

Files of the S-G: U Thant: Speeches, Messages, Statements, Addresses 11/11/1963-15/11/1963
American Association for the United Nations, 11 Nov 1963

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DATE: 15 Nov -63 FROM: James Chip



CHINESE NEWS SERVICE

1270 Sixth Avenue
New York 20, N. Y.

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P-No. 14

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

November 15, 1963

Taipei (Chinese News Service) -- Commenting on U.N. Secretary-General U Thant's recent remarks on the Chinese Communists, Patrick Pichi Sun, spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China, told a press conference in Taipei on November 15 that the Secretary-General "has no right to make any statement that is contrary to the purposes, principles and policies of the United Nations."

In an address before the American Association for the United Nations on November 11, U Thant said he wondered "if it would be wise, or even possible indefinitely to ignore (Red) China, especially when dealing with problems affecting the peace and security of the world."

The Foreign Ministry spokesman said in his statement to the press:

"In his capacity as the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant should know that the Chinese Communist regime stands condemned by the United Nations as an aggressor. He must also be aware that the Chinese Communist regime is still at war with the United Nations. He certainly remembers that the General Assembly of the United Nations has every year formally resolved that the Chinese Communist regime does not represent the Chinese people.

"It is not clear what U Thant meant by the word 'ignore'. Does he mean that the United Nations should surrender to or appease its enemy? Does he mean that the 'ignoring' on the part of the United Nations should be blamed for Chinese Communist crimes of oppression at home and aggression abroad? Or does he mean that should the United Nations once cease to 'ignore' the Chinese Communist regime, problems of world peace and security would automatically be solved?

"We fail to understand the logic of the Secretary-General and we certainly cannot agree with him. We wish to point out further that the Secretary-General has no right to make any statement that is contrary to the purposes, principles and policies of the United Nations."

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B
151



Tuesday Night
November 12th
1963

Dear Mr. Secretary General:

Your Armistice Day Speech written and delivered with profound intelligence of the mind and heart made a lasting impression upon those who heard it. I thank you sincerely and congratulate you warmly. Millions must hear it and read it, Your Excellency! There should be a tape recording - a television record and at United Nations pamphlet.

We, the people of the United Nations have been challenged to change our behavior pattern, to give up, for instance our petuborne stand on restoring to the Chinese their historic seat in the World Organization. We must not fail to meet this challenge - so should we do so we should be not only "the guilty generation" but the last. Faithfully yours
+ Rich

RN,

Our Taipei dispatch, referring to U Thant's remarks on China in Nov. 11 speech, quotes Chinese foreign ministry spokesman Patrick Pichi Sun as follows:

"The Chinese Communist regime stands condemned by the United Nations as an aggressor. The Secretary General has no right to make any statement that is contrary to the purposes, principles and policies of the United Nations." Etc.

Any comment?

Teatsorth/UPI

--

action taken by C.V.
15/11
No Comment.

C.V.
15/11

The SG

Would you authorize this comment - from a
Spokesman:

"The SG is fully aware of his obligations and
duties under the Charter. His remarks on China
were based on his appraisal of the changing
world situation" ~~and did not constitute any~~
~~violation of the purposes & principles~~
~~of the United Nations~~
or better still:

"No Comment" ? *Ramona Chief*

15 November 63

You have seen and heard the following persons give their reminiscences at the Fortieth Anniversary Dinner of the American Association for the United Nations on November 11, 1963:

MRS. DANA CONVERSE BACKUS Co-Chairman 40th Anniversary Committee

MR. CHARLES L. MARBURG Co-Chairman 40th Anniversary Committee

MR. DAVID G. WILSON, JR. Director, Office of African Programs,
Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs,
Department of State

THE HONORABLE ROBERT B. MEYNER Attorney; Former Governor of New Jersey

MR. JOHN A. ROOSEVELT Member, Board of Directors,
American Association for the United Nations

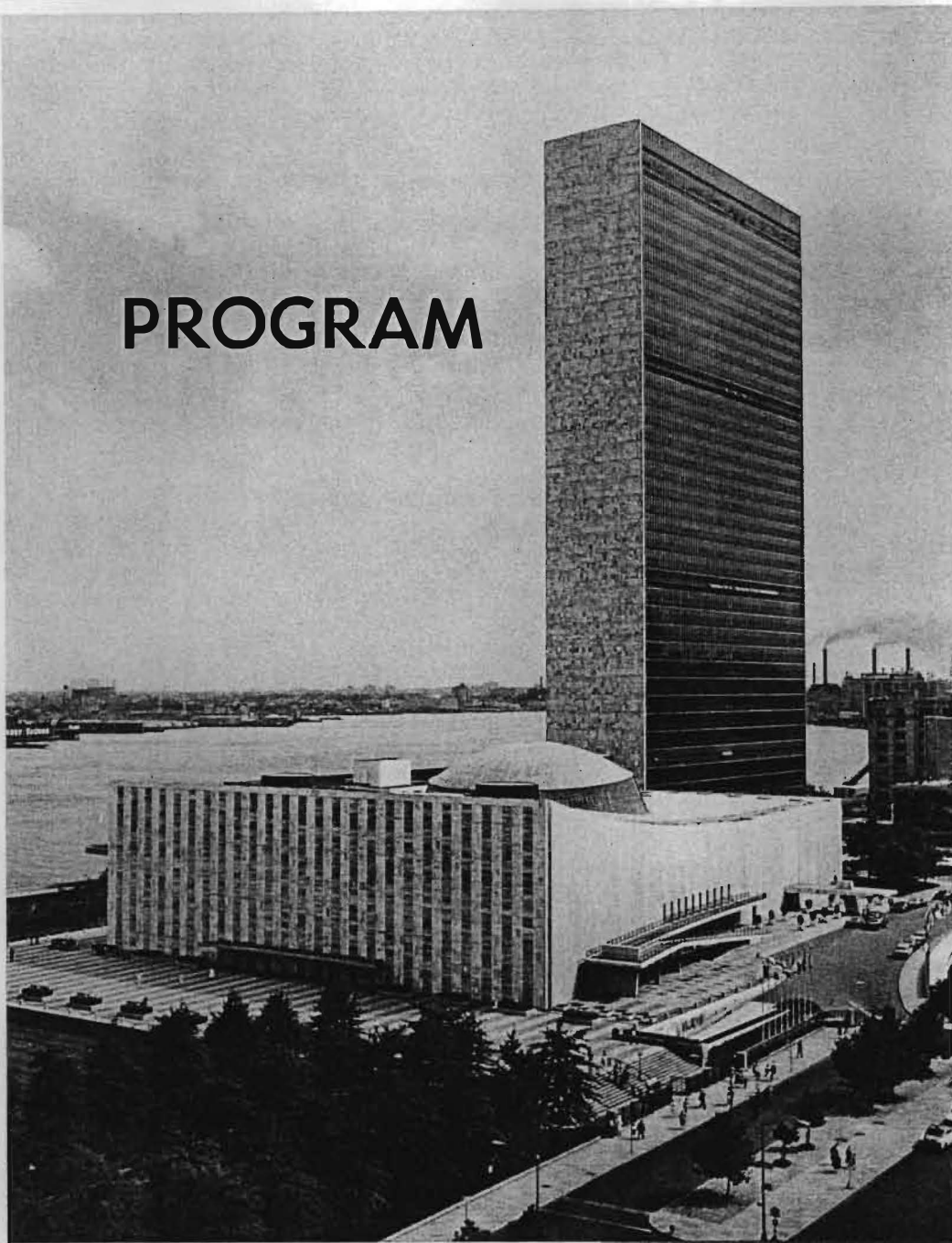
MISS MYRNA LOY Member, National Advisory Council,
American Association for the United Nations

MR. CLARK M. EICHELBERGER Executive Director,
American Association for the United Nations

MISS MARY LOU MAY Vice-President,
Collegiate Council for the United Nations

MR. MAX LUM President,
Collegiate Council for the United Nations

PROGRAM



MONDAY, NOV. 11

1963

HOTEL PIERRE
NEW YORK CITY



FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY DINNER • AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS
Organized in 1923 as the League of Nations Association

In 1923, a group of American citizens, deeply concerned with the need for United States membership and participation in the new world organization, formed the League of Nations Association. Its Charter of Incorporation was issued in May, 1923 and from that date on, the Association and its successor, the American Association for the United Nations, have maintained an unbroken record of earnest and diligent effort to bring home to the American people the importance of effective United States participation in collective security.

MRS. DANA CONVERSE BACKUS

CHARLES L. MARBURG

CO-CHAIRMEN

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Dr. and Mrs. William C. Johnstone
Senator Kenneth B. Keating
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Ambassador and Mrs. Sidney Yates
Mr. and Mrs. Louis Zocca

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The American Association for the United Nations was helped in several ways by individuals who cooperated in preparation of this program, and we are taking this opportunity to express our gratitude here:

LOAN OF PICTURES, BROCHURES, AND OTHER MATERIAL FOR DISPLAY:

Derso and Kelen

Miss Anne McIntyre, Greenwich, Connecticut

Mrs. Harold W. Wrenn, Baltimore, Maryland

FILM GLIMPSE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS:

Radio and Visual Services, Office of Public Information, United Nations
and Mr. Raymond Daum of that Office.

FLOWERS AND CIGARETTES:

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FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY CAKE:

Mr. Adolf Wohst, General Organizer, Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union
of America, Local 3

Mr. John Reber, Reber Baking Company, Wayne, New Jersey

PROGRAM

Welcome to the Fortieth Anniversary Dinner	Herman W. Steinkraus, President American Association for the United Nations
The Long Road Begins	A Film Glimpse of the League Commentary by Clark M. Eichelberger, Executive Director, AAUN
People, Places and Events	A Series of Reminiscences and A Look to the Future (Guests will receive a list of those par- ticipating in this segment of the program at the conclusion of the evening)
Introducing the Secretary-General	Charles L. Marburg, Co-Chairman Fortieth Anniversary Committee
Address	U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations
Affirmation	Oscar A. de Lima, Chairman, Executive Committee, AAUN

1923

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS NON-PARTISAN ASSOCIATION

Certificate of Incorporation under Section 41 of the Membership Corporation
Law of the State of New York filed on April 30th, 1923 by the following:

Henry A. Atkinson
R. J. Caldwell
Carrie Chapman Catt
John H. Clarke
Everett Colby
John W. Davis
Stephen P. Duggan
W. H. P. Faunce
Irving Fisher
Raymond B. Fosdick

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1963

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OSCAR A. DE LIMA
(Acting President)

HERMAN W. STEINKRAUS

You have seen and heard the following persons give their reminiscences at the Fortieth Anniversary Dinner of the American Association for the United Nations on November 11, 1963:

MRS. DANA CONVERSE BACKUSCo-Chairman 40th Anniversary Committee

MR. CHARLES L. MARBURGCo-Chairman 40th Anniversary Committee

MR. DAVID G. WILSON, JR.Director, Office of African Programs,
Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs,
Department of State

THE HONORABLE ROBERT B. MEYNERAttorney; Former Governor of New Jersey

MR. JOHN A. ROOSEVELTMember, Board of Directors,
American Association for the United Nations

MISS MYRNA LOYMember, National Advisory Council,
American Association for the United Nations

MR. CLARK M. EICHELBERGERExecutive Director,
American Association for the United Nations

MISS MARY LOU MAYVice-President,
Collegiate Council for the United Nations

MR. MAX LUMPresident,
Collegiate Council for the United Nations



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 88th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

The 40th Anniversary of American Association for the United Nations

REMARKS

OF

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 29, 1963

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, very shortly the American Association for the United Nations will be marking its 40th anniversary. This association has played a unique role through the years in supporting first the League of Nations and now the United Nations in the efforts of these world organizations to maintain peace in a troubled world. The association has throughout the country 350 chapters and a total membership of about 60,000. In 1962 the AAUN had 2,400 speakers on the road addressing gatherings on the hopes and achievements of the United Nations.

Mr. President, the educational program of the AAUN has made a genuine contribution in making American citizens more aware of the possibilities of U.N. action and better informed upon all phases of United Nations work. The AAUN has distributed throughout the country pamphlets and information on the U.N. It has studied United Nations problems, such as the urgent question of financing, and it has offered a number of very constructive recommendations. The AAUN has cooperated with similar organizations throughout the world to create and sustain a grassroots support for the world organization.

Mr. President, although the AAUN seeks to back up our Government in its support of the U.N., the association is financed entirely by membership dues and contributions. Although contributions are deductible for income tax purposes, the AAUN receives no Government aid.

711-988-90562

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD following my remarks, a 40th anniversary history and summary prepared by Mr. Clark M. Eichelberger which appeared in the AAUN News.

My congratulations to the American Association for the United Nations on its first 40 years of achievement, and my best wishes for continued success in its programs for the future.

There being no objection, the summary was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR 40TH ANNIVERSARY, 1923-63

Clark M. Eichelberger, executive director of the American Association for the United Nations, introduces our brief history of our beginnings as an organization.

"This is the 40th anniversary of our association. On this page is a description of the organization of the League of Nations Association with a 'who's who' of its original leadership. The association today, with its name changed, has the same charter and corporate structure that was created in 1923. Shortly we shall announce our plans for special commemorative observances this year.

"I want to say here that any member of the AAUN, any chapter officer, any committee member, should be able to walk with his head a bit higher, with a feeling of pride that he is working for the cause of the United Nations. The triumph of this cause will be the triumph of the legal and spiritual organization of the society of nations. Failure will mean the destruction of all of us. The association has had a particular role to play from the time of its organization in 1923. The association has been and is a pioneer organization, preparing public opinion so that government can take additional steps toward leadership in the organized society of nations.

"We are convinced that the freedom to make aggressive war is one that the people of the United States both wish to abolish and are willing themselves to surrender, and

that instead of seeing 'no reason' for doing it they plead as a reason the millions of young lives and the billions of treasure destroyed by the World War and the very preservation of civilization for ourselves and for posterity."

Sounds familiar, doesn't it? A ringing declaration of goals, it could be a 1963 statement of purposes of the AAUN.

It is, however, an extract from "A Challenge to the President" from the officers of the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, issued in December 1923.

It was in May of 1923 that a group of Americans incorporated the new organization as an outgrowth of the experience of the prewar and wartime League to Enforce Peace.

Heading this new national movement, new in the mores of American nongovernmental existence, were men and women whom we would consider pioneers today. The word "pioneer" conjures up in our mind's eye long lines of covered wagons, guns, and rifles cocked for action by hardy men and women who crossed the uncharted territories of the yet to be settled United States.

Yet these people of 1923 were pioneers too.

Justice John Clarke, who resigned his Supreme Court seat to head the new citizens' organization.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, known nationally and internationally for her efforts to win the vote for women.

Raymond B. Fosdick, an American who had served as Under Secretary General of the League of Nations, 1919-20.

George Wickersham, who had been the Attorney General of the United States.

These were the first officers of the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association. Although they did not travel by covered wagon, these comfortably situated, prominent Americans took the difficult course of volunteer leadership to chart the unknown path of building public opinion in support of U.S. participation in the new world organization, the League of Nations.

It is interesting to review here the first statement of purposes issued in December 15, 1923:

"It is the aim of the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association:

"1. To make the value of American membership in the League and the Court known to the people of the United States.

"2. To inform regarding the League and the Court all candidates for the Presidency, the Senate, House of Representatives, and delegates to national conventions, and secure from them pledges of support for American membership therein.

"3. To urge in every possible manner the adhesion of the United States to the Permanent Court of International Justice on the basis recommended by President Harding and Secretary (of State) Hughes on February 14, 1923.

"4. To secure platform commitment in favor of American membership in the League of Nations from all political conventions held in 1924."

This early pronouncement from the association was issued from its first headquarters located at 15 West 37th Street in New York City. (In February 1924, the organization was to move to 6 East 39th Street because of the need for more space. The association stayed at 39th Street for several years, moving to 8 West 40th Street later.)

Organizations need funds to start and to exist. A look at the first ledger of the association shows these names as some of the prominent contributors and members:

John W. Davis, Ralph Pulitzer, Mary E. Woolley, Jane Addams, John D. Winant, Herbert H. Lehman, Edward Filene, Ruth Baker Pratt, Newton D. Baker, Thomas J. Watson, Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, Samuel Fels.

The minutes book shows that the secretary of state of the State of New York, a Mr. James A. Hamilton, acknowledged receipt to the association of the certificate of incorporation "of your company" and placed it on file as requested, on May 11, 1923.

An early executive committee meeting, held even before the May date of incorporation, records that it was decided to set the dues at \$1. The membership rolls of the League To Enforce Peace and the Woodrow Wilson Foundation were to be circularized to build strength into the new citizens' organization.

How many New Yorkers remember the Lexington Avenue Opera House? A minute of a meeting shows that there were to be arrangements made for a public meeting there to strengthen the program in that city.

711-982-90562

An early edition of the League of Nations Herald, publication of the association, features an article from Washington on the flood of letters expected to arrive at the White House urging that the United States recognize the World Court. "Writing letters to the President is one of the main features of World Court Week," says the correspondent. "The letterwriting campaign is under the auspices of the Committee on International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of Churches."

A report comes in the same issue of the Italian-Greek conflict over Corfu with an editorial comment that "the successful settlement within the month, of a controversy in all essential respects similar to the Sarajevo incident that began the World War, amply testify both to the value of the League and the skill of its leaders."

Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, Norwegian explorer whose name has become identified with passports for the world's homeless, was High Commissioner for Refugees, of the League of Nations in 1923. His visit to the United States under the auspices of the Church Peace Union and organizations including the association was a major event of the year.

Announcement of the Bok Peace Award competition was made by the association in its journal, with the comment that members of our organization could express their approval or disapproval of the winning plan when it would be printed in an early issue.

The League of Nations as a debate topic in the high schools was reported at a new high, with students from over a dozen States writing into national headquarters for debate materials.

The question of outlawry of war through the League was answered in firm language by Justice John Clarke in a message to association members. "In my judgment the only reasonable prospect of outlawing war in time to prevent another world war, which will render discussion of the subject useless, is through the League of Nations," he stated.

National attention was focusing in 1923 on the issue of U.S. entrance into the World Court, and it was considered a matter of major importance that the association re-emphasize its prime purpose—that of urging the entrance of the United States into the League of Nations. This move for national reaffirmation of purpose came at a time when public attention in this country was caught up in the World Court issue.

Twenty-five nations were represented at the 1923 meeting in Vienna of the Interna-

tional Federation of League of Nations Societies. Theodore Marburg, of Baltimore, former U.S. Ambassador to Belgium and leader in the association here, was instrumental in the setting up of the international agency. His son, Charles Marburg, continues this interest today in the World Federation of United Nations Associations. The report brought home to the United States by our own delegates, Henry A. Atkinson and Robert J. Caldwell, shows a high degree of warmth in the international discussions, but "with good spirit," the gentlemen say.

A report from Los Angeles tells of the "desire of the leaders of the General Federation of Women's Clubs to make the cause of international peace the central feature of our biennial convention in 1924."

The correspondent continues, "There is a feeling of much gratitude among California women that this State has been chosen as the first in which to begin to line up the forces which are working out a practical peace program."

And when women working for world peace were spoken of, there was one name that stood out in the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association. Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, prominent New Yorker, served from the inception of our organization as a leader in the fight to bring the American public to a realization of our place in the world. Today, her daughter, Mrs. Dana C. Backus, carries on this tradition in the AAUN.

Looking backward helps us all to look forward. We are told that history is prelude. This bird's-eye view of the beginnings of our organization serves to bring into focus the background that forms the basis for today's efforts.

To not one of those first leaders of the association can it be said: "You did not work hard enough."

To none of them can we say: "You did not give enough time and effort to the organization."

To all of them it can be said: "Yours was the hardest job of all, trying to open new frontiers for our minds, bring new concepts to us as Americans, show the urgency of and practicality of our Nation reaching up to new responsibilities in the world."

Lessons to be learned? Of course, lessons for all Americans in the vallant beginnings of the citizens' organization called the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association; lessons we must cherish constantly.

711-982-90562

THE GUILTY GENERATION?SPEECH BY SECRETARY-GENERAL AT AAUN DINNER, 11 NOVEMBER 1963

Let me begin by congratulating the American Association for the United Nations on its fortieth anniversary, going back over the last four decades to the early days of the League of Nations itself. When the United Nations completed its eighteenth anniversary this year many people remarked that the United Nations had withstood better the trials and tribulations of our times which are infinitely more complex than those which led to the downfall of the League. Some of you may recall that on Friday 4 October ¹⁹⁶³ the Emperor of Ethiopia appeared before the General Assembly at its Eighteenth Session and he said and I quote:

"Twenty-seven years ago, as Emperor of Ethiopia, I mounted the rostrum in Geneva, Switzerland, to address to the League of Nations an appeal for relief from the destruction which had been unleashed against my defenceless nation by the Fascist invader. I spoke then both to and for the conscience of the world. My words went unheeded, but history testifies to the accuracy of the warning that I gave in 1936.... When I spoke at Geneva in 1936 there was no precedent for a Head of State addressing the League of Nations. I am neither the first nor shall I be the last Head of State to address the United Nations, but only I have addressed both the League and this Organization in this capacity. The problems which confront us today are, equally, unprecedented."

tribes and before they were organized as tribes they were organized as villages. Villagers fought against their neighbouring villagers and to this day primitive society is marked by inter-village raids. Gradually villages with a common origin identified themselves with each other as tribes, and the conflicts became inter-tribal.

Tonight I would like to go back, not only over the last forty years of history but over the last forty centuries for which fairly reliable historical accounts are available. During all these forty centuries, while man has yearned for peace, his history has, in fact, been marked by conflicts. History is so often a chronicle of "old unhappy far-off things, of battles long ago". The great epics we have in Sanskrit, like the Mahabharata, or in Greek, like the Iliad, are also chronicles of conflicts. We remember Alexander as Alexander the Great, but not Aristotle. Cyrus and Darius also earned the epithet of greatness, but not Firdausi or Hafiz. We remember Caesar better than Cicero. We remember, too, Genghis Khan and Tamerlane and Charlemagne. The reason is that they were all great warriors and conquerors.

In attempting to explain this phenomenon many psychologists have come to the conclusion that man is by nature a pugnacious animal. Our daily life is marked by struggle and conflict, and this conflict and struggle for existence are a reflection of man's inner conflict. Even the theorists of evolution have shown that the human species are the end product of a ruthless struggle for existence involving the survival of the fittest.

Before men were organized as nations they were organized as tribes and before they were organized as tribes they were organized as villages. Villagers fought against their neighbouring villagers and to this day primitive society is marked by inter-village raids. Gradually villages with a common origin identified themselves with each other as tribes, and the conflicts became inter-tribal.

Then came the great religious conflicts of the early Christian era and the middle ages, the conflict between Jew and Gentile, between the Christians and the Pagans. The latter culminated in the Crusades which dragged over three centuries. Two centuries later, when the Reformation divided Christianity itself, religious conflicts within Christianity reached a new high level of bitterness and inhumanity. We all know that religious conflict and intolerance did not die with the middle ages. In our own lifetime we have seen the treatment of the Jews by Hitler and his gang, culminating in the horrors of the concentration camps, and the incredible savagery of Auschwitz and Buchenwald.

There are, of course, several other instances of conflicts arising mainly out of religious zeal in many areas of the world. History records numerous examples of wars waged by religious zealots, whether they be Christians or Jews, Moslems or Hindus, Buddhists or Confucianists.

In Asia, we witnessed in the sixteenth century, and thereafter, the conquest of the greater part of the Indian subcontinent by the Moslems. In due course the Moslem dominion extended over other parts of South and South East Asia - notably the territory now known as Indonesia. Four centuries later, after two hundred years of British rule, we also saw the final sequel to this chapter of history - the partition of the Indian sub-continent.

In their search for the wealth of the Indies the great navigators and seafarers of Europe discovered instead the Americas, both North and South, and the islands of the Caribbean. In the centuries that followed, Spain and Portugal established vast empires in South and

Central America and the Caribbean, while the English and the French vied for control over the vast territories and great wealth of North America.

More than one route to the Orient was eventually discovered and in due course the Moslem empires in South and South East Asia gave place to European colonialism. The British, French, Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish all established their territorial claims on the Asian continent, and often fought each other to expand and maintain their empires. The nineteenth century saw the big scramble for Africa where, in addition to the abovementioned imperial powers, countries like Belgium, which had missed the race in Asia and elsewhere, acquired vast colonies. Since the unification of Germany took place only in the second half of the nineteenth century, that country was rather late in the race; and it was primarily its struggle for "lebensraum" in Europe that led to two world wars which, in the language of the Charter, have "twice in our lifetime brought untold sorrow to mankind".

At the end of the first world war there was a totally new development which has led to a wholly different situation, especially in Europe and more recently in Asia. Towards the end of world war one we saw the great Russian revolution take place. At first the development of Communism was confined more or less to the Soviet Union and some of its immediate neighbours. The end of the second world war saw the spread of Communism to other eastern European countries. The second world war also left a divided Germany in its wake - a legacy which has proved a continuing source of conflict.

The most important development of Communism after the second world war, however, was the triumph of Communism on mainland China. Although China has for long been the most populous country in the world, it had never been able to play a really effective role in world politics because of its own internal divisions and weaknesses. Today the influence of Peking on world affairs is unmistakable and, if I may say so, I wonder if it would be wise, or even possible, indefinitely to ignore China, especially when dealing with problems affecting the peace and security of the world.

It will generally be agreed that, in recent years the main source of conflict is ideological. In the economic field it may be described as the conflict between capitalism and communism. It has also been depicted - and here there is room for argument - as the conflict between democracy and totalitarianism. It is this ideological conflict which has been christened the cold war, and which has plagued international relations in the period following the second world war.

I do not believe that some day the whole world will turn out to be either capitalist or communist. I am not aware of a single compelling factor which would inevitably turn the United States into a communist society nor do I see any prospect of Russia some day turning capitalist. Many perceptive economic analysts have noted that neither capitalism nor communism has remained unadulterated over the years and both systems have shown a capacity for adapting themselves to changed circumstances. Furthermore there are many

countries in the world today, especially developing countries, which have found it necessary to follow a course which represents a compromise between the two systems, which may be called a mixed economy or a socialistic pattern of society. In such cases they have taken over elements from both systems and assimilated them in an effort to retain the value of private initiative without sacrificing social and economic justice.

At the present time, we have also to deal with another source of conflict which is also a direct consequence of world war two. One of the basic aims of the Charter of the United Nations was to promote the development of non-self-governing territories to the status of nationhood. The decade following world war two saw most of the countries of Asia gain their independence from colonial rule, so that today there are only a few vestiges of colonialism still left in Asia. It is only in the last five years that we have seen a most remarkable progress in Africa in the same direction. The conflict in Africa today is mainly centred around those colonial territories where enough progress is not being made towards self-government. How long it will take to complete the process of decolonization in Africa is anybody's guess. I hope that, for the good of the world, the process is not delayed unduly. As I have said on another occasion it is the experience of history that when freedom is delayed too long, extreme forces rise to the surface and dominate the scene, and in the long run pose a threat to the orderly development and peaceful progress of the countries involved.

There is one more source of conflict to which I may refer at this stage. In the nineteenth century millions of human beings whose skin was not white accepted, somewhat philosophically, the "white man's burden". Today there is no such acceptance of this outmoded doctrine. In this country itself we have witnessed during recent years a remarkable assertion of the rights of all citizens, irrespective of their colour to take part fully in the political life, and to share equally in the economic and social progress, of the country. There are many other countries, no doubt, where there may be a problem of minorities who feel that their legitimate rights are not fully recognized. In all these countries the struggle continues, and I am sure it will continue until the legitimate grievances of the minorities are redressed and they have the assurance of fair treatment. There is, however, only one country which has officially continued to differentiate between man and man on the basis of the colour of his skin and of his racial origin, and this discrimination has been enshrined as a cardinal principle of state policy. The prospect is far from rosy and I cannot regard with equanimity the future in this part of the world.

The post war world has witnessed yet another revolt - the revolt of the have-nots. Just as black and brown-skinned humanity accepted over the centuries the "white man's burden" they were also willing to accept poverty as a fact of life. The last fifteen years have been marked by a categorical rejection of this concept. While the ideological conflict has resulted in a division of the world into East and West, the gap between rich and poor countries has led to a

kind of North-South division of the world. The rapid growth of population and the lack of economic and technological progress in the developing countries have led to a situation where inevitably the gap between the rich and poor countries has steadily continued to widen. I regard this as a most dangerous situation.

Economic aid alone is no solution to this problem because such aid, although very desirable, is no substitute for fair and stable prices and expanding markets which the developing countries need in order to get themselves over the hump of industrialization. Many economists have pointed out that the financial assistance given in the form of economic aid in the last decade, large as it has been, has hardly made up for the loss sustained by the developing countries on account of falling commodity prices. This explains the increasing interest of the developing countries in the work of the United Nations in the economic field. They look to the world organization for global plans and a world machinery for expanding world trade and extending the right kind of aid. They also look for assistance to enable them to make up rapidly for the stagnation and shortages that have in many cases marked the long era of colonial rule, and to build bridges over the gulfs inevitably created in the dissolution of colonialism.

If my brief reading of human history as represented in the above analysis is correct, we have in the world of today three or four causes of conflict and tension, which are either legacies of past conflicts, or which closely parallel those that have characterized ancient history and the history of the middle ages. First and most

dangerous of all, we have the ideological conflict between East and West. Then we have the North-South conflict between the rich and poor, the have and have-not countries. We also have the struggle against colonialism and the struggle for equality, especially for racial equality. Religious conflicts have not entirely disappeared and can still be a source of friction here and there. The most serious of these, as I have stated above, is, of course, the ideological conflict in its various manifestations.

A solution to these problems and these conflicts cannot be expected overnight. It has to be sought with patience and diligence at the conference table and elsewhere, using the force of argument instead of the argument of force. This is the main task of the United Nations which under the Charter is designed "to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of ... common ends".

We may ask at this point what are these common ends. Surely the most important of these common ends is the survival of humanity itself! In an eloquent message on the occasion of United Nations Day 1963 the President of India, who is also renowned as a philosopher, stated: "Humanity is not a mere organisation but a living organism united from within by those spiritual values which are inseparable from man's dignity and freedom. ... There is one God, hidden in all things, all pervading, the inner soul of all things. We tear assunder this invisible bond and break the body of humanity if we use violence against one another". Whatever our divisions and differences, we have this common interest in survival; and in the world of the hydrogen bomb there is no alternative to the peaceful solution of our differences. In modern war, there is only one victor, and his name is Death.

Similarly, we have a common stake in human progress and prosperity. I have had occasion to observe elsewhere that the technological progress of man has been so rapid that, properly applied, it can produce enough of the world's goods to go around for all, so that all may live free from want and hunger. The goal of the Charter of the United Nations, "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom" is within reach of us, provided we have the will to share our abundance. It is no longer necessary to think in terms of narrow national interest, and in fact it is short sighted to pursue an instinctively insular approach to international economic problems. Prosperity like peace is indivisible, while poverty has to be stamped out like the plague that it is.

In regard to ideological, religious and racial conflicts, the Charter calls on us "to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours". Almost a month from today we will be celebrating the fifteenth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which I called the other day the Magna Carta of mankind. In the United Nations we have been trying hard to appeal to the conscience of man to fight racial discrimination and religious intolerance.

Even this very session of the General Assembly has adopted a declaration on the subject of racial discrimination and is engaged in a similar effort on the subject of religious intolerance. If I may say so, too much importance cannot be given to these activities because they go back to a fundamental fact. Intolerance, the

inability or unwillingness to see the other man's point of view, and the refusal to live and let live - these are the basic causes of misunderstandings between human beings as much as between nations. As the UNESCO Charter reminds us, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace have to be constructed, since it is in the minds of men that wars begin.

Forty-five years ago today, the first world war came to an end with the signing of the Armistice. The League of Nations was then established, to ensure that mankind would not suffer the calamity of another blood-bath. The political philosophy of the League as embodied in the covenant is expressed in the basic idea that "international anarchy" is the root cause of war. The founders of the League believed that the world needed a system fulfilling the same function for competing and conflicting ambitions beyond national frontiers, as governments provided for similar situations within national frontiers. This involved the establishment of a legal framework to settle disputes between nations, either by a judicial or arbitral process, and the prevention of a resort to violence in breach of the law by the employment of overwhelming collective force. The League system, to be effective, needed the power to compel compliance with the law. Without this power it could not persuade; but given the power the use of force could have become unnecessary and persuasion would have proved practicable. Unfortunately the League had neither the will nor the means to organize such overwhelming collective force. It was also handicapped by the absence of the United States and developed into essentially a European club,

although a few non-European States were also admitted as members. Thus the League failed to prevent the steady erosion of international morality that we saw in the 1930's, and which culminated in the second world war. The terrible weapons developed during and since that war have given us the conviction that, if we are not able to prevent a third world war, we shall go down in history - if history should survive - as the guilty generation, the generation which did nothing to prevent the annihilation of mankind itself.

I hope I have said enough tonight to make you feel that the enlightened and courageous support of the international idea that you have given for the last forty years has been worth while. Today there is no alternative to international action for the solution of global problems and conflicts, just as there is no alternative to the methods of peaceful persuasion and conciliation. On the other hand it is demonstrable that all human beings have a common stake in progress and prosperity, as they have in peace and survival. I hope that on this occasion you will rededicate yourselves to the ideal of international co-operation, so that we may truly be able to say to our children and our grand-children that we in our generation did our best "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war".