



Committee History and Structure
General Assembly Plenary¹

September 1, 2014

The United Nations General Assembly (GA) was established in 1945 by the Charter of the United Nations.² Each member state has a permanent seat on this committee. Thus, the GA is the congress or parliament of the United Nations. It “occupies a central position as the chief deliberative, policy-making and representative organ of the United Nations.”³

In the GA, each UN member state has one vote. No matter how different in military or economic power, all are equal. Thus the United States’ vote counts the same as Egypt’s, and Bolivia has the same voice as China. This is different from some other UN committees, such as the Security Council, which have limited membership or special voting rules. This feature gives the General Assembly a great deal of legitimacy on the world stage. It is a place where world public opinion can be expressed.

The GA covers all issues of global importance. Article 14 of the United Nations Charter gives the GA the power to “recommend measures for the peaceable adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations.” According to the Charter, the GA “may discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the present Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organs” except “any matters relative to the maintenance of international peace and security which are being dealt with by the Security Council.” Specifically, the GA can

- initiate studies and make recommendations to promote: disarmament, international political cooperation, the development and codification of international law, the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and international collaboration in the economic, social, humanitarian, cultural, educational and health fields;
- consider and approve the United Nations budget and establish the financial assessments of Member States;
- elect the non-permanent members of the Security Council and the members of other United Nations councils and organs and, on the recommendation of the Security Council, appoint the Secretary-General.⁴

The General Assembly convenes annually from the third Tuesday of September until a pre-determined date in December. The first several days of each session are known as the “high-level plenary meeting,” or world summit. During plenary sessions, each member state’s head of state, foreign minister, or UN ambassador addresses the General Assembly. During its 67th session (2012-2013), the GA held 99 plenary sessions and passed 303 resolutions.⁵ All GA sessions are held at in the General Assembly chambers at UN headquarters in New York.

Special sessions and world summits can be called by a majority of the General Assembly. Such high-level meetings address important new or recurring themes. The 2000 Millennium Summit, for example, articulated the

¹ This background guide was written by Karen Ruth Adams, Montana Model UN faculty advisor, with contributions from Trevor Hunter (2007), Samantha Stephens (2010), Jessica McCutcheon (2012), and Nicholas Potratz (2014). Copyright 2014 by Karen Ruth Adams.

² “Charter of the United Nations,” Chapter IV, <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter4.shtml>.

³ “Functions and Powers of the United Nations General Assembly,” United Nations General Assembly website, <http://www.un.org/ga/about/background.shtml>.

⁴ “Charter of the United Nations,” Chapter IV.

⁵ For the full text of all 2012-2013 GA resolutions, as well as meeting summaries and press releases summarizing debate, see UN General Assembly, “Resolutions, 67th Session,” http://www.un.org/depts/dhl/resguide/r67_en.shtml.

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Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which redefined the worldwide approach to promoting and measuring economic development.⁶ In June 2009, the GA held a three-day summit on the international economic crisis.⁷ In September and October 2013, high-level meetings were held on disability and development, nuclear disarmament, and international migration and development.⁸

The majority of GA resolutions originate in one of the GA's many subcommittees, such as GA-1 (disarmament and security), GA-2 (economic and financial), GA-3 (social, humanitarian, and cultural), or ECOSOC (economic and social). Thus, the relationship between the GA and its subcommittees is akin to that between the US Senate and its subcommittees. Resolutions passed by subcommittees are simply working papers. Only when the GA passes a resolution does it go into effect.

In general, GA resolutions are not binding on member states. They are simply recommendations. In this respect, the GA has less authority than the Security Council, whose resolutions are binding. However, because the GA includes all UN member states, the GA is often seen as the voice of world public opinion. In addition, GA resolutions often inspire treaties and conventions that are binding on the states that sign them.⁹

The only GA resolutions that are binding on member states pertain to the UN budget, over which the GA exercises full control. In practice, however, some UN members do not pay their UN dues in full or on time.¹⁰

Membership, Voting, and Leadership

The membership of the GA includes all 193 UN Member States. The most recent state to join was South Sudan in 2011. Non-member states and other entities recognized by the UN as permanent observers may attend and participate in meetings, but they cannot vote. At present, permanent observers include Palestine and the Holy See (Vatican City), as well as a number of international organizations, such as the European Union and African Union.¹¹

Most votes conducted within the GA require only a simple majority to pass. The only exceptions are budgetary matters and other issues designated "important," such as recommendations on peace and security, admission of new members, and the election of Security Council members, which require a two-thirds majority.¹²

⁶ United Nations, "Millennium Summit (6-8 September 2000)," http://www.un.org/en/events/pastevents/millennium_summit.shtml.

⁷ United Nations, "United Nations Conference on the World Financial and Economic Crisis and Its Impact on Development, 24-26 June 2009," <http://www.un.org/ga/econcrisissummit/>.

⁸ United Nations General Assembly, "High-Level Meetings of the 68th Session," <http://www.un.org/en/ga/68/meetings/index.shtml>.

⁹ Karen A. Mingst and Margaret P. Karns, *The United Nations in the 21st Century*, 3rd edition (Boulder: Westview, 2007), p. 33.

¹⁰ Budgetary resolutions are binding in that states that fail to pay their dues shall, at the discretion of the GA, "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." "Charter of the United Nations," Chapter IV, Article 19. For a list of countries currently in this situation, see "Countries in Arrears in the Payment of Their Financial Contributions Under the Terms of Article 19 of the UN Charter," UNGA website, <http://www.un.org/ga/art19.shtml>.

¹¹ United Nations, "Permanent Observers: Non-Member States and Entities," available at <http://www.un.org/en/members/nonmembers.shtml> and "Permanent Observers: International Organizations," available at <http://www.un.org/en/members/intergovorg.shtml>.

¹² For a complete list of these items, see "Charter of the United Nations," Chapter IV, Article 18, available at <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter4.shtml>.

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According to the official GA website, “in recent years, a special effort has been made to achieve consensus on issues, rather than deciding by a formal vote, thus strengthening support for the Assembly’s decisions. The President, after having consulted and reached agreement with delegations, can propose that a resolution be adopted without a vote.”¹³

Regional blocs and other alliances play an important role in building consensus. Blocs consist of both countries in the same region and countries from different regions that face similar problems. For example, the Group of 77 is a group of less-developed countries that often vote together.¹⁴

The President of the General Assembly chairs the meetings and corrects any procedural mistakes. The president and 21 vice-presidents representing all world regions are elected annually by the members of the GA. Elections are held at least three months before the beginning of the annual session.¹⁵ The president of the 68th session (2013-2014) was Mr. John W. Ashe, from Antigua and Barbuda.¹⁶ In June 2014, the General Assembly elected Sam Kutesa, Foreign Minister of Uganda, as President of the 69th Session.¹⁷

History and Challenges

The General Assembly’s primary challenges pertain to its relationship to the Security Council. There are two main issues: first, which of the two committees gets “first dibs” on security issues, and second, whether and how the GA can reform the UN. In addition, the GA bears the burden of addressing the wide variety of other issues of global concern not addressed by the Security Council.

According to the UN Charter, the GA can act on matters related to peace and security only when the Security Council (the committee charged with maintaining peace and security) has failed to act.¹⁸ In principle, this provision would seem to enable the Security Council to completely dominate the UN’s deliberations on security matters. In fact, however, disagreements between P-5 members mean that the Security Council is often stymied. For example, the Security Council has never reached agreement on how to respond to North Korea’s November 2010 shelling of a South Korean island.¹⁹

In 1950, during the Korean War, the US led an effort to clarify this power in General Assembly Resolution 377. This resolution, known as the “Uniting for Peace” resolution, states that:

if the Security Council, because of lack of unanimity of the permanent members, fails to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in any case where there appears to be a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression, the

¹³ “Functions and Powers of the United Nations General Assembly.”

¹⁴ “The Group of 77 at the United Nations,” available at <http://www.g77.org/>. Also see Soo Yeon Kim and Bruce Russett, “The new politics of voting alignments in the United Nations General Assembly,” *International Organization*, Vol. 50, No 4 (1996), 629-652.

¹⁵ United Nations General Assembly, “Rules of Procedure,” Section V, Rule 30, available at http://www.un.org/ga/ropga_prez.shtml.

¹⁶ UN News Centre, “General Assembly Elects UN Ambassador of Antigua and Barbuda as President of the 68th Session,” 14 June 2013, available at <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=45177#.U6HRDSjije4>.

¹⁷ UN News Centre, “General Assembly Elects Ugandan Foreign Minister as President of the 69th Session,” 11 June 2014, available at <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=48024#.U6HOfldXIs>

¹⁸ “Charter of the United Nations,” Chapter IV, Article 12.

¹⁹ Louis Charbonneau, “U.N. Security Council deadlocked on Korean crisis,” Reuters, 19 December 2010, available at <http://www.reuters.com/article/2010/12/20/us-korea-north-un-idUSTRE6BJ08A20101220>.

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General Assembly shall consider the matter immediately with a view to making appropriate recommendations to Members for collective measures, including in the case of a breach of the peace or act of aggression the use of armed force when necessary, to maintain or restore international peace and security.²⁰

This is a key power of the General Assembly. Because each of the five permanent members of the Security Council (the US, UK, France, Russia, and China) has only one vote and no veto in the General Assembly, they cannot dominate the GA like they do the Security Council. But the power of the General Assembly to call emergency special sessions has only been used ten times.²¹ Historically, these sessions have been most often convened at the request of the US.²² The most recent emergency special session, however, was called by Qatar in 1997 to address the “Illegal Israeli actions in occupied East Jerusalem and the rest of the Occupied Palestinian Territory.” Unlike previous emergency special sessions, this session has never been adjourned. Instead debate has been repeatedly suspended and reopened. This last occurred on January 15 and 16, 2009.²³

The GA has called so few emergency special sessions on security matters because it is rare for security issues to be completely ignored by the Security Council. In addition, it is often difficult for the GA to obtain the two-thirds majority required in Article 18 of the UN Charter to pass resolutions with respect to “the maintenance of international peace and security.”²⁴ Even when such resolutions are passed, they are not binding on member states. Unlike Security Council resolutions, GA resolutions are simply recommendations. As a result, it can be difficult for the GA to persuade states with large and capable militaries to carry out enforcement measures to reverse an act of aggression. Thus although both the GA and the Security Council are charged with addressing international peace and security, the Security Council has more authority on particular breaches of the peace.

The issue of UN reform is much the same. To revise the Charter, the GA and the Security Council must together call for a review conference. Amendments go into effect only with a two-thirds vote in the General Assembly and ratification by “two-thirds of the Members of the United Nations, including all the permanent members of the Security Council.”²⁵ This makes it very difficult to address a wide variety of reform issues, from making GA resolutions binding to changing the criteria for admitting new members to the UN.

The General Assembly first convened on the 10th of January in 1946 in London with 51 member states. Since then, the UN and GA have expanded from 51 to 193 members, but the Security Council remains limited to 15 member states and dominated by the same permanent five member states that set up the organization after World War II. The expansion of UN membership has resulted in many calls to expand the Security Council. Yet, to date, the only significant reform to the Security Council has been to add some non-permanent members and to specify that the 10 non-permanent members should be selected based on geographic representation. These amendments took effect in 1965.²⁶

²⁰ United Nations General Assembly Resolution 377 (1950), <http://www.un.org/documents/resga.htm>.

²¹ For a list of emergency special sessions and related resolutions, see <http://www.un.org/en/ga/sessions/emergency.shtml>.

²² Karen A. Mingst and Margaret P. Karns, *The United Nations in the 21st Century*, 3rd edition (Boulder: Westview, 2007), p. 30.

²³ UN General Assembly, “Tenth Emergency Special Session,” <http://www.un.org/en/ga/sessions/emergency10th.shtml>.

²⁴ United Nations, “Charter of the United Nations,” Chapter IV, Article 18.

²⁵ “Charter of the United Nations,” Chapter XVIII, Article 108.

²⁶ “Functions and Powers.” See also Mingst and Karns, *United Nations in the 21st Century*, p. 31.

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The expansion of UN membership, the globalization of the world economy, and the rise of transnational challenges such as disease and environmental degradation have expanded the GA's agenda far beyond what was conceived in 1945.

Recent and Current Events

Since 2000, the General Assembly has been active on three main fronts. First, it created the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which have become the focal point for international discussions about foreign aid to and development in the poorest states in the world. Second, the GA has begun the process of reforming itself. Third, the GA has begun to give more systematic attention to human rights and the environment.

In September 2000, the GA held a high-level plenary session called the United Nations Millennium Summit. At the end of the summit, member states adopted eight measurable goals now called the MDGs with a target date of 2015.²⁷ The goals are to:

1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
2. Achieve universal primary education
3. Promote gender equality and empower women
4. Reduce child mortality
5. Improve maternal health
6. Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases
7. Ensure environmental sustainability
8. A global partnership for development.²⁸

Since 2000, the GA has received annual reports quantifying country and regional progress towards the MDGs. In this way, the GA encourages both short- and long-term progress on the goals. The GA has also urged all developed member states to donate 0.7 percent of their country's gross domestic product toward overseas development assistance (ODA).²⁹ Although progress has been uneven, both in terms of ODA and less-developed country progress, the MDGs have given the world clear goals for its discussions and efforts regarding development.

In June 2013, the most recent report as of June 2014, progress on the 144 targets for the eight MDGs was as follows:

- 51% (73) targets with insufficient progress to meet the reach the 2015 goals if prevailing trends persist
- 44% (64) targets met or are expected to be met by 2015
- 5% (7) targets deteriorated or have shown no progress.³⁰

With the 2015 deadline approaching, focus has shifted towards a "Post-2015" (post-MDG) agenda. For instance, President of the UN General Assembly John Ashe chose "The Post-2015 Development Agenda: Setting the Stage" as the theme for the 68th Session of the UN General Assembly.³¹ On September 25, 2013, Ashe held a

²⁷ United Nations, "Millennium Summit.

²⁸ United Nations, "Millennium Summit.

²⁹ Anne-Marie Slaughter, "Security, Solidarity and Sovereignty: The Grand Themes of UN Reform," *The American Journal of International Law* 99, no. 3 (2005): 630. On the .7% goal, see "The 0.7% target: An in-depth look," Millennium Project website, <http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/press/07.htm>.

³⁰ United Nations, "Millennium Development Goals: 2013 Progress Chart," http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/pdf/report-2013/2013_progress_english.pdf.

³¹ UN Department of Public Information, "General Assembly Faces 'Pivotal' Year as it Seeks to Define Development Agenda for Post-2015 Era, New President Says at Opening of Sixty-Eighth Session," press release GA/11415, 17 September 2013, <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2013/ga11415.doc.htm>.

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“Special Event” on the MDGs, at which Member States agreed to work to accelerate progress on the MDGs before the 2015 deadline, and committed to hold a High-Level Summit in 2015 to adopt new goals for the Post-2015 era.³²

Incoming General Assembly President Sam Kutesa has selected the theme of “Delivering on and Implementing a Transformative Post-2015 Development Agenda” for the 69th Session. He states that this theme promotes not only establishing new targets, but ensuring their implementation as well.³³

Since 2005, the GA has also responded to former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan’s call for UN reform.³⁴ Annan challenged the GA to simplify and focus its agenda, end its reliance on consensus, and pay more attention to implementation of its resolutions, so they are not, as the Global Policy Forum has called them, “dead-letters of non-compliance.”³⁵ One of the most important changes has been to streamline the GA’s annual agenda by reducing the number of agenda items from more than 300 to less than 200 and organizing them under about a dozen headings. This leaves more time for high-priority items and makes it more likely that resolutions will build on one another.³⁶ Yet, according to the independent Center for UN Reform, the major issues of reform remain unresolved:

Generally speaking, delegates from the global North tend to see Revitalization as a merely procedural question and focus on practical improvements that can be made in GA procedures and operations, while delegates from the South first and foremost see it as a political process whose principal objective should be to strengthen the role of the Assembly as the main deliberative body of the UN, and resist what they call the “encroachment” by the Security Council on the work of the General Assembly.³⁷

In recent years, the GA’s most path-breaking resolutions have related to human rights and the environment, which are relatively new issues in international politics. In September 2009, Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon congratulated the GA on adopting its first resolution on the international community’s “responsibility to protect” (R2P) civilians from genocide, ethnic cleansing, war crimes, and other atrocities, even if this means violating national sovereignty.³⁸ In March 2011, the Security Council acted on this principle when it authorized “all necessary means” to protect civilians in Libya. After that, several members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) assisted Libyan rebels in their fight to depose President Moammar Kadafi. In doing so, they exceeded the Security Council mandate to protect civilians.

Since then, the international consensus behind R2P has weakened,³⁹ as is evident in the UN’s inability to respond to the civil war in Syria. Although the GA condemned the violence in December 2011,⁴⁰ the Security

³² United Nations, “Beyond 2015: Overview,” <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/beyond2015-overview.shtml>.

³³ UN News Centre, “General Assembly Elects Ugandan Foreign Minister.”

³⁴ Kofi Annan, “In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security, and Human Rights for All,” Report of the Secretary General, 21 March 2005, http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/59/2005.

³⁵ Global Policy Forum, “Reform of the General Assembly,” <http://www.globalpolicy.org/reform/topics/gaindex.htm>.

³⁶ Lydia Swart, “Revitalization of the Work of the General Assembly,” in *Managing Change at the United Nations* (New York: Center for UN Reform Education, April 2008) [book online], p. 32 <http://www.centerforunreform.org/node/308> and <http://www.globalpolicy.org/un-reform/un-reform-topics/reform-of-the-general-assembly.html>.

³⁷ Mie Hansen, “Update on Revitalization of the General Assembly: A recap of developments during the 65th GA session,” Center for UN Reform, 27 September 2011, <http://www.centerforunreform.org/node/450>.

³⁸ “General Assembly agrees to hold more talks on responsibility to protect,” UN News Centre, 14 September 2009, <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=32047>.

³⁹ Philippe Boloignon, “After Libya, the question: To protect or depose?,” *Los Angeles Times*, 25 August 2011, <http://articles.latimes.com/2011/aug/25/opinion/la-oe-boloignon-libya-responsibility-t20110825>.

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Council has been divided and has done little to protect or aid civilians beyond a resolution to eliminate chemical weapons held by the Syrian government.⁴¹ According to UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon,

we face an urgent test here and now. Words must become deeds. Promise must become practice. You have all seen the horrible images and reports coming out of Syria: aerial bombardments of civilians; mothers weeping, clutching their dead children in their arms. Inaction cannot be an option for our community of nations. We cannot stand by while populations fall victim to these grave crimes and violations. We must uphold the core responsibilities of the United Nations.⁴²

In March 2010, the GA passed Resolution 64/236 (A/RES/64/236) calling for a high-level conference to follow up on the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Known formally as the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (UNCSD) and informally as Rio+20, the conference was held in Brazil in June 2012 and was charged with obtaining firm commitments to achieve sustainable development, defined as “the balanced integration of economic development, social development and environmental protection.”⁴³ Although the conference resulted in a report and resolution entitled “The Future We Want,”⁴⁴ most observers agree that the conference achieved little. According to the aid organization CARE and the environmental organization Greenpeace the meeting was “a political charade” and “a failure of epic proportions.”⁴⁵

Agenda Topics for the MMUN Conference

At the 2014 MMUN Conference, the General Assembly Plenary will address the following topics:

1. Deserts and Desertification
2. Promoting and Protecting the Rights of Children

When writing your position papers and resolutions, think broadly about these issues, remembering both the overarching goals of the United Nations General Assembly and the perspective of the country you represent.

Recommended Reading

⁴⁰ UN General Assembly, “General Assembly Adopts More Than 60 Resolutions Recommended by Third Committee, Including Text Condemning Grave, Systematic Human Rights Violations in Syria,” press release GA/11198, 19 December 2011, <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs//2011/ga11198.doc.htm>.

⁴¹ Security Council Report, “Syria,” <http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/syria/>.

⁴² UN Department of Public Information, “Responsibility to Protect Faces Urgent Test ‘Here and Now’, Secretary-General Tells General Assembly, Stressing Immense Human Cost of Failure in Syria,” press release SG/SM/14490 GA/11271, 5 September 2012, <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2012/sgsm14490.doc.htm>.

⁴³ United Nations General Assembly, “Implementation of Agenda 21, the Programme for the Further Implementation of Agenda 21 and the outcomes of the World Summit on Sustainable Development,” A/RES/64/236, 31 March 2010, operative clause 19d, p. 6, <http://www.un.org/Docs/journal/asp/ws.asp?m=A/RES/64/236>.

⁴⁴ United Nations, “Report of the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development,” <http://www.uncsd2012.org/content/documents/814UNCSD%20REPORT%20final%20revs.pdf>.

⁴⁵ Simon Romero and John M. Broder, “Progress on the Sidelines as Rio Conference Ends,” *New York Times*, 23 June 2012, http://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/24/world/americas/rio20-conference-ends-with-some-progress-on-the-sidelines.html?_r=1.

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Amin, Samir. "The Millennium Development Goals: A Critique from the South." *The Monthly Review*. available at <http://www.monthlyreview.org/0306amin.php>.

This is a scholarly critique of the MDGs from the perspective of less-developed countries.

Annan, Kofi. "In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security, and Human Rights for All." Report of the Secretary General. 21 March 2005. Available at http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/59/2005.

This report by the former Secretary-General summarizes some of the problems of the UN in general and of the GA in particular. The Executive Summary is available at http://www.un.org/en/events/pastevents/pdfs/larger_freedom_exec_summary.pdf.

"Charter of the United Nations." Available at <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/>.

This document lays out the purposes and procedures of the UN. Delegates should be familiar with this document, especially Chapter IV, which addresses the GA.

United Nations. "Beyond 2015: Overview." Available at <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/beyond2015-overview.shtml>.

This page from the MDG website provides some basic information on key discussion and events regarding the Post-2015 agenda. Click on the "News on Post-2015" link for more recent information on the topic.

United Nations. "Member States." Available at <http://www.un.org/en/members/index.shtml>.

This site provides access to each state's UN mission website, where you can research your country's position on the issues before the UN.

United Nations. "Millennium Development Goals Report 2013." Available at <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/reports.shtml>.

This report uses graphs and photos to show the work that has been done to meet the MDGs in various countries and regions since 2000. It also provides suggestions for meeting the goals by 2015.

United Nations General Assembly. Website. Available at <http://www.un.org/ga>.

This is the official website of the GA. It provides access to information on the GA's duties and history, as well as its current agendas and resolutions. For GA resolutions and meetings from last year, see United Nations General Assembly, "Resolutions, 68th Session," <http://www.un.org/en/ga/67/resolutions.shtml>. The fourth column contains links to meeting records and press releases summarizing the debate and voting.

United Nations General Assembly. "Despite Reservations, General Assembly Endorses Rio+20 Outcome Document; Will Study Modalities for Its Implementation, Budgetary Implications." Press release GA/11264. 27 July 2012. <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs//2012/ga11264.doc.htm>.

This press release summarizes the GA debate about whether to adopt the Rio+20 outcome document as a resolution. Search for your country's name to see how it approaches environmental issues.

United Nations General Assembly. "Plenary Speeches." Available at <http://www.unol.org/gaspeeches.html>.

From this site you can read or watch your country's speeches at high-level GA Plenaries. This will give you a sense of its policy priorities and diplomatic style.