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American Association for the United Nations

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AAUN

Published by American Association for the United Nations

news

345 East 46th Street • New York 17, N. Y.

VOL. 34, No. 10

426

DEC. 1962-JAN. 1963

Report on Third Biennial Convention

Officers Elected

By unanimous vote, the delegates to the Third Biennial Convention elected the slate of officers and members of the Board of Directors proposed by the Nominating Committee.

President: **Herman W. Steinkraus**

Vice-President: **D. L. Shillinglaw**

Secretary: **G. Hinman Barrett**

New members of the Board of Directors elected are: **Harold Allen**, Kalamazoo, Michigan; **Luther Evans**, New York City; **Donald Schmechel**, Seattle, Washington; **Obert Tanner**, Salt Lake City, Utah; **Urban Whitaker**, San Francisco, California.

Memorial Service

Of special significance to Convention delegates was the Memorial Service for Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt which took place on November 17th at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine.

Through the generosity of the family of Mrs. Roosevelt, delegates had the privilege of attending the Service. They heard Ambassador Adlai Stevenson deliver the eulogy on this solemn occasion. (Copies of Ambassador Stevenson's moving tribute may be secured from the AAUN national office.)

U Thant Speaks

In the dramatic setting of a Conference Room at United Nations Headquarters, delegates to the Convention were honored to meet with Acting Secretary-General U Thant.

Leaving his 38th floor office and the heavy schedule of conferences and meetings, U Thant came into the crowded chamber with his top aides, to be greeted by AAUN President Steinkraus, Executive Committee Chairman Oscar de Lima and Executive Director Eichelberger, and to receive a standing ovation from the delegates.

Maurice Liu, Chief, United Na-

tions Visitors Service, opened the session by introducing the world statesman to the AAUN visitors.

U Thant's address follows:

Mr. President and friends: I am delighted to be able to participate in this meeting and particularly to be able to extend to you my very sincere greetings — to all of you distinguished ladies and gentlemen who are so dedicated to the cause of the United Nations and to the ideals of the Charter. Of course, it will not be necessary for me at this moment to reiterate to you who are so well informed about the United Nations and the functions of this world or-

(Continued on Page 8)



U Thant speaks to AAUN Convention on November 17th, as officials listen. L. to R.: Dr. Hernane Tavares de Sa and Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, UN Under Secretaries; Herman Steinkraus (foreground); Oscar A. de Lima; Maurice Liu, who introduced the Secretary-General.

The UN **Is My Beat**

By **CLARK M. EICHELBERGER**

As a faint glow of light appears in the sky, the Seventeenth General Assembly of the United Nations will adjourn. Technically speaking, the adjournment will be on December 21st; actually it will be on the morning of the 22nd. It is hoped that enough major decisions will be taken so that the Assembly can adjourn instead of recess, leaving the way for an extraordinary Assembly to meet in the Spring to consider the question of UN finances. And the question of UN finances is very much bound up with decisions that are now being taken regarding the Congo.

For over a year, Tshombe has defied the United Nations in its efforts to unify the Congo politically. As a result, Adoula's power has become very much weakened primarily because of this failure. His government may topple overnight. If so, one can expect an extremist to follow him. It may be that immediate and forthright action on the part of the United Nations, with the cooperation of the Western Powers who have a primary interest in the Katanga mines, can save the Adoula government.

For months, the Secretary-General's plan for unification has been before the Central Government and Katanga. A draft of a constitution providing for a federal system, which was completed with the help of constitutional authorities recruited by the Secretary-General has been ready for application.

For over a year the powers have withstood a defiance on the part of Tshombe — a defiance humiliating, irritating and unnecessary. As long as he can control part of his province, and he controls only part

of it, and is able to sequester forty million dollars a year in revenues from the mining concessions, he feels he is living on top of the world. All this time his tactics have been to bring down the Central Government so that extremists could take charge and no one could ask him to cooperate with the extremists; to weaken the prestige of the United States in the eyes of other Africans; and to embarrass the United Nations by fomenting incidents against it. At any time, this defiance could have ended if the American, French, Belgian, West German and British governments would have been united in bringing Tshombe to heel.

For much of the time, at least, the government of the United States has wished to take stronger action than any of the other powers mentioned. Now, apparently the United Nations is setting in motion the following steps:

That all United Nations member states cut off imports from Katanga. At the present time, Katanga manages to dodge sending the products of the mines through the Congo by routing them through Rhodesia or Angola. Possibly a roadblock would be necessary to stop such shipments. The proposal includes the deportation of so-called Katanga diplomatic representatives and that states members of the UN sever mail, telegraph and other communications with the province because such communications should be under the control of the Central Government. At last the United States government is deporting a Belgian representative for Katanga in the United States, who is

reputed to have spent \$120,000 last year as the Katanga representative.

Another step would be an effort by the United Nations army to round up white mercenaries remaining in the Katanga army in defiance of repeated United Nations eviction demands. It is hard to find words strong enough to condemn white mercenaries, men who fight for pay and who, today, will fight for the Katanga army in defiance of the wishes of the United Nations.

Other steps to bring about a unified Congo look toward the installation of Central Government officials at customs and immigration posts in Katanga. The United Nations will initiate no military moves but its military situation is now strong enough to cope with any scorched-earth policy that Tshombe might wish to undertake.

If Katanga is not brought within the Central Government, if a moderate government at Leopoldville is not upheld, then failure might well be written to the United Nations activity in the Congo. Then one can expect extremists, asking for the support of Communist states to take over in part of the Congo. The United States and other Western powers might then be forced to intervene. The cold war, and possibly a hot war, could develop in the Congo — which was the very thing that Dag Hammarskjöld sought to avoid when at 3:22 on the morning of July 14, 1960 the UN Security Council voted to send military and economic help to the Congo.

It is assumed as this is written that the General Assembly before it adjourns will accept the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice that the extraordinary expenses of the UN forces in the Gaza Strip and the Congo have the same binding effect upon the members as do the regular assessments. Armed with this decision and progress in the unification of the Congo, the General Assembly in the Spring will be in a better mood to face the problem of United Nations finances.

STATEMENT OF POLICY

Following is the text of the Statement of Policy adopted by the Third Biennial Convention of the American Association for the United Nations on November 17, 1962.

The program of the American Association for the United Nations is both immediate and long-range. It can be summed up by the phrase "United Nations Decade of Development." While President Kennedy was speaking primarily in terms of economic and social assistance to the underdeveloped areas when he used this phrase in his speech to the General Assembly, his challenges included programs for disarmament, a cooperative venture in outer space, strengthening the United Nations peace-keeping machinery, etc. The AAUN program on the Decade of Development includes all of these challenges.

Tremendous developments are at hand. A landing on the moon is considered very likely in this decade. The nations have been bold enough to call for a reversal in the arms race and progress toward total disarmament with a United Nations police force by the end of the 1960s. The General Assembly has dared to outline a program by which the world can be on the move toward economic and social abundance.

Indeed, if destruction through massive atomic war does not occur, the next eight years may see one of the periods of greatest advance in man's long history. This program only can be achieved by all nations on the basis of equality, making contributions as best they can through the United Nations, aided and abetted by the machinery of the United Nations itself.

The late Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dag Hammarskjöld, shortly before his tragic death, said that there were two groups of nations. The first regarded the United Nations as a conference mechanism to achieve coexistence between ideological blocs; the second regarded

the United Nations as a dynamic organization with adequate executive authority to meet the problems of our times. In that struggle, the United States must continue to throw itself on the side of the latter concept.

Moreover, there are different attitudes toward the United Nations within the United States and other western countries. Some citizens, while wanting a strengthened United Nations, regard it as a diplomatic tool or a mechanism which can be used or rejected as the interests of the nations require. Others regard the United Nations as the foundation of an international community based on law. This group, while not rejecting bilateralism or regionalism, believes that such methods must be consistent with and come under the moral framework of the world organization.

The Charter provides that disputes shall be settled first, if possible, through normal diplomatic channels, through arbitration and conciliation, and by resorting to regional arrangements before coming to the United Nations. There is, however, an obligation not only to solve disputes in a manner consistent with Charter principles. There is also an obligation under Article 37 of the Charter that, should the parties to a dispute fail to settle it by the above-mentioned means, they should refer the matter to the Security Council—and presumably since the Uniting for Peace Resolution, to the General Assembly.

The need to "do it through the UN" is greater than ever because old-fashioned direct diplomacy for settling major problems is becoming increasingly ineffective if not obsolescent. The Association rejects the advice of those highly-publicized

speeches by several statesmen who, while professing support of the United Nations, imply it should not be relied upon for handling really important matters but used only selectively when it clearly can be made a vehicle of American national interest. At the very moment when the stark impact of military deadlock on diplomacy has become patent, some of our theorists have come to the illogical conclusion that we must increasingly rely on power diplomacy.

It has been demonstrated that the resources of the United Nations are greater than ever before. It is demonstrated not only in its peace-keeping role in the Congo but also in the wide area of economic, administrative, health and technical assistance brought into play to be sure that the peace-keeping machinery survives.

Cuba

In this age of atomic bombs, supersonic bombers and long-range guided missiles, the deliberate acquisition of nuclear weapons and the means of discharging them against neighboring countries may be a serious threat to the peace. Recent events in our relations with Cuba demonstrate that the existence of the United Nations has brought about a new type of diplomatic and defense policies in a crisis which hitherto would have been regarded as only unilateral or bilateral in nature. The quarantining of the island of Cuba by the Government of the United States and the Organization of American States, after notice to the United Nations, was considered necessary for the defense of these states.

The American Association for the United Nations commends President

Kennedy's use of United Nations good offices in seeking a pacific settlement of the Cuban dispute. We commend also the fruitful intervention and continuing efforts of the Acting Secretary-General to prevent war in the Caribbean area. Our purpose always should be to make the relationship of United States policy to the United Nations even closer in the future.

Disarmament

The American Association for the United Nations supports the concept of general and complete disarmament with suitable inspection and control achieved in stages which might, under favorable conditions, be far advanced by the end of the Decade of Development. The world is rightly afraid of nuclear destruction. Mankind increasingly recognizes the need for controlled and verifiable disarmament, accompanied by a corresponding development of world law and a world police force. We urge our government therefore to continue to seek agreement to end atomic bomb tests and to begin a realistic program of disarmament.

We commend the non-aligned members of the 18-nation Disarmament Committee for their efforts to bring about a disarmament agreement.

The Congo

A paramount issue now confronting the United Nations relates to the Congo. Much progress has been made in the Congo, but all of it is imperiled by Mr. Tshombe's recalcitrance in keeping his promise to bring Katanga into line with the rest of the country. The inability or reluctance so far of the great powers, particularly the Europeans with economic interests, to find a way to help the Acting Secretary-General enforce the UN program has helped produce this serious crisis.

The United Nations has published a constitution for a federal state, put in final form by a committee of jurists at the request of Premier Adoula of the Central Government. This is part

of the Secretary-General's Plan for the organization of the Congo. The AAUN urges the Government of the United States to continue to support and if possible to improve this Plan and to help the Secretary-General find means to carry it out.

There are three reasons why the Secretary-General's Plan should be applied immediately. It would strengthen the hands of the moderate Congolese government against extremists who might take over in the event of chaos. It would ensure the Central Government of the revenues needed. It would enable the United Nations gradually to reduce the expenses of its military establishment and concentrate on the economic and social recovery.

Berlin

The AAUN is concerned about the problems that Berlin presents to the United Nations.

In the narrow sense, Berlin has been the concern of the four occupying powers, and in a larger sense, of the original 51 members of the United Nations — by virtue of being allies in the second world war. However, it has become a threat to all mankind.

The Association reaffirms its position that at the appropriate time the United States, in cooperation with other nations, and in accordance with the procedures for negotiations set forth in the Charter, take the steps necessary to bring before the United Nations for its appropriate consideration the disputes arising out of the Berlin situation which endanger the peace.

Southeast Asia

The American Association for the United Nations welcomes the establishment of a UN Presence, as requested by the two interested powers, to reduce the tension between Cambodia and Thailand. It further urges that the problems raised by the hostilities in Vietnam and the northern frontier of India be brought under the purview of the United Nations.

Outer Space

The American Association for the United Nations holds with John Glenn that:

"We live in the most exciting age in the history of man, and if we use our opportunity wisely, another decade of progress will produce a civilization so far beyond our present experience that it cannot yet be conceived in detail, even by the most visionary minds."

The President of the United States in his address to the Sixteenth General Assembly on September 25, 1961, proposed that international law, including the Charter of the United Nations, should apply to outer space, and that no one should be permitted to annex a celestial body. He stated that the "cold reaches of the universe must not become the new arena of an even colder war." The President's proposals were put into resolution form and adopted by the General Assembly.

The Association points with pride to a provision in the statement of policy adopted at its first biennial convention in 1958:

"As the world stands on the frontier of the use of outer space for both military and peaceful purposes it is very important that national rivalries not be extended into the heavens. The Association urges:

"1. That the United Nations take title to outer space in the name of the world community.

"2. That all experiments involving the use of outer space be undertaken through the United Nations or with its permission in order to assure that outer space be used only for peaceful purposes.

"3. That the United Nations establish an agency to accomplish the above mentioned purposes."

In its statement of policy in November 1960, the Association said:

"United Nations jurisdiction must be extended to those areas in the world in which man has not established sovereign claims.

Among these are . . . outer space."

We urge our government to comply at all times with the letter and the spirit of the American proposals to the General Assembly and that body's resolutions. It must continue to keep the cold war from extending to outer space.

It seems imperative that an agency be established to coordinate efforts to conquer and utilize outer space for peaceful purposes only.

High Seas

The AAUN renews its suggestion that before national rivalries become serious the United Nations should take title to the bed of the sea beyond the continental shelf, which in the near future may be exploited for its resources, in order to prevent boundary disputes.

Colonialism

The AAUN congratulates the United States Government in its support of the orderly liquidation of the colonial system. The resolution adopted by the General Assembly on December 14, 1960 entitled "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" will be a basic document for peoples in their struggle for independence.

The revolt against colonialism has been one of the most important events of the post-war period. Today, less than two per cent of the entire world is still in colonial status. Almost forty-four per cent of the membership of the United Nations is made up of members which were not independent states when the second world war began. The AAUN believes that the remaining colonial territories should receive their independence with all deliberate speed—fast enough to stimulate and maintain hope in the people of these territories, but deliberate enough to avoid a repetition of the Congo disaster.

One of the most important roles of the United Nations has been to help new nations to enter the family of nations. Had this great part of the

world sought its independence in a world without the United Nations, untold chaos and violence might have been the result.

The hope which the new states find in the United Nations must not be dimmed.

There are small areas entitled to self-government which cannot fulfill the attributes of statehood or the obligations of membership in the United Nations. They will undoubtedly maintain economic links with the former colonial power, or they may join a federation. The Association suggests that a new UN agency or a committee of the General Assembly be created to guide the destinies and look after the welfare of these areas.

Universality

The AAUN renews its support of the principle of universality. We do not share the dismay of those who are worried about the increased size of the United Nations. Neither do we share the worry of those who say the United States can be outvoted in an Assembly grown from fifty-one members to one hundred-ten. The United States has no right to expect a built-in majority. Further, when the United States supports United Nations principles, its position ordinarily will be the same as that of a majority of the General Assembly. One has only to look at the major decisions of the recent General Assemblies for proof of this assertion.

The Association is opposed to the expulsion of any member, no matter how bad its conduct may be. It is all the more important that such a member be bound by the law of the Charter and feel the effect of United Nations public opinion. The AAUN finds it ironic that those states which are most vociferous in urging the expulsion of South Africa are also foremost in advocating the seating of the delegates from Communist China.

The Problem of China

The problem of China presents a great moral dilemma for all of us.

The AAUN has long wrestled with the problem as to who should represent China in the United Nations. Communist China has started hostilities against India. It refuses to make peace in Korea.

However, can the United Nations be universal if almost one-fourth of the world's population is not represented in the United Nations by the government which is in effective control? The government on Formosa cannot be considered representative of the entire Chinese people. Total disarmament is not possible without the participation of mainland China which may be a nuclear power shortly.

In the Sixteenth and Seventeenth General Assemblies, the United States Government abandoned its policy of keeping the question of Chinese representation off the agenda, and instead agreed to a debate on the merits of the question. The result was to sustain the position of those who opposed seating of a delegation from Mainland China. The Association reaffirms the position of its last biennial convention that

"... if the decision should be in favor of seating the Peiping delegates, the United States must be prepared to accept that decision. Before that decision is made, we should make our position unmistakably clear: That we do not believe such action should change the status of Formosa, and that we shall regard Formosa as separate and apart from the mainland of China, with its future to be determined by the people of Formosa themselves in accordance with the principle of self-determination recognized in the Charter. In the meantime, we are opposed to any effort, either initiated by the mainland or initiated by Formosa, to unite the mainland and Formosa by force."

Peace-Keeping

The United Nations has undergone profound development since it

was established at San Francisco in 1945. The center of gravity has been shifted from the Security Council to the General Assembly. Many new bodies have been added. The Charter has been liberally interpreted. The bodies of the United Nations have been given added authority. The General Assembly has exercised some of the powers of a parliament. The role of the Secretary-General has been enhanced. The United Nations has made use of an international police force.

The United States Government should throw itself wholeheartedly, as it has in the past, on the side of the rapid development of the UN's peace-keeping machinery.

The AAUN urges the establishment of a permanent peace-keeping staff at the seat of the United Nations. It would be composed of men with command experience, ready to move into any troubled area to receive and organize police force contingents. This headquarters staff should have plans in advance for supply, transportation and all aspects of the logistics problem for a variety of police operations.

The threat to the UN Force in the Congo by India's projected withdrawal of her contingents because of Communist China's aggression against the Indian frontier shows the importance of the above suggestions.

The AAUN proposes expanding the machinery for peace observation, conciliation and investigation and the use, when appropriate, of a United Nations presence.

The Association proposes, to the end that the rule of law be extended in international relations, that the legislative process in the General Assembly of the United Nations be simplified and improved. International agreements should to a greater extent provide resort to the International Court of Justice for their interpretation and enforcement. There must be an improvement in the attitude of the Member States toward seeking legal remedies in international disputes, when diplomatic ne-

gotiations fail.

Not only should the procedures of the General Assembly be improved, but it may be necessary to reorganize its present structure. Upon the recommendation of Mongi Slim, President of the Sixteenth General Assembly, some notable improvements may be made in its procedures. However, to accommodate the rapid expansion of peace-keeping activities and the assumption of a legislative role, thought must be given to an improvement of the organization of the General Assembly itself. Possibly the First Committee and the Special Political Committee should be in continuous session. Or a new type of Assembly committee might be created to serve for a longer period of time than one year, to deal with perennial problems. The Committee of Seventeen, appointed to deal with the problems of colonial liquidation, is an example of a semi-permanent committee.

Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy

President Eisenhower delivered one of the greatest challenges to the United Nations in December, 1953 in his Atoms for Peace address. The result, after brilliant negotiations, was to produce the International Atomic Energy Agency.

The high hopes for this agency have to a great extent been frustrated by the neglect of the great powers to register some sixty-five bilateral agreements with the agency and to provide for agency inspection. Unfortunately, the underdeveloped nations have not been anxious for agency safeguards in the agreements they reach with the nuclear powers.

The Association urges the United States Government to bring as many as possible of its bilateral agreements under the agency and to strive to make the agency what the original negotiators intended.

Financing the United Nations

The AAUN has supported the purchase of bonds by the United States Government as part of the

United Nations program to float a \$200 million bond issue. This program has been supported with purchases or pledges by over one-half of the UN membership.

However, the bond issue is an emergency measure. The United Nations is faced with serious financial problems and certainly must find a solution both to the emergency and the long-range financing.

It is imperative that the members of the United Nations recognize the obligatory character of the Assembly's assessments, in accord with the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice, and that their financial contributions to the United Nations are a greater contribution to their peace and security than are military expenditures.

A Peace and Security Fund, as suggested by the late Dag Hammarskjöld would be helpful. Created in advance, its purpose would be to meet emergency situations such as Suez or the Congo.

The nations must not be afraid to support a policy of borrowing money for the purposes of the United Nations as individual governments borrow money for their public purposes.

The United Nations must develop an independent source of income which would supplement, and eventually exceed, the contributions of Member States. Among the ways that have been suggested are some form of taxation such as a percentage on savings resulting from disarmament, usage fees on services performed, and profits from exploitation of the bed of the sea to which the UN should claim title.

Means should also be developed for public participation in UN financing on a world wide scale.

The budget of the United Nations will eventually run to hundreds of millions of dollars to provide for a world police force to keep order in a disarmed world. The savings from disarmament, however, will run into billions.

Secretariat

The AAUN supports an independ-

ent Secretariat based upon Articles 97-101 of the Charter. It opposes the principle of *troika* applied either to the Secretary-General, his political advisers, the composition of the Secretariat or application to governing bodies of the United Nations or to the specialized agencies. *Troika* would destroy the independent character of the Secretary-General and the Secretariat. An effective Secretariat requires the development of an international civil service. The *troika* principle and an impartial international service are incompatible.

The Association pays tribute to that great martyr to the cause of world peace, Dag Hammarskjöld. It pays its deep respect to U Thant for his fearless manner of speaking and for his independence. The tradition of such devotion and independence began with Trygve Lie and has been carried through by Mr. Hammarskjöld and U Thant. No *troika* would have permitted this.

The independent character of the Secretariat is not inconsistent with the demand that all members of the United Nations be appropriately represented on the Secretariat.

Decade of Development

The General Assembly unanimously designated the current decade as the "United Nations Development Decade" and challenged the Member States to intensify their efforts "to mobilize and to sustain support for the measures required" to make a substantial increase in the rate of economic growth of underdeveloped countries.

The AAUN supports this program and urges the nations to cooperate to the utmost to see the goal realized. Eight years remain of this decade. Each year should see a steady advance to the aims of the Development Decade on all fronts — improvement of agriculture, industrialization, housing, schools, and all the vast efforts to help underdeveloped peoples to a richer life. But it is not only the developing peoples to whom the program is directed. In a sense,

the privileged nations share. Their economies will advance, and their peace and stability will be enhanced.

The United States should be prepared to contribute on a long-range and increased scale to the economic development of the less developed areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America. An increasing share of this money should be spent through the UN and its specialized agencies.

The case for multilateral aid through the United Nations is overwhelming. It prevents the cold war from entering these areas. The new states themselves, as members of the United Nations, are part of the technical assistance program. Furthermore, they contribute something of their own currencies and technicians to help other countries.

The AAUN supports an expansion of the United Nations program of technical assistance, additional support for the Special Fund, and an increase in the capital resources of the International Bank, International Finance Corporation and Monetary Fund. It welcomes the establishment of the International Development Association and the Inter-American Development Bank. The program for supplying of operational and executive personnel to countries requesting such assistance from the United Nations should be carried forward vigorously.

The Association points out that above and beyond, must be kept the goal of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms; for the UN aims at a society of free men.

International Court of Justice

The AAUN recognizes the need for making greater use of the International Court of Justice as a vital instrument for world peace and for the development of international law. Every effort should be made to transfer justiciable problems from the political arena of the Security Council or the General Assembly for advisory opinion or final judicial settlement by the Court.

It is imperative that the United

States withdraw the vitiating Connally reservation to its acceptance of the optional clause of the Court Statute, and leave to the Court the determination of what is essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any nation. It should invite other countries to follow its example.

Human Rights

The United States should contribute to the advancement of the cause of human rights and fundamental freedoms as envisaged in the Charter by setting its own domestic house in order. The new states in the UN are particularly sensitive to racial discrimination in the U.S.

The United States should vigorously support the development of human rights through the United Nations. The United States Government took an advanced position when in the Security Council debate on apartheid in the Union of South Africa it asserted that a violation of human rights on such a scale was not a matter of mere domestic concern under Article 2(7) of the Charter. The Association views with particular concern the failure of the government of South Africa to recognize its international obligations regarding the administration of South West Africa. We should be ready to support economic sanctions if other methods fail to remove the dangers to peace inherent in these situations. The United States should support all efforts to secure a just solution of the problem of South West Africa.

The United States should continue to encourage the Human Rights Commission to pursue its studies on discrimination.

We commend the special celebration by all American citizens of the 15th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We urge that this be the occasion for ratification by our country of the Genocide, Anti-Slavery, Political Rights for Women and other conventions related to human rights, which have been approved by the United Nations.

U THANT

(Continued from Page 1)

ganization, but perhaps it might be advisable to bring home some of the facts pertaining to the UN activities as I see them.

As you no doubt are aware, there has been a lot of attention focused on the United Nations for the last two or three years. Particularly, attention has been focused on the question of whether the UN is worthwhile, whether the UN is worth having. On this question I have to say just this. The primary functions of the United Nations can be classified into three categories. Firstly, the political activities; secondly, economic and social activities, and thirdly, the trusteeship activities. When I say trusteeship activities I am thinking not only in terms of the United Nations activities in the Trusteeship Council, but also UN activities in facilitating the emergence of dependent territories into independent status. When we assess the worth of the United Nations, I think it is only proper and fair for us to take into consideration all these activities.

As far as the UN activities in the political field are concerned, I must admit that the UN's work has not been very impressive, particularly because the UN machinery in dealing with the political problems from day to day, from month to month, from year to year, has been weak and inadequate. Particularly because of adverse public opinion in certain parts of the world, and partly because of the existence of the Cold War — although the United Nations has been able to achieve some remarkable successes in the political field in the past: in Greece, in Korea, in the Middle East, in Kashmir — many problems still remain unsolved in the political field.

But the public in general is apt to concentrate only on the political activities when they attempt to assess the accomplishments of this world organization. I think this attitude is not fair. When we assess the success or failure of this organization, we

have to take into consideration other aspects in which the United Nations is involved.

In the second category, that is, the economic and social field, I am sure you will agree with me that the United Nations has been able to achieve impressive results working in cooperation with some of our sister agencies like the WHO and the ILO and others.

Of course, in the short space of time at my disposal for the present purpose, it would be hardly possible for me to go into the achievements and accomplishments made by the UN in the economic and the social fields; but I just want to request that you also take this factor into consideration when you attempt to examine the achievements and accomplishments of the United Nations since its inception in 1945.

In this third category, the trusteeship field, or to put it more correctly, in the field in which the United Nations has been engaged to accelerate the emergence of the dependent countries into independent ones, the United Nations record has been most impressive. The United Nations has been the sole agency which has been responsible for the creation of many independent states, particularly in Asia and Africa.

This, in my view, is the most impressive and most remarkable achievement of the United Nations in the past seventeen years. Now, apart from these three activities, according to the terms of the Charter, the United Nations also is expected to perform certain functions in the area of the Cold War, or in the field of psychological climate, or political climate, if I may say so.

It was implicitly provided for in the Charter that one of the primary functions of the United Nations should be to harmonize the different points of view, the different concepts, and the different attitudes toward problems. It was the intention of the sponsors of the United Nations that this organization must also perform as a harmonizing instrument to bring

about a better understanding between people with differing ideologies and economic concepts.

On this I want to deal very briefly. As you all know, the world situation today is far from bright. From time to time we are witnessing one crisis after another. Of course, in the past seventeen years since the inception of the United Nations, the United Nations was involved with the solution of some of these crises but some crises are dealt with by powers outside the scope of the United Nations.

We are still faced with many problems, many political problems, and if I may, even military problems. To cite just a few instances, we have today the problem of disarmament, the problem of banning nuclear tests, the problem of Berlin, the problem of restoration of peace in Southeast Asia, the problem of the Congo, the problem of Cuba, the problem of colonialism, among others.

As I just stated, the United Nations is involved with the solution of some of these problems. Others are being dealt with outside the context of the United Nations by powers primarily concerned.

So these problems will go on, and perhaps some of the problems will be solved in due course. Even if we are spared a hydrogen war — a thermonuclear holocaust, I am sure that the world is going to be faced with many similar problems from time to time.

Of course, the nature of these problems will fluctuate periodically in intensity or in seriousness, but there will be problems. As I said, some of these problems will be solved in due course, but at the same time we can expect a new crop of problems to come up.

So the situation can be likened to a very unhealthy man with symptoms coming up now and then. One day he may have a headache, the next day he may have some trouble in the stomach, and the next day he may have some ulcers or sores. A wise physician will try to diagnose the root cause of these

symptoms. He will not restrict his treatment only to the exterior symptoms which he sees. If he is a good physician he must try to probe into the real causes of these symptoms.

In the same way I am convinced that the leadership of thought and the leaders of men all over the world, like you ladies and gentlemen, have to give very serious thought as to why these symptoms go on appearing from time to time. We have to go right into the root of these problems so that the world may be free from the recurrence of these very distressing, very disturbing, very dangerous explosions here and there from time to time. I have given some thought to this aspect of the world problem, and I have come to the conclusion that one of the causes of this malady, this mental disease, if I may so say, is the absence of tolerance, the lack of understanding, our refusal to accept the wise, philosophical dictum, "Live and let live."

I think this absence of tolerance, which is a key to all religions that I know of, is at the root of this malady from which the world is suffering today. Two hundred years ago, for instance — if we re-read a little history, in the eighteenth century, religious tolerance was regarded as a sin. It was regarded not only as a sin, but as a colossal crime.

If you were a Christian it was inconceivable how you could tolerate a Hindu or a Moslem or a Buddhist. The same attitude was applicable the other way around. Two hundred years ago there was no such thing as religious tolerance. But now religious tolerance is not only not regarded as a sin, but it is regarded as a very desirable attitude in all civilized societies.

I am trying to draw a parallel between religious tolerance and political tolerance. In the middle of the twentieth century, more correctly in the second half of the twentieth century, we have religious tolerance but we don't have political tolerance, or tolerance of political ideology, or political concepts.

I feel that if we can apply this concept of religious tolerance in our day-to-day attitude, in the application of our activities, in the context of our political thinking, I think we are beginning to start a new lease on life, and open a new era for humanity, an era of happiness and human welfare.

I am saying all of this, not because I have no political convictions. I have, and in a very large degree. Those who know me closely will tell you what strong political convictions I have. I believe in democracy, as I have stated on so many previous occasions. I am convinced of the superiority of the democratic way of life, of what you call free society, over any other form of society. I believe very strongly that democracy, a free society, is the only society which is congenial — the most congenial to the flowering of human genius.

I am averse to totalitarian systems in any shape or form, but this belief in democracy, this conviction in the superiority of a free society over any other type of society, does not shut me off from the knowledge that there are hundreds of millions of people who believe otherwise. I am not unaware of it. My convictions in democracy, my dedication to the democratic way of life, does not blind me to the fact that there are hundreds of millions of people who differ with me, who believe otherwise.

To come back to this religious parallel, as you are no doubt aware, I am a Buddhist. In this field of religion I believe very strongly in the teachings of Lord Buddha. I believe very strongly that Buddhism is superior to any other religion, but this belief does not preclude me from the knowledge that there are hundreds of millions of Christians, Hindus, Moslems and Jews who believe otherwise.

This sense of knowledge, if I may say so, this tolerance, this basic concept of life, this very elementary philosophy of life, is very necessary if we are to save humanity from a thermonuclear holocaust. I believe

very strongly in this and in the UN Charter when it says that one of the main functions of the UN is to harmonize the different points of view and different concepts.

And this comes very close to this concept which I believe is the key of all religions, all over the world. In this particular respect I am reminded of one Hegelian concept. As I have said on previous occasions, I am a believer in the Hegelian concept of thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis. Dr. Hegel was a firm believer in one single trend of humanity — in the trend of the course of history towards the harmonizing future. He believed very strongly that there are unmistakable forces at work towards a synthesis, not only in the field of religion, but also in the field of political thinking, and in the overall field of human relations.

I believe in this, but, of course, it will take time. Perhaps in the 21st century, if there is a 21st century, I am sure this process of trend towards a human synthesis will be much closer to the ideal of Hegel than it is now in the 20th century.

Well, I do not think, at this particular moment, with the question of peace and war, when the very question of human survival is at stake, I should come out openly with my views on any cold war problem.

But perhaps at an appropriate time I may have occasion to exchange some views with you. As you are no doubt aware, the United Nations is facing a very grave crisis, not only the crisis of confidence, but the crisis involving its existence. In this particular moment of destiny, I appeal to you, all dedicated ladies and gentlemen, dedicated to the cause of the United Nations, dedicated to the cause of the Charter, dedicated to the peace of the world and the future of humanity, I appeal to you to keep these observations in mind and to do your best in disseminating the ideals of the UN Charter and the activities that are being carried out by the UN, and I wish you success in your noble endeavors.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THIRD BIENNIAL CONVENTION

*Space does not permit printing of all resolutions adopted by the Convention.
However, following are those resolutions of more general interest.*

"Though the minds and hearts of all associated with the AAUN will forever treasure and keep warm the memory of Mrs. Roosevelt, who better than any woman of her time advanced the cause of democracy and human rights and peace, let the Resolutions of this Convention open, nonetheless, noting the passing of Mrs. Roosevelt, and recalling her manifold and great efforts for our Association and for us, the inspiration she gave us, and her hopes and her friendship for the Association and for us who worked and walked together with her."

* * *

"Be It Resolved, that AAUN discuss with the World Federation of United Nations Associations the possibility of organizing an AAUN Friendship Program whereby, in consultation with WFUNA, assistance can be given by UN Associations in the United States to UN Associations in other countries, with special emphasis on Latin American Associations; and

"Be It Further Resolved that, where possible, state divisions and local chapters and individuals make voluntary contributions of funds to support this program."

* * *

"Be It Resolved that husband and wife memberships shall be counted for convention delegate representation only if their combined membership fee equals that of two individual members."

* * *

"Be It Resolved that Adlai Stevenson be commended for the outstanding and exceedingly effective work he has done as United States Ambassador to the United Nations during the 17th General Assembly."

* * *

"Be It Resolved that there be established a fund-raising pattern looking towards an eventual coordinated national fund-raising event; and that this Biennial Convention request the President to appoint a special committee to explore any and all possibilities, and charge this committee with aiming at an equitable distribution of funds so realized between chapter, state and national."

* * *

"Whereas, the financial burden is so great on delegates who must travel from points far from the Convention area,

"Be It Resolved that the President request all local chapters and state divisions to take such action as will allocate funds (preferably in their budget) to enable delegates to attend Biennial Conventions."

* * *

"Be It Resolved that the 1964 Biennial Convention

Committee provide a travel equalization fund which will provide some assistance to the distant delegates through a mandatory payment of graduated fees at the time of registration of delegates, as approved by the National Board."

* * *

"Be It Resolved that this Convention record its gratitude to all segments of the press and other mass media which have spoken forcefully in opposition to those who would weaken or destroy the United Nations, and that Mr. Thomas M. Storke, Publisher of the *Santa Barbara News-Press*, in Santa Barbara, California, especially be commended for his outstanding leadership in advancing the cause of international understanding in the presence of a sometimes quite unfriendly environment, and for his role in creating a climate in which the principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations have been brought to the attention of the people of his community and, indeed, the entire nation."

* * *

"Whereas, the City and County of San Francisco has long been associated in the eyes of the world with the first hopes and aspirations of the United Nations and in particular with the framing of the noble sentiments of its Charter; and

"Whereas the AAUN of San Francisco; the San Francisco Board of Supervisors; and the Mayor have through precedent set in 1955 made known their desire suitably to commemorate the birth of the United Nations on the occasions of the major anniversaries marking its periods of growth; and

"Whereas, these organizations, together with the Mayor, have caused to be established an official committee to investigate the possibility of holding an official Twentieth Anniversary Commemorative Session in 1965 in San Francisco; bringing wide representation from the United Nations headquarters, its agencies and allied bodies;

"Now Therefore Be It Resolved, that this Convention endorse this special commemorative session; and

"Be It Further Resolved that it offer, through the national organization, encouragement and all possible aid in this extension of the United Nations from East to West, for the purpose of bringing more clearly to the nation's citizens notice of achievements covering the twenty years since the basic United Nations documents were so laboriously put together in San Francisco, and that such offer of assistance be made to the appropriate bodies."

COMMITTEES OF THIRD BIENNIAL CONVENTION

Delegates to the Convention adopted the following resolution: "Be It Resolved that this Convention extend to all committee chairmen its gratitude for their very competent and expeditious handling of the heavy load of committee work involved in this conference." On this page is listed the membership of the Committees that were involved in the Convention.

BIENNIAL CONVENTION

Miss Anna Lord Strauss, *Chairman*
Frank Dunbaugh
J. Edwin Griswold
Mrs. Joyce Jacoubowsky
York Langton

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

William R. Roalfe, *Chairman*
Karlin Capper-Johnson
H. Jackson Daniel
Frank P. Graham
Mrs. Clarice Greenberg
Obert C. Tanner
Sidney Willner

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John Craig, Jr.
Mrs. Max Etter
Mrs. Frank Letzig, Sr.

NOMINATING

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Mrs. Clarice Greenberg
Arthur N. Holcombe
Sol M. Linowitz
Mrs. Robert Russel
Obert C. Tanner
A. Buel Trowbridge

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Norman Cousins
Edward Curtis, Jr.
J. Eugene Harley
Arthur Larson
Gary Marshall
Mrs. Ronald McLaughlin
Mrs. Norwood Phelps
James Sheldon
Arthur Stephens
James J. Wadsworth
Urban Whitaker

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Myles Canning
Mrs. Gordon Cochrane
Mrs. Julia de Piza
Mrs. Karl Doege
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Mrs. Marsha H. Presnell
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Mrs. Robert Russel
Mrs. Harry Schoenfeld
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Tracy Sugarman
Mrs. Mary Tamplin
Obert C. Tanner
Mrs. John Teague
A. Buel Trowbridge
Herbert Winkler

RULES

Sidney Willner, *Chairman*
Robert Peden
Mrs. Harry Polster

COORDINATION

David L. Shillinglaw, *Chairman*
Karlin Capper-Johnson
John Emery
Joseph Harrison
Raymond Nasher
Mrs. John Sutcliffe
Mrs. Harry Schoenfeld

MEMBERSHIP

York Langton, *Chairman*
(All Membership Chairmen
are considered members of
this Committee)

Special gratitude from delegates and national staff goes to Mr. Lee Bloom, Chairman, Convention Arrangements Committee and Mrs. Mary Birsh, Chairman of Volunteers and to their volunteer associates who helped to make the Convention a smooth-running one.



John Roosevelt responds to tribute paid by AAUN officers at Convention's opening plenary session tribute to his mother. Following tributes by Messrs. Steinkraus, de Lima and Eichelberger, delegates stood for moment of silent prayer for Mrs. Roosevelt.

State Presidents

Southern New York State President **Mrs. Eleanor Schoenfeld** was elected Chairman of the Council of State Presidents at the Council meeting that took place immediately following the Convention.

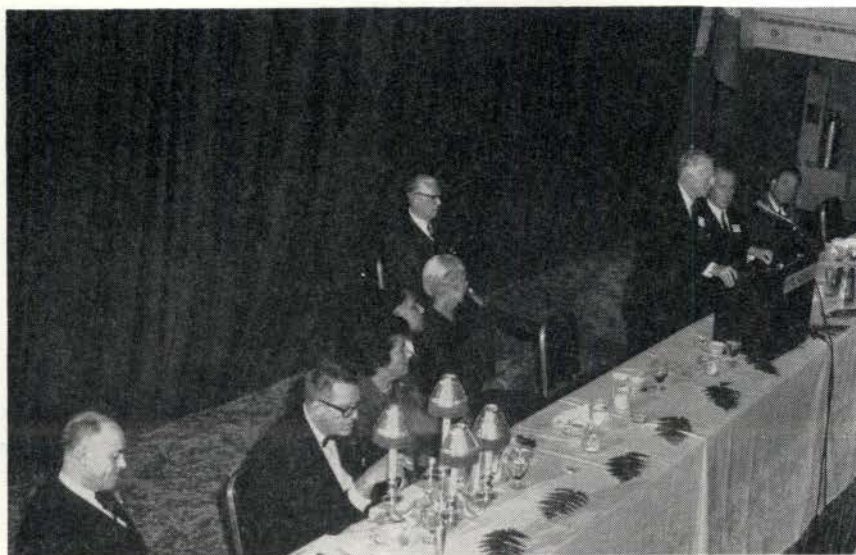
Vice-Chairmen elected are: **Mrs. Gorden Cochrane**, Washington State; **Dr. Robert McCollum**, Colorado; and **Mrs. John Teague**, Tennessee.

Workshops

All delegates had the opportunity to attend four workshops held on Saturday and Sunday mornings at the Convention.

Miss Anna Lord Strauss conducted the sessions on Program; **Mrs. James Schramm** led the Chapter Organization discussions; **Mrs. Dana Backus** moderated the workshops on Youth Activities; and **York Langton** was Chairman of the Membership Promotion round-tables. All are AAUN Board members.

Workshops ran simultaneously for one and a half hours each the first day, and one hour each the second day. Chairman and panel members remained in the same room and the delegates assigned in advance to a schedule, moved among the Workshops. Convention delegates seemed to find this pattern an interesting one in that they were able to have a picture of a wider scope of AAUN activities than before. Majority of delegate opinion pointed up the need for more time devoted to this type of session.



AAUN Director Eichelberger opens panel discussion at closing luncheon session of Convention. Panel featured Board members Arthur Larson, Benjamin V. Cohen and Paul G. Hoffman. L to R.: Membership Chairman York Langton; Elliott Roosevelt; Mrs. Elliott Roosevelt; Oscar de Lima; Miss Anna Lord Strauss, Chairman, Convention Committee; President Steinkraus (background); Dr. Larson; Mr. Cohen.

AAUN NEWS

*Published ten times a year
by the*

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION
FOR THE UNITED NATIONS, INC.

345 East 46th Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Paid at New York, N. Y.
Second class postage