillions of dollars to help poor countries and banning trade restriction through tariffs and quotas;
- proposed the lifting of sanctions against Iran, Cuba, North Korea, Venezuela, and Zimbabwe, to facilitate efforts to contain and treat the pandemic;
- appealed to all warring parties across the world to pull back from hostilities and lay down their weapons in support of the bigger battle against COVID-19; this was heeded by military leaders in Yemen, Syria, the Philippines, and Cameroon, who announced ceasefires.

The routine UN work, understood as “low politics,” also responded to the pandemic:

- Peacekeeping missions put in place mitigation measures to promote the health of UN personnel while maintaining continuity of operations.
- Humanitarian agencies maintained lifesaving help in support of more than 100 million people.
- UNDP supported the most affected countries where health systems were weakest.
- The UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) protected refugees, displaced people, and their host communities from this health crisis.
- UNICEF was working with global health experts to provide accurate information on the pandemic.

The Four Horsemen⁶

Shortly before the COVID-19 pandemic hit the world, the Secretary-General reported in January 2020 to the General Assembly on his achievements and priorities. He did so

⁵ General Assembly resolution, Declaration on the Commemoration of the Seventy-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, A/RES/75/1, adopted 21 September 2020, issued September 28, 2020.

⁶ The following quotes are from General Assembly, 54th plenary meeting, A/74/PV.54, January 22, 2020, pp. 1–5.

by identifying four horsemen, four threats that he saw to endanger humanity in the twenty-first century: epic geopolitical tensions, the climate crisis, global mistrust, and the downsides of technology.

First Horseman: Epic Geopolitical Tensions

The Secretary-General observed that devastating conflicts, terrorist attacks, and the growing threat of the nuclear menace are looming. Indeed, more people had been forced from their homes by war and persecution than at any time since the Second World War. The risk of a great fracture was real. The UN response under the peace and security dimension was seen to provide signs of hope.

- Despite hostilities in Yemen, the fragile ceasefire in Al-Hudaydah, concluded in December 2018, was holding.
- The Constitutional Committee in Syria had taken form.
- A peace agreement in the Central African Republic was being implemented.
- The Berlin Conference on Libya, in January 2020, brought key players around the peace table at a critical moment.
- Conflicts were prevented in the wake of several critical elections, including in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Madagascar, Mali, and the Maldives.

Limited progress was achieved in other conflicts, ranging from the Gulf, the Israeli Palestinian conflict, the Sahel, and Lake Chad to Venezuela. Security Council resolutions were being ignored.

Several organizational changes were implemented. These included the Action for Peacekeeping initiative, launched in March 2018, which was seen to enhance performance and safety. Moreover, the number of female peacekeepers had further increased.

Second Horseman: The Climate Crisis

Rising temperatures continue, the Secretary-General observed, and the past decade was the hottest ever documented. Decision makers did not succeed in taking decisive steps during the 25th Conference of the Parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change. The world was edging closer to the point of no return.

The Secretary-General called for a global response to the climate crisis, seeing opportunities to take decisive actions during three major conferences. Initially planned for 2020, those meetings have been delayed to 2021 due to the COVID-19 pandemic, namely, the:

- UN Climate Change Conference (COP 26), Glasgow, expected to deliver the transformational change that is required, including through mitigation, adaptation, and financing efforts.
- UN Conference to Support the Implementation of Sustainable Development Goal 14, Lisbon, concerned with protecting oceans from pollution (including from plastic waste) and overfishing.

- Conference of the Parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity, Kunming, expected to adopt a global framework to protect ocean species.

The climate crisis will remain high on the UN's agenda and can be expected to receive focused attention in the coming years.

Third Horseman: Global Mistrust

The Secretary-General observed that more and more people are convinced that globalization is not working for them. Two out of every three people live in countries where inequality has grown. Confidence in political establishments is declining. At the same time, fears and anxieties are spreading, hostility against refugees and migrants is building, and hatred is growing.

Implementing the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development would make globalization fair. There is global support from political leaders, entrepreneurs, and civil society. To accelerate sustainable solutions, the Secretary-General launched in September 2019 a decade of action to deliver the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by 2030. This was meant to address the world's biggest challenges, ranging from poverty and gender to climate change, inequality, and closing the finance gap.

Fourth Horseman: The Downsides of Technology

Despite enormous benefits, new technologies are being abused to commit crimes, incite hate, fake information, oppress and exploit people, and invade privacy with unacceptable impact on the very structure of societies.

In response, the Secretary-General suggested a mix of legally binding measures, voluntary cooperation, and the sharing of best practices. This included supporting existing processes and institutions, such as the:

- Group of Governmental Experts on Developments in the Field of Information and Telecommunications in the Context of International Security.
- Group of Governmental Experts on Advancing Responsible State Behaviour in Cyberspace in the context of international security.
- Strengthening of the Internet Governance Forum.

The Secretary-General suggested a plan of action for digital cooperation that touches upon internet connectivity, human rights, trust, and security in the era of digital interdependence. This was a follow-up to the report of the High-level Panel on Digital Cooperation co-chaired by Melinda Gates of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation and Jack Ma, Executive Chairperson, Alibaba Group. The Secretary-General presented a Roadmap on Digital Cooperation to member states in June 2020, for their consideration. In response to advances in artificial intelligence, the Secretary-General made a simple and direct appeal: to ban autonomous lethal weapons.

The four horsemen identify global threats and UN responses. In addition, the Secretary-General addressed internal shortcomings associated with gender balance and sexual harassment.

On January 1, 2020, for the first time in the Organization's history and two years ahead of schedule, the United Nations achieved gender parity in the highest staff levels, namely, the Assistant Secretaries-General and Under Secretaries-General. In addition, the Secretary-General expressed his intention to achieve parity at all levels of the Organization.

The Secretary-General also took decisive steps to prevent and end sexual harassment:

- The specialized investigations team of the Office of Internal Oversight Services became fully operational.
- A new policy on sexual harassment, approved in September 2019, was being integrated into the various regulatory frameworks of the UN system.
- A centralized background-check database had been deployed to prevent those guilty of harassment or sexual exploitation from returning discreetly to the UN system.

The UN strategy to combat sexual exploitation and abuse was being implemented. This included enhanced support for victims. Finally, the Secretary-General expressed his full commitment to ensure equality and non-discrimination for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex personnel in the UN system.

Highlights by Chapter

The commentaries that accompany the documentation contained in each chapter provide an overview of the workings of the Organization during the present UN year, highlighting important issues and providing an introduction to the documents that follow in each chapter.

Chapter 1 covers the 74th session of the General Assembly. John R. Mathiason provides the Commentary: "The General Assembly—Coping with the Present, Planning for the Future." The documentation includes the complete set of the Assembly's resolutions, the opening and closing statements of the President of the session, and the agenda of the annual session.

Mathiason observes that the 74th session ended on a quiet note, mostly virtual, as a result of the coronavirus. The final vote addressed the united response combating COVID-19. The United States, the UN's largest financial contributor, voted against the resolution because of its intention to withdraw from the World Health Organization. This was seen to be part of a broader rejection by that country, not for the first time in recent years, to the functioning of the international order. It was also reflected in a cash-flow crisis during the session due to late payments of assessed contributions. While most other countries rejected that approach, Mathiason notes that there were some signs that many of the agreed rules were being questioned. Still, the Assembly continued its emphasis on the importance of multilateralism as a way to address problems. These problems were noted by Secretary-General Guterres in his statement to a briefing on the work of the United Nations on January 20, 2020, where he identified four existential threats—surging geopolitical tensions, the climate crisis, dangerous technology, and deepening mistrust. The growing importance of the "four horsemen

in our midst” (as the Secretary-General put it) are seen to require more work by the international system if they are to be tamed, since the problems are all essentially borderless. This will require reforms in how the UN system works. In this regard, steps have been taken in the reform of the UN system at the country level and the move from a biennial to an annual budget based on a longer planning horizon and an enhanced priority for results-based management. The session ended and immediately handed over its work to the 75th session. That session had been designed as a major event, but it would be virtual.

Chapter 2 deals with the work of the Security Council during the UN year 2019/2020. Jacques Fomerand provides the Commentary: “The Security Council—Missing in Action Amid Deepening Discord.” The accompanying documentation contains the report of the Security Council, which gives a detailed account of the various issues discussed, the documentation considered, and the decisions taken by the Council during the year under review. This is followed by the complete set of Security Council resolutions and the Presidential Statements.

Fomerand notes that the Security Council addressed the COVID-19 pandemic in three specific meetings. The protracted and cautiously worded response, especially in regard to the crisis’s secondary socioeconomic conflicts risks it poses to international peace and security, was considered symptomatic of deep divisions of the Council. Likewise, the laborious and labyrinthine political process over Syria reflected well the changing balance of power, both in the world and in the Council itself. At the same time, Fomerand observes that the work of the Council may well be a portend of things to come, both disquieting and promising. The Charter of the Organization is a deliberate bundle of contradictory norms and standards. Tensions among the big powers over the operative principles pertaining to sovereignty and the executive capacity of the United Nations appear to have heightened, foreshadowing slow but deeper long-term geopolitical shifts. The intensification of nationalist strong-state politics also shapes the position of a number of smaller states; while this may not be a tectonic shift, it goes in the same direction. On the other hand, Fomerand notes, that the growing—yet still hesitant—inclination of the Council to address non-traditional threats to peace and security could be interpreted as the seeds of emerging norms governing peaceful international interactions in a globalized and imperiled environment. In any case, the politics of the Security Council remain fluid and are likely to create an abundance of raw material for dialectical reflections and assessments.

Chapter 3 discusses the work of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) during the 2019 session. Lorraine Ruffing provides the Commentary: “The Economic and Social Council—Towards a Green Digital, Just, and Resilient Recovery?” The documentation contains the Report of ECOSOC on its 2019 session. This is followed by the complete set of ECOSOC resolutions.

Ruffing argues that the recent reform of the UN Development System was just in time to assist the member states in their fight against COVID-19. More than half of them said that the new resident coordinators strengthen the coherence of development activities. What started as a health crisis morphed into a socioeconomic one. The response emerged in three tracks: the health track led by the WHO with WFP; the humanitarian track led by OCHA; and the socioeconomic track led by UNDP. The

virus has shown how the world benefits when the United Nations works together. Nevertheless, Ruffing notes that the severity of the COVID-19 crisis has erased decades of development progress with an increase in malaria, tuberculosis, and HIV. The pandemic has been aggravated by the failure of member states to make progress on the SDGs, in particular regarding rising inequalities. Special attention was given to internally displaced persons, who are particularly vulnerable because they live in crowded camps with weak health services and inadequate access to basic sanitation and water. The action taken by the G20 on debt service suspension was judged by the participants in the 74th session of ECOSOC as insufficient. Developing countries called for two to three years of debt relief and that non-International Development Association countries be included, particularly small island developing states. They were being hit hard by climate change, and now COVID-19 has dried up tourism, their main source of revenue. Most member states, particularly the European Union, have accepted the UN response to the crisis to build back better by aspiring to a recovery that is a green recovery, a digital recovery, and a just and resilient recovery. However, a strong global multilateral response is tragically missing. This was made most obvious in the early days of the crisis by the lack of international cooperation and solidarity where each country fended for itself in accessing medical supplies and in racing for a vaccine. Ruffing observes that there have been some joint efforts on the part of regional commissions and regional banks to assist their member states in obtaining urgent medical supplies. Some entities established procurement platforms to obtain medical supplies and keep down prices. There are calls for a people's vaccine to combat the rise in vaccine nationalism. Now 151 leaders are calling for vaccines to be free and universally available so that no one is left behind.

Chapter 4 presents the work of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) and the international criminal tribunals during the UN year 2019/2020. Alexander K.A. Greenawalt provides the Commentary: "The International Court of Justice and International Criminal Tribunals—The Reach of Adjudication." The documentation contains the annual reports of the ICJ, the International Criminal Court, and the international criminal tribunals.

Greenawalt notes that, although the COVID-19 pandemic brought business as usual to a halt, the ICJ and other UN-affiliated tribunals have continued to press ahead with their important work. Although the year brought a wealth of important decisions, it was also relatively bereft of final dispositions. The ICJ addressed preliminary objections in a Georgia/Russia dispute and indicated provisional measures in The Gambia/Myanmar dispute. While it did issue a final appellate judgment in the two related cases involving Qatar and its neighbors, those appeals pertained to preliminary ICAO Council decisions in disputes that remain ongoing. All of these cases involve high-stakes conflicts with complex legal questions that are likely to be the source of important future ICJ judgments. The key ICC developments also involved early stage proceedings, with the Prosecutor opening her own investigations into Myanmar crimes against the Rohingya and into crimes committed in Afghanistan, while also declining to pursue an investigation of alleged Israel Defense Forces crimes in the Gaza flotilla raid. The Court obtained custody of new suspects while also receiving referrals of new situations. Closer to a final disposition is the *Ongwen* case, which awaits a much-anticipated final judgment following the completion of trial. Moving to the other

international criminal tribunals, the Special Tribunal for Lebanon issued its long-awaited in absentia final judgment in its case concerning the killing of Rafik Hariri and others. Meanwhile, the most significant development at the International Residual Mechanism for Criminal Tribunals was the arrest of Félicien Kabuga, whose trial is yet to begin. As also discussed, the year's developments highlight both restrictive and expansive models of jurisdiction. At the ICJ, the Georgia/Russia and Qatar-related proceedings highlight the way in which jurisdictional limitations can limit ICJ dispute resolution to only one part of a broader interstate dispute, whereas The Gambia's claims against Myanmar highlight how *erga omnes* obligations can facilitate litigation between states that are not adversaries in a conventional sense. And at the ICC, the Myanmar, Afghanistan, and Comoros matters likewise reflect the ICC's sometimes expansive ability to assign criminal responsibility to persons acting on behalf of non-party states. As always, the story of these tribunals is one that is very much in progress, with this year's key developments arising out of cases whose ends have yet to be written.

Chapter 5 describes the work of the Secretariat during the UN year 2019/2020. Khalil A. Hamdani provides the Commentary: "The Secretariat—Working from Home." The documentation contains the Annual Report of the Secretary-General to the General Assembly and a number of annual reports of various funds and programs of the United Nations.

Hamdani stresses that these past four years have been difficult for multilateralism. The disengagement of the United States was a particular disappointment for the United Nations. Secretary-General Guterres embarked on reforms to win the confidence of its principal benefactor, but ultimately found refuge in the resolve of like-minded states and peoples the world over, to push ahead on the global agenda, with or without the United States. An all-but-one alliance preserved funding of the UN programs, the consensus on climate change, and a united response to COVID-19. That the United Nations showed to be more than any one member state—even the most powerful—is a quantum of solace on this 75th anniversary of the Organization. However, the future United Nations must be different from the past. As recent events confirm, a rising tide of nationalism can engulf an organization built of nation states. The United Nations needs a wider constituency. We need a networked multilateralism, in which the United Nations and its agencies, the international financial institutions, regional organizations, and others work together more effectively with stronger institutional links. And we need an inclusive multilateralism, drawing on the critical contributions of civil society, business, foundations, the research community, local authorities, cities, and regional governments. Guterres urges ECOSOC to strengthen cooperation between subsidiary bodies of the UN Development System and to connect with a much wider global audience. However, Guterres is seen to be realistic on political matters. He sees dysfunction in the Security Council when permanent members exercise power over leadership. He sees tensions between the United States and China intensifying and urges that everything needs to be done to avoid a new Cold War. The Organization will survive, Hamdani argues, as it did in 2020—working from home, staying, and delivering—and as it did in years before. Indeed, the United Nations has flourished for 75 years.

Conclusions

The Secretary-General succeeded during the UN year 2019/2020 to maintain the relevance of the Organization and to continue on his path of improving it, despite the devastating disruption caused by the fifth horseman, the COVID-19 pandemic. Work was inhibited, and important decisions needed to be deferred. It is to be hoped that the year 2021 will see a return to a vigorous implementation of the multilateral agenda. It will be dominated by continued efforts to restrain the—now—five horsemen. The reward of the Nobel Peace Prize to the UN World Food Programme in October 2020 is certainly an encouragement to redouble its efforts.

We trust that this publication will be of use to all those interested in the work of the United Nations.

Vienna and New York
November 2020

Contributors and Co-editors

Jacques Fomerand had a lengthy career with the UN, and when he retired in 2003 he was director of the North American UN University Office. Since then he has taught in the UN Program at Occidental College, Los Angeles, where he is assistant director. He also teaches at New York University and John Jay College of Criminal Justice at the City University of New York. He is widely published on matters related to international relations, international organizations, human rights, and global human security issues.

Alexander K.A. Greenawalt is Professor of Law at the Elisabeth Haub School of Law at Pace University School of Law, where he teaches courses in International Law, International Criminal Law, and United States Foreign Relations Law. Professor Greenawalt has also taught at the Columbia University School of Law and has published widely in the field of international law, with a particular focus on international criminal law. Professor Greenawalt joined the Pace faculty from the firm of Debevoise & Plimpton LLP. He previously served as a law clerk for The Honorable Stephen F. Williams of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit. Professor Greenawalt has also worked for the Office of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, and for the Legal Adviser's Office of the United States Department of State. Professor Greenawalt is a graduate of the Columbia University School of Law, where he was a James Kent Scholar and Articles Editor of the *Columbia Law Review*. He has received an M.A. in History from Yale University and an A.B. in Religion from Princeton University.

Khalil Hamdani is Visiting Professor at the Graduate Institute of Development Studies of the Lahore School of Economics, Pakistan. He is a Board Member of the CUTS International Research Centre in Geneva. He served 29 years with the UN Secretariat, retiring in 2007 as Director of the Division on Investment, Technology and Enterprise Development. Within the Secretariat, he has served with DESA, UNCTC, and UNCTAD. He has also been consultant, staff, or adviser to UNICEF, UNDP, UNFPA, UNITAR, UNIDO, and the OECD. He is co-author of a book on the United Nations Centre on Transnational Corporations (2015). Prior to joining the United Nations in 1978, he was a senior researcher at the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics and he also taught at the University of Islamabad. He received his B.A. from the Johns Hopkins University in 1968 and his Ph.D. in economics from Georgetown University in 1975. He can be reached at khalilhamdani@jhu.edu.

John Mathiason is Adjunct Professor at the Cornell Institute of Public Affairs at Cornell University. From 1999 to 2012 he was Professor of International Relations at the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs of Syracuse University. From 1966 to 1997 he was a career staff member of the UN Secretariat, completing his career as Deputy Director of the Division for the Advancement of Women. Since then, in addition to teaching management of the international public sector, he has provided advice and training to many organizations of the UN system in results-based management. In his research, he has examined the role of the international public sector in addressing issues of weapons of mass destruction, internet governance, and the management of climate change. He is the author of *Invisible Governance: International Secretariats in Global Politics* (2007) and *Internet Governance: The New*

Frontier of Global Institutions (2008). He is an editor of the *Journal of International Organizations Studies*. He has a Ph.D. in political science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He can be reached at jrm534@cornell.edu.

Joachim Müller is a consultant for international organizations on management reform. He previously was a staff member of the United Nations system, including the UN Secretariat, New York, the UN Office of Drugs and Crime (UNODC), Vienna, the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), Geneva, and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO), Geneva. He has been with the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and UN election observer in Namibia and Angola. Mr Müller has written extensively on UN management reform, including *Reforming the UN: A Chronology* (2016), *The Challenge of Working Together* (2010), *The Struggle for Legitimacy and Effectiveness* (2006), *The Quiet Revolution* (2001), and *New Initiatives and Past Efforts* (1997). He has a doctorate (D.Phil.) in Economics and Management Studies from Oxford University, Nuffield College, and can be reached at joachimwm@gmail.com.

Lorraine Turner Ruffing earned an M.A. and Ph.D. in trade and development from Columbia University. She has worked for five different UN agencies and lived in Chile, Uzbekistan, and Venezuela. She started her UN career working for the UN Economic Commission for Europe, where she developed energy balances for the former Soviet Union. While assigned to the UN Centre on Transnational Corporations in New York, she initiated its work on environmental accounting, a forerunner of sustainability reporting. She also assisted member countries of the former Soviet Union in modifying their accounting systems to accommodate their transition to market economies. After the Centre was dissolved, she joined UNDP to open its offices in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, where she served as Deputy Resident Representative. While stationed in Geneva she directed UNCTAD's work on small business development. Since retirement she has assisted the OECD (Paris) in launching its publication on financing small business. In 2015 she published a book with Khalil Hamdani on the UN's efforts to establish a code of conduct for transnational corporations (TNCs), which holds valuable lessons for the UN's current effort to establish a binding treaty for TNCs on human rights. She is currently co-director of a grass-roots environmental organization dedicated to maintaining the pristine waters of Lake George, located in the Adirondacks in New York State.

Karl P. Sauvant is Resident Senior Fellow at the Columbia Center on Sustainable Investment (CCSI), a joint center of Columbia Law School and The Earth Institute at Columbia University, Lecturer in Law at Columbia Law School, and Guest Professor at Nankai University, China. He was the Founding Executive Director of the Vale Columbia Center on Sustainable International Investment, the predecessor of the CCSI, and Director of UNCTAD's Investment Division. He is the author of, or responsible for, a substantial number of publications. He is a Fellow of the Academy of International Business and an Honorary Fellow of the European International Business Academy. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1975.

Annual Review of United Nations Affairs 2019/2020

Edited by Joachim Müller and Karl P. Sauvant

VOLUME I

Preface to the *Annual Review of United Nations Affairs 2019/2020* by Joachim Müller and Karl P. Sauvant: *Seeking to Restrain the Four Horsemen in the Shadow of COVID-19*

Contributors and Co-editors

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CHAPTER 1: General Assembly, Seventy-fourth Session (Continued)

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CHAPTER 1: General Assembly, Seventy-fourth Session (Continued)

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