Theme: What has Philadelphia 1787 to say to the World of 1987?

Program of

The International Bicentennial Symposium on STRENGTHENING THE UNITED NATIONS

August 6-8, 1987 at Independence Hall and the University of Pennsylvania



Purpose of the Symposium

The purpose of the International Bicentennial Symposium is to focus scholarly and public attention on a single hypothesis: In order to secure peace it is essential to restructure and strengthen the United Nations so that it has the power, authority and funding to maintain peace and to promote economic and social progress and respect for human rights. Participants need not agree with this hypothesis but they are asked to consider it.

As they consider the hypothesis, the participating scholars, public figures and opinion leaders will ask what lessons UN reformers can learn from the origin and operation of the U.S., other federal systems and the European Community and from the history of the United Nations. They will ask how and why the American Founding Fathers – and the founders of other federal systems – agreed to restructure their national institutions and how and why they were able to win public support for their bold reform proposals. The participants will try to apply these lessons to the problem of restructuring and strengthening the United Nations.

"Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair."

George Washington, President The U.S. Consitutional Convention

Initiating Sponsors: The Common Heritage Institute of Villanova University, The World Federalist Association and the World Association of World Federalists.

CO-SPONSORS: American Association of University Women, American Movement for World Government; Baha'i International Community; Campaign for UN Reform; Council on International and Public Affairs; Clergy and Laity Concerned; En Verden; FN-Forbundet; Friends Peace Committee; Global Education Associates, Gray Panthers; Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies; International Affairs Association, University of Pennsylvania; International Peace Academy; Pax Christi, USA; Peace Research Institute of Dundas; Philadelphia World Federalists; Planetary Citizens; Promoting Enduring Peace, Inc.; Society for International Development; United Church of Christ - Office for Church in Society; Unitarian Universalist UN Office; United Nations Association-USA; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; World Without War Council.

FINAL PROGRAM

AUGUST 6-8 INTERNATIONAL BICENTENNIAL SYMPOSIUM ON THE STRENGTHENING THE UNITED NATIONS

Thursday, August 6, 1987

(12-6 PM) Registration, Harrison House, University of Pennsylvania, 3901 Spruce St.

(Those not staying at Harrison House should register at Arch Street Friends Meeting House,

4th and Arch, between 6 and 7 PM.)

7:30 PM Joint Opening Session of the International Bicentennial Symposium and the Twentieth

World Congress of the World Association of World Federalists*

(Independence Hall, 5th and Chestnut, and Arch Street Friends Meeting)

Session Chair: J. Francis Leddy

Welcome by Oliver Franklin, Deputy City Representative, City of Philadelphia Charles C. Price, Chairman, Symposium Steering Committee, Member, Executive Committee, Philadelphia World Federalists; Hermod Lannung, President, World Association of World Federalists.

Hiroshima Remembered: A Member of the Japanese Delegation

NORMAN COUSINS, Chairman of the Symposium, President, World Federalist Association "What Philadelphia Has to Say to the World of 1987"

JAMES O.C. JONAH, Assistant-Secretary-General of the United Nations "The Accomplishments and Limitations of the United Nations System"

AMBASSADOR MIGUEL MARIN-BOSCH, Deputy Permanent Representative of Mexico to the United Nations

"A Latin American Perspective on the United Nations"

8:45 PM Question and Answer Session (Arch Street Friends Meeting House)

9:15 PM Reception (Arch Street Friends Meeting House)

(Bus transportation back to Harrison House will begin at 10 PM)

Friday, August 7, 1987

University of Pennsylvania

7:30-9 AM Breakfast (Stouffer Commons - 38th and Spruce Street)

9:30 AM Morning Plenary (Logan Hall Room 17 – 36th and Locust Walk)

> MAJOR GENERAL INDAR JIT RIKHYE, President, International Peace Academy "Conflict Resolution and the United Nations"

AMBASSADOR DOUGLAS ROCHE, Canadian Ambassador for Disarmament "What Can the United Nations Do About Disarmament?"

10:30 AM Question and Discussion Period

11:15 AM Coffee Break

11:30 AM General Seminars I: "What Do we Mean By a Strengthened United Nations"

(Eight rooms in Williams Hall, adjacent to Logan Hall)

1:00 PM Lunch (Stouffer Commons)

2:00 PM Afternoon Plenary (Logan Hall Room 17 - 36th and Locust Walk)

> HAROLD STASSEN, U.S. Delegate to the United Nations Founding Conference "The Dream of San Francisco: How To Make It a Reality"

ALBERT BLAUSTEIN, Professor of Law, Rutgers University "The Origin and Operation of the U.S. and Other Federal Systems"

PROFESSOR LUCIO LEVI, University of Turin "European Federalism and World Federalism"

^{*} Because of limited space a ticket will be required for seating in Independence Hall.

3:00 PM	Question and Discussion Period
3:45 PM	Coffee Break
4:00 PM	Aspect Seminars I: Eight Different Aspects of UN Reform (Williams Hall)
5:30 PM	Barbecue (Harrison House grounds)
7:30 PM	Evening Plenary (Logan Hall, Room 17)
	WANG XUEXIAN, Counsellor, Chinese Mission to the United States "A Chinese Perspective on United Nations Reform"
- 1/	DONALD MILLS, Former Jamaican Ambassador to the United Nations "Some Third World Concerns on United Nations Reform"
9:00 PM	Reception at International House, Members Lounge – 3710 Chestnut Street (Students from many countries will be our guests)
Saturday, Aug	gust 8, 1987 University of Pennsylvania
7:30-9 AM	Breakfast (Harrison House)
9:30 AM	Morning Plenary (Logan Hall, Room 17)
11	MICHAEL J. BERLIN, UN Correspondent, Washington Post and New York Post
	JOHN J. LOGUE, Director, Common Heritage Institute, Villanova University "A Strategy for Strengthening the United Nations"
11	ELISABETH MANN BORGESE, Associate, Pearson Institute, Canada "A Constitution for the World"
10:30 AM	Question and Discussion Period
10:45 AM	Coffee
11:00 AM	Aspect Seminars II: Eight Different Aspects of UN Reform (Williams Hall)
1:00 PM	Box Lunch (Logan Hall)
2:00 PM	Afternoon Plenary (Logan Hall, Room 17)
]	CONGRESSMAN JIM LEACH, (R-Iowa) "How to Win Public Support for Making the United Nations More Effective"
//	NICHOLAS DUNLOP, Secretary General, Parliamentarians Global Action "A Political Strategy for Strengthening International Institutions"
11	AMBASSADOR K. KIKUCHI, Japanese Ambassador to the United Nations "A Japanese Perspective on the United Nations" 3:45 PM Coffee
3:00 PM	Question and Discussion Period
3:45 PM	Coffee Break
4:00 PM	General Seminars II "How Do We Get a Strengthened United Nations?" (Williams Hall)
5:30 PM	Barbecue (Harrison House grounds)
7:30 PM	Evening Plenary (Logan Hall, Room 17)
	PROFESSOR TIMOR TIMOFEEV, Member, Soviet Academy of Sciences "A Soviet Perspective on the Problem of Strengthening the United Nations"
//	HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON, Professor of Law, Nova University' "Some Reflections on United Nations Reform"
9:00 PM	Concluding Reception (Stouffer Commons)

(All participants are urged to attend the "Declaration of Philadelphia" Public Meeting at 5 PM, Sunday, August 9 on Independence Mall – 5th and Market Streets and to consider signing that Declaration. See special flyer. Participants are also invited to attend the remaining sessions of the World Congress of the World Association of World Federalists on August 10-13 in Logan and Williams Halls.)

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Indar Jit Rikhye, President, International Peace Academy; Chief of Staff, UN Emergency Force.

Bernard G. Segal, Past President, American Bar Association.

Jerome Shestack, Past U.S. Ambassador to UN Human Rights Commission; Past President, International League for Human Rights.

Louis B. Sohn, Professor of Law, University of Georgia; Co-Author World Peace through World Law.

Robert Stuart, Board Chairman Emeritus, National Can Company.

Jan Tinbergen, Nobel Laureate in Economics.

Brian Urquhart, Scholar-in-Residence, Ford Foundation; former UN Under-Secretary General.

Peter Ustinov, Actor, playwright; Academy Award winner.

Sam Winograd, Attorney, Businessman.

Harris Wofford, Former President, Bryn Mawr College, Secretary, Pennsylvania Department of Labor & Industry.

STEERING COMMITTEE: Charles C. Price, Chair; Jack Forbes, J. Francis Leddy, John Logue, Edward Rawson, Ron J. Rutherglen, Colleen D. Sullivan, Lucy Webster.

SYMPOSIUM DIRECTOR: Dr. John J. Logue.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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The International Bicentennial Symposium

STRENGTHENING THE UNITED NATIONS

August 6-8, 1987 at Independence Hall and the University of Pennsylvania

Symposium Office: Common Heritage Institute, Villanova University, Villanova, Pa. 19085 215-645-7300

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> Symposium Steering Committee

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(Affiliations on reverse side)











Ben Franklin & John Logue James O.C. Jonah

Presentation at the UN*

Amb. Douglas Roche Indar Jit Rikhye

AN INTERIM REPORT ON THE INTERNATIONAL BICENTENNIAL SYMPOSIUM

John Logue

On August 6-8 1987 some 450 people from some 25 countries came to Independence Hall and/or the University of Pennsylvania to participate in the International Bicentennial Symposium on Strengthening the United Nations. The Symposium was part of the four month celebration of the Bicentennial of the drafting and signing of the U.S. Constitution in Philadelphia's Independence Hall. The event was cosponsored by some 27 organizations. The initiating sponsors were the Common Heritage Institute (CHI), the World Federalist Association and the World Association of World Federalists. CHI had the job of organizing the Symposium.

The program participants included: an Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations, a former U.S. Presidential candidate; three Soviet academics; past or present Ambassadors from Canada, Jamaica, Japan, Mexico and the League of Arab States; a Washington Post correspondent; an Italian political scientist; a Ghanian States Attorney; a Chinese Counsellor; a former Commander of the UN Emergency Force in the Middle East; an Iowa Congressman; a member of the U.S. Delegation to the Founding Conference of the United Nations; other academics; leaders of nongovernmental organizations; and students. Many of them signed a "Declaration of Philadelphia", calling for a restructuring and strengthening of the UN.

The theme of the Symposium was "What has Philadelphia 1787 to say to the World of 1987?" That was also the title of the opening paper by author/editor Norman Cousins, President of the World Federalist Association. The Symposium participants came together in plenary sessions, discussion seminars, aspect seminars (featuring short papers), question periods, coffee breaks and receptions. They asked what measures, modest or bold, could and should be taken "to empower the United Nations to accomplish its declared purposes."

This Interim Report gives a very small sample of the views expressed in the Bicentennial Symposium. In the near future the Symposium Steering Committee plans to publish the complete proceedings.

*Among those presenting their "Declaration of Philadelphia" to United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar on December 9, 1987 were Symposium veterans: Rev. Donald Harrington, Norman Cousins...Rev. John M. Driscoll, O.S.A. (Villanova President) and John Logue.

CO-SPONSORS: American Association of University Women, American Movement for World Government; Baha'i International Community; Campaign for UN Reform; Common Heritage Institute; Council on International and Public Affairs; Clergy and Laity Concerned; En Verden; FN-Forbundet; Global Education Associates, Gray Panthers; Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies; International Affairs Association, University of Pennsylvania; International Peace Academy; Pax Christi, USA; Peace Research Institute of Dundas; Philadelphia World Federalists; Planetary Citizens; Promoting Enduring Peace, Inc.; Society for International Development; United Church of Christ – Office for Church in Society; Unitarian Universalist UN Office; United Nations Association-USA; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; World Association of World Federalists; World Federalist Association (USA); World Without War Council.

At the opening session in Independence Hall Norman Cousins, President of WFA and Chairman of the Symposium, stressed the wisdom, learning and inventiveness of the American Founding Fathers. He said they had "unblocked the vision of the American people" "made it possible for them to see possibilities they had never seen before, to dream dreams they had never dreamt before, and to apply free will and intelligence in ways that had never been collectively applied before." Cousins continued "They enabled human beings -- not just in America but eventually throughout the world -- to see that history is what people make it." Cousins also stressed that the Founding Fathers "placed heavy emphasis on the need to keep the power centers of government under careful scrutiny and control."

Assistant Secretary-General James Jonah ded the world federalists "for the constant support you have ... given the United Nations" and brought greetings from Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar. Jonah said "I am aware that the United Nations, as it is today, does not fulfill all of your dreams. Yet you have been vigilant in its support and many of you have come forward with imaginative proposals to strengthen the organization." Stressing the UN's current financial crisis, Jonah added "Financially we are on our knees." He added that "there were many who really believed that if you could make some reforms this would be the magic wand and then everything would be fine. Well, we have had our reforms and the fact is that we don't have the money ... " Jonah deplored the lack of support for the UN in Congress, saying that he had "spent a gruesome two days in Congress (and) could not find one single Congressman or Senator who is prepared to say 'I stand for the United Nations.'" He added, "I find this very, very depressing."

At the same session Ambassador Miguel Marin-Bosch of Mexico, his country's Deputy Permanent Representative to the Nations, spoke on "A Mexican Perspective on the United Nations." He said that "the Constitution drafted in Independence Hall was to prove the most successful in history. That document has been a source of inspiration for countless nations and has served the people of this country extraordinarily well." He added that it was "natural" for the United States to work to establish an international organization based on recognized legal principles. Ambassador, "The Unfortunately, said the Charter has never been 're-adjusted' adapted to the changing world. The veto power has prevented that from happening." He said "the United Nations is at a crossroads. Its

viability as a maker and keeper of international peace and security been questioned by large and small states alike. Add to this the current UN-bashing craze in this country, the UN's principal promoter in 1945, and you have a full-fledged crisis." The Ambassador complimented the UN for its great achievements in such areas as decolonization, development and disarmament and added that the organization needs "the constructive participation of all states." But, he added, "It is one of the great paradoxes of the twentieth century that the United States was the prime mover of the League of Nations it never joined and the prime mover of the United Nations from which, for all practical purposes, it has withdrawn."

Major General Indar Jit Rikhye, President of the International Peace Academy and former Commander of the UN Emergency Force in the Middle East, presented a paper on "Conflict Resolution and the United Nations." In it he noted that the UN's founders wanted to give the new organization teeth so that it would have "the capacity to enforce peace, if peace could not be negotiated." But, said Rikhye, there have been only two examples of enforcement action by the UN: Korea in the early 19-50's and Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) in the mid-1970's. Security Council agreement on Korea was possible only because of the absence of the Soviet Union which was then protesting the non-seating of the Communist government of China. According to Rikhye, the Security Council "turned over responsibility for the Korea operation to the United States" and therefore, he concluded, "if you hear anyone say that Korea was a UN operation he is talking nonsense." In Southern Rhodesia only Britain took an active role in enforcing sanctions against that country. However Britain's blockade was "very ineffective." While UN "enforcement" has not been very successful, the UN has made substantial progress through peaceful negotiations and the use of "peacekeeping forces." Indeed, peacekeeping has been "one of the UN's great political successes." UN peacekeeping is based on the Gandhian system of non-violence. A central theme of Rikhye's paper was that a peacekeeping effort must be followed by a peacemaking effort. He also stressed the "very important role" played by "the good offices of the Secretary-General."

Douglas Roche, Canada's Special Ambassador for Disarmament, presented a paper on "What Can the United Nations Do About Disarmament?" He urged that "the most promising path to a peaceful world...is through the broad agenda of the United Nations, where disarmament exists alongside

economic and social justice." He said public awareness of disarmament and development issues was vital in this effort. We must redefine "security," which, to the world's poor, means access to food, water and health care. The Ambassador said that if the United Nations is not to loose credibility in the field of disarmament, greater effort must be devoted to reaching consensus agreements and to achieving concrete results. In contrast to some speakers, he said that "there is no need for new structures and principles, merely the need to use those which already exist more effectively." Somewhat pessimistically he added "it does not appear possible to achieve a system of enforceable world law, not at least until some time in the next century. There are simply too many ideological divisions, too much distrust, too strong an enmity to permit any grand designs leading to global harmony." However, he added, "there is much that can be done, especially through the United Nations."

Clovis Maksoud, UN Ambassador of the League of Arab States, started his address with a philosophical observation. "If we have a clear idea of the future, then we can interject it into the present and move the present towards it." In his view, "transcending nationalism is the primary focus" for the efforts of world federalists in political life. Referring to his own country, Lebanon, as "a country where pluralism was a creative undertaking," he said it "is now on the threshold of self-destruction." He said "What we want is the unity of diversity." He stressed that under the right circumstances "nationalism can play a liberating function" and even humanize former rulers. He added "We are all moderates if our rights are forthcoming. We all become radicals if our rights are futile."

Harold Stassen, a member of the U.S. Delegation to the UN's Founding Conference, spoke on "The Dream of San Francisco: How To Make It a Reality." The former Minnesota Governor said that a better UN is "imperative." Without it "there will be a continuing deterioration of the present United Nations Organization, growing anarchy, mounting terrorism...and escalating danger of nuclear catastrophe." He continued "The time has come for 'We the People' of America and 'We The People' of the world to insist that a better United Nations be established to serve the next generation." He added, "I do not, repeat, do not propose a world government." He then spent most of his time outlining and explaining the philosophy and mechanisms of a replacement Charter for the UN which he had drafted and sent out to many people. Key features of this "Stassen Charter" include weighted voting, a UN Police Peace Force and a one percent tax on international trade. Stassen's voting scheme would give ten nations 1,000 votes each and, at the bottom, one tiny state would get only one vote. The formula for assigning votes would give weight to three factors: population; GNP; annual per capita production.

Rutgers University Law Professor Albert Blaustein spoke on "The Origin and Operation of the U.S. and Other Federal Systems." A specialist in national constitutions, he has helped draft them for a number of nations, some of them federal states. He prides himself on taking an inductive approach to drafting constitutions, i.e. tailoring them to the problems the particular society or societies face. Blaustein posed three especially difficult problems, i.e. how to bring together the two Irelands, the two Germanys and the two Koreas. He said that "sometimes it is good for nations to be brought together. Sometimes we want nations to be separated and rent asunder." Professor Blaustein said that he believed Cameroon was a successful federation and that, before it came apart, East Africa had been "a wonderful federation" of Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda with one postal and railroad system and one university during the 1970's. He suggested that the twelve-member European Community might become a twenty-member community. He was also enthusiastic about ASEAN, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations.

Wang Xuexian, Counsellor, Chinese Mission to the UN, said "[T]he founders of the United Nations benefitted from (the U.S.) Constitution while drawing up the Charter." He added, "What the UN mainly lacks now (is)...the political will of various member states ... " He continued, "[M]any experts, scholars and activists have proposed a structural reform of the United Nations...to entrust it with greater power and authority and support it with better funding so as to ensure the accomplishment of the lofty goals of the Charter. I share their positive aspiration with understanding and sympathy and sincerely wish them new progress in their exploration and study for a better United Nations."

Donald Mills, former UN Ambassador from Jamaica, spoke on "A Caribbean Perspective on UN Reform." He said, "The preservation and strengthening of the UN is a matter that requires the attention of all countries. But in my view developing countries, having a special stake in the UN, have a particular

responsibility toward it (and)...should seek to address those faults which are evident. They should take a special and constructive interest in the improvement of the UN." He added, "The task involved is not one which can be carried out as one discrete exercise, no matter how well articulated. It would seem that what is essential is the establishment of a process as well, which would allow continuing reflection and review on the basis of some agreed principles and aims, so that the UN's work and approach could be adapted, with changing times and circumstances."

Professor Lucio Levi of the University of Turin spoke on "European Federalism and World Federalism." A prominent European federalist, he said that federal institutions "open new possibilities in the struggle for world peace." They give mankind "a new power, the power to build a democratic state as large as the world." Levi said that the American Constitutional Convention had been "an inspiration" to both European and world federalists because it implies "a form of international organization designed to achieve peace among the states subscribing to the federal covenant." It also implies a "division of power" between a central government and regional governments. He noted the modern tendency toward "the formation of states made up of many states and nations," such as the United States, the Soviet Union, China and India "and the growth of international organizations having a continental size," such as the EEC, OAU, COMECON, etc. Like the authors (Robert Hutchins, Mortimer Adler, Giuseppe Borgese, etc.) of the (1948) "Chicago Consti-tution", Levi feels that the coming world federation will be "the union of great world regions." The growth of the European Community "will deeply alter the world balance of power, eliminating the rigid division of the world into two blocs." Levi said that "the holders of state power are the masters of international organizations" and they are opposed to strengthening them. To get international organizations strengthened federalists must increase their influence on their governments. He indicated that when a European summit was held in Milan in 1985, he had helped to organize 100,000 people to put pressure on the heads of government meeting there. He said that world federalists must not identify themselves too closely with the existing UN. Instead they must identify with the project of a world government, that is, a radical reform of the United Nations.

In a very thoughtful paper on "The United Nations in Crisis," veteran Washington Post (and New York Post) UN correspondent Michael

Berlin, said that "because the West has perceived the United Nations as dominated by the Third World and the Soviet bloc, it has sought to limit the UN's political capacities and has sought to undermine the organization's fiscal underpinnings." Part of the UN's problem is that while the Charter forbids the organization to deal with domestic disputes, almost all recent and current world problems are domestic disputes, e.g. the Arab-Israeli dispute, South Africa, Cyprus, Afghanistan and the Vietnam War. Berlin said "the imbalance of power" within the UN made its expressions of opinion "politically divergent from the power realities of the world outside." He said that the General Assembly's (1974) "Zionism is Racism" resolution was "one of the prime reasons for the alienation of the American public from the United Nations." Berlin said that with the recent increase in UN membership the small states became able to determine the way in which UN money was to be spent and the issues to which it should be allocated. The Charter requires the donor states to pay for those programs. The Reagan Administration in effect withdrew from the (1973-1982) UN Conference on the Law of the Sea and from UNESCO and began to experiment with unilateral peacekeeping. It demanded that big donor nations have a larger say in setting the UN's agenda, spending its money, hiring personnel and measuring efficiency. These demands were pressed by the U.S. withholding funds, first for specific activities and then, by the Kassebaum Amendment, across the board. that Amendment Congress reduced the U.S. contribution by 20%. The U.S. would pay the full amount it owed only if the UN established a system of weighted voting in the General Assembly on financial matters. The General Assembly went further. It provided that those decisions would be made by consensus, i.e. unanimity. However, Berlin added, "If either side reneges, the other side (can) cancel the whole thing and go back to Square One." While the Reagan Administration is now trying to restore U.S. funding to the UN, "Congress is two or three years behind events and still thinks of the UN as an anti-American spy trap."

In her address on "Africa and the United Nations," Kathleen Quartey Ayensu, a former States Attorney of Ghana, spoke of Africa's "deep commitment to the United Nations." She pointed out that that commitment is written into the Charter of the Organization of African Unity. She said that "no African can fail to acknowledge the UN's success with decolonization." The organization has also been very helpful to Africa in dealing with such problems as famine, development, resource management, disease, illiteracy and apartheid.

However, Ms. Ayensu felt that a strengthened UN could help Africa even more. She strongly objected to the refusal of President Reagan and Prime Minister Thatcher to support comprehensive sanctions against South Africa. She was particularly critical of the Security Council veto and said it "must somehow be removed." She said that the concept "domestic jurisdiction" (in Article 2:7) is used not only to protect apartheid but also to protect the "tactics of genocide" of certain African regimes which have deprived some of their citizens of food. She suggested that there should be no permanent members of the Security Council and proposed the establishment of a permanent UN peacekeeping force.

Dr. John Logue, Director of Villanova University's Common Heritage Institute (and of the Bicentennial Symposium), spoke on "A Strategy for World Federalists." He said that world federalists should tell the world what changes in the UN they believe to be necessary and how those changes can be brought about. They should make it clear that their goal is "a reformed, restructured and strengthened United Nations" with the power, authority and money to carry out its objectives, "especially peace and security, promoting economic and social progress and increasing respect for human rights." Federalists should say clearly that the one nation-one vote system in the General Assembly must go, and the Security Council veto as well. The reach of world law must be limited but where it applies it must be applicable to the individual. Logue said that while federalists should preach their goal of a UN world federation they must also work on interim problems, e.g. action arms control, development, famine relief, environmental protection and action to end apartheid. Logue stressed that while the evolution of the European Community had much to teach UN reformers, the U.S. Constitutional Convention had even more to teach. presence of U.S. troops in Europe had been essential to a reconciliation between France and Germany. Unfortunately there are no Martians available to keep the peace between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, if and when the superpowers try the functional cooperation which Europe has practiced. Logue added that if the UN Charter proves unamendable serious thought should be given to writing a new UN Charter, i.e. a replacement Charter with its own enacting mechanism.

Republican Congressman Jim Leach of Iowa forum" to see that disarmament and to spoke on "A Congressional Perspective on the strengthening of international security instituted Nations." Leach was a major sponsor of tutions go hand in hand. Dunlop ended his protective world federalist-originated proposal (now sentation by emphasizing the central important a law) to establish a U.S. Commission on tance of electoral politics in any strategy

Improving the Effectiveness of the United Nations. The Congressman complained that at the present time "both American political parties...are rather profoundly letting the country down" and pointed to two "inconvertible ironies" in international relations First, while "weapons of destruction have been allowed to develop and proliferate, states are becoming less and less interested in expanding international law and international organization." Second, despite the fact that national economies are becoming "increasingly interdependent, our politics is becoming more parochial, i.e. protectionist and nationalist." Leach indicted the Reagan Administration for "savaging the UN system" and "torpedoing the law of the sea negotiations." He blamed it for the emasculation of UNESCO, for U.S. refusal to participate in the World Court and to pay its agreed share of UN funding, and for rejecting the idea of a comprehensive test ban treaty. However, he added, the Democrats have seldom proposed contructive alternatives to these Reagan policies. Leach contended that "We are seeing arms control recognized as the major issue of our time." He added "The public is better educated on arms control issues then the vast majority of people in the executive branch." Ending on a positive note, he predicted that "we may see some very serious progress in the near future on arms control."

Nicholas Dunlop, the dynamic Secretary-General of Parliamentarians Global Action, described his organization's successful effort to organize a Six Nation Peace Initiative (previously known as the Five Continent Peace Initiative), involving prominent heads of government. He said that to be successful proposals to alter the present international system must come from an individual or a group "with a highly visible position." The Peace Initiative group has gotten much attention for its proposals for a nuclear test moratorium and for verification of a possible nuclear test ban. Dunlop said PGA has found that fairly high level people in Moscow are looking for some new ideas about an international security system. Dunlop stressed that parliamentarians, i.e. national legislators, can play a catalytic role on world order issues. Among PGA's main priorities will be the strengthening of international institutions. It hopes to see an international verification agency, a standing UN peacekeeping force and "the launching of an international negotiating forum" to see that disarmament and the strengthening of international security institutions go hand in hand. Dunlop ended his presentation by emphasizing the central imporfor strengthening international institutions.

Japan's UN Ambassador, K.K. Kikuchi, said that his country has been strongly supportive of the UN. It has been playing an increasingly important role in the UN "not only in the economic and social fields, but also in political areas, particularly in the maintenance of international peace and security." He added that Japan is increasingly taking the initiative in helping shape the UN's agenda. He stressed Japan's success in getting the 1985 General Assembly to adopt its proposal to establish a Committee of Experts (the Group of Eighteen) to ask how administrative and financial reforms of the UN might best be undertaken. The Ambassador mentioned the Japanese expression "scrap and build" and said that it is "the principle we would like to follow in United Nations reform." He pointed out that the General Assembly had unanimously adopted all seventy-one of the Committee of Eighteen's recommendations. He said that though the proposals must overcome formidable obstacles raised by vested interests, he is quite confident that "the United Nations will emerge as a leaner and more efficient and stronger organization." He concluded "if the participants in the 1787 Constitutional Convention were present here today they would strongly encourage us to work together to preserve and strengthen this irreplaceable world organization."

The first speaker in the closing session was Professor Timur Timofeev, Vice President of the Soviet Scientific Council on Peace and Disarmament. Timofeev said that the current Soviet emphasis on restructuring (perestroika) and new political thinking is "on the national as well as the international plane." He added "We believe that the world could do with a restructuring, especially considering that our planet is saturated with nuclear weapons, beset with serious economic and ecological problems, with poverty and diseases" and called for "joint efforts to realize the potential of the United Nations Organization for the purpose of strengthening peace and international security -- both political and economic." The Soviet academician complimented the "distinguished American statesmen" who gathered in Independence Hall in 1787 on their ability "to take into account current and prospective objectives, national goals and major external problems." He said that there was general agreement that the Philadelphia "in Convention happened a period extraordinary innovation in the realm of political ideas and institutions" and that the ideas of the American Founding Fathers and of the American and French Revolutions had

influenced the struggle for justice and freedom of many generations of Russian thinkers and writers. Timofeev pointed out that on the occasion of the UN's 40th Birthday General Secretary Gorbachev had stressed that "the main objective set in the UN Charter still had not been solved — there is still no guarantee of stable peace." He said that "the Soviets attach great importance to the growing role of the UN in the world."

The final speaker of the Symposium was former Illinois Congressman (and former 1980 U.S. Presidential candidate) John B. Anderson. Speaking on "Reform: The Proper Response to Crisis in the United Nations," Anderson blamed both the United States and the Soviet Union for withholding funds from UN projects which they disapprove. He pointed out that the annual assessed budget of the United Nations, about 750 million dollars, "is just a drop in the ocean compared to the gross domestic product of the world's nations," i.e. some thirteen trillion dollars. Anderson said that the UN's famous Bertrand Report, issued by the UN's Joint Inspection Unit, was "dead wrong" in concluding that "in the present political context reform cannot be expected in the UN's political structures, especially those for the maintenance of peace." Anderson called for a "dual track approach" which would call for reform of both the UN's economic and political structures." While saluting the work of the UN's Committee of Eighteen (see above), he added that "the reform of the United Nations is not going to be accomplished simply through administrative changes." The Congressman said that he thought a UN Charter Review Conference must be held and he urged world federalists "to be ready with a plan" so that they can play a leadership role in that conference. He stressed the great influence that the Virginia Delegation had had on the shaping of the U.S. Constitution because its members had come early to Philadelphia and had come with a concrete proposal, i.e. the famous Virginia Plan. Anderson said he thought it was a "stroke of genius" for the organizers of the Bicentennial Symposium "to pick this city in this bicentennial year to address the problem of strengthening the United Nations." He said he hoped that "in this Symposium we have struck some of the sparks that will kindle a great flame that will consume the hearts and minds of the people around the world" and inspire them to "work together for that day when we will have a truly strengthened United Nations."

Thomas Hardiman, a senior at the University of Notre Dame, read his prizewinning essay. In it he said, "At the Federal

Convention of 1787, the delegates were faced with a choice: either continue to be a league of states joined by a set of treaties, or become one nation with a national government. In the years ahead, political leaders from all nations of the earth will be faced with a similar decision with respect to the United Nations." Hardiman concluded, "If social, political, and economic rights are to be secured both positively and negatively, a World Government is absolutely necessary (barring any monumental changes in human behavior) ... A just World Government must be founded on a Constitution equitable to all peoples of the earth. This Constitution must secure social, political, and economic rights both positively and negatively, and when these rights are transgressed, the damaged party must have viable legal recourse to redress those wrongs. Finally, it would certainly behoove the delegates to a world convention to keep in mind the spirit of the Federal Convention of 1787; it is a spirit of hope, cooperation, and compromise."

A POTPOURRI

The following quotations are from the excellent papers presented at the Symposium's "Aspect Seminars."

Sergei Egaroff, U.S.S.R.: "We hope that our common constitutional experience will stimulate peaceful efforts and will contribute to international cooperation which must be considered as a foundation for a comprehensive system of international security."

Ronald J. Glossop, U.S.A.: "...[T]he most crucial task seems to be the establishment of a fair and acceptable system of representation... Some kind of weighted voting is required which takes account of differences among nations in population, in GNP, and in per capita GNP."

Dieter Heinrich, Canada: "In the transition to a common security world the military deterrent would decline, but only gradually, through negotiation or through attrition, and only as confidence in common security grew. On the other hand the pursuit of a stronger international legal order and better UN security arrangements could commence immediately."

Viktor Gladkov, USSR: "...[A] new concept of security is shaping up in the world. It rejects traditional concepts based on arms build-up as an anathema....(A) world without war and weapons, which once seemed a too good to be true utopia, now seems not only to be realistic, but the only means to security."

Christopher Layton, Britain: In Europe "...[W]e have the embryo... of a federation, but only part of the powers."

Lynn Miller, U.S.A.: "It strikes me that as a solution for today, for 1987 for the globe, (federalism) is very much premature."

Leo Schwartzberg, U.S.A.: "...[A] single chief executive...is less likely to gain wide acceptance than would a plural executive. This is so because of the widespread and understandable fear that a single individual might somehow become a world dictator and also because of the obvious fact that no person could adequately represent the diversity of ideological persuasions and cultures ascribed to by major portions of the human family."

Richard Hudson, U.S.A.: "...(A)pproval of a (General Assembly) resolution (would) require a 'yes' vote of two-thirds of the countries, nations representing two-thirds of the population, and nations representing two-thirds of the contributions to the regular UN budget."

Moussa Bocar Ly, Senegal: "The UN has indeed achieved significant progress in defining and codifying the standards related to the exercise and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms."

Lowell Gustafson, U.S.A.: "...[T]he UN has thrown the doctrine of collective security completely out the window. (It) has become a pacifist organization rather than a collective security organization."

Lucy Webster, U.S.A. and U.K. "...[W]e must address a large part of our energy (to) building up the basis of confidence... you have to have a basis of world community concern, a willingness to listen to other parts of the world to be able to build the foundations on which a stronger world government system will work."

Charlotte Waterlow, U.K.: "...[T]he industrialized countries consume...eighty percent of its resources, possess eighty percent of its income, eat fifty percent of its food, produce ninety percent of its manufactures...and do ninety-five percent of its research..."

Joanne Grabrynowicz, U.S.A.: "The common heritage of mankind is a legal principle that...was first articulated in the 1967 Outer Space Treaty. Subsequently it became the subject of the (1982) Law of the Sea Treaty

and (later on) the 1979 Moon Treaty... [T]here has been much controversy as to its intent and meaning..."

Walter Hoffmann, U.S.A.: "[W]e ought to have a regional UN Mediation and Conciliation Service which would be somewhat similar in nature to the Federal Mediation Service that we have in the United States for labor-management relations."

Colleen D. Sullivan, U.S.A.: "[I]f we are going to have multilateral solutions to world problems, then you have to give the data, the up-to-date modern technological data, to multilateral groups and/or to the Secretary-General and the Security Council..."

OPENING SESSION OBSERVATIONS

J. Francis Leddy, Canada: "The idea of municipalities fighting each other seems to us ridiculous. But it really isn't more ridiculous than the refusal of individual states to

give up their sovereign rights to war."

Charles C. Price, U.S.A.: "[I]n a remarkable 1693 essay, "On the Peace of Europe",...William Penn said '[P]eace requires justice, justice requires law, law requires government, not only within nations but equally between nations...' This principle clearly guided those men who...in this building, wrote the United States Federal Constitution."

Rev. Kail Ellis, O.S.A., U.S.A.: "We can recall on this occasion the address of Pope Paul VI to the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1965: 'It suffices to remember that the blood of millions of men and women, that numberless and unheard-of sufferings, useless slaughter and frightful ruin are the sanction of the past which unites you with an oath which must change the future of the world. No more war. War never again. Peace. It is peace which must guide the destinies of peoples and of all humankind.'"

SYMPOSIUM CHAIRMAN: Norman Cousins, President, World Federalist Association, Adjunct Professor of Medicine, UCLA, Author, Pathology of Power (1986), Modern Man is Obsolete, Anatomy of an Illness; Former editor Saturday Review; Receipient, United Nations Peace Medal.

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Thor Heyderdahl, Anthropologist; Author, Kon-Tiki.

Satish Kumar, Professor of Diplomacy, Jawaharlal Nehru University.

Arthur Lall, Former Indian Ambassador to UN; Author.

Hermod Lannung, President, WAWF; Former Danish Ambassador to the UN.

J. Francis Leddy, Former President, University of Windsor.

A. Barton Lewis, President, A. Barton Lewis Mortgage Co.; Executive Vice President, U.S. Committee for the Oceans. Martin Meyerson, Past President, University of Pennsylvania.

Rev. Toshio Miyake, Honorary Council Chairman, WAWF.

Ashley Montagu, Anthropologist; Social biologist; Author.

Bradford Morse, President, Salzburg Seminar; Former Administrator, UN Development Program.

Margaret C. Mudd, Educator; Director, Lebensburger Foundation.

Robert C. Muller, Chancellor, University of Peace; Former Assistant Secretary-General of UN.

Claiborne Pell, Chairman, U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Indar Jit Rikhye, President, International Peace Academy; Chief of Staff, UN Emergency Force.

Bernard G. Segal, Past President, American Bar Association.

Jerome Shestack, Past U.S. Ambassador to UN Human Rights Commission; Past President, International League for Human Rights.

Louis B. Sohn, Professor of Law, University of Georgia; Co-Author World Peace through World Law.

Robert Stuart, Board Chairman Emeritus, National Can Company.

Jan Tinbergen, Nobel Laureate in Economics.

Brian Urquhart, Scholar-in-Residence, Ford Foundation; former UN Under-Secretary General.

Peter Ustinov, Actor, playwright; Academy Award winner.

Sam Winograd, Attorney, Businessman.

Harris Wofford, Former President, Bryn Mawr College, Secretary, Pennsylvania Department of Labor & Industry.

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SYMPOSIUM DIRECTOR: Dr. John J. Logue, Professor of Political Science, Villanova University; Director, Common Heritage Institute.

I do not, repeat, do not, propose a world government.

I do propose a better organization to foster conditions under which the competition of systems, economic, social, cultural, and political, may take place for the next generation without world war and without widespread violent terrorism.

I propose a better United Nations Organization so that there may be growing cooperation for mutual functions, mutual trade, mutual progress, during the lives of the young people of today.

To stimulate the process of studying and developing a Better United Nations Organization, I have, with humility, drafted a suggested Charter.

Copies are available here today.

It includes a hundred and more new points on which there may be sincere differences of opinion.

I will highlight a few of these today.

First of all such a new Charter should set forth anew in its preamble the aims and objectives of the peoples of the world for the decades ahead. My suggestion includes a draft of a new Preamble.

Second, three new methods of reaching peaceful solutions to disputes between nations are suggested.

Third, a United Nations Police Peace Force to combat terrorism and stabilize trouble spots around the globe is recommended.

Fourth, a sound and fair and sensible voting method in a new Central Cabinet of Administrators is presented to make

the United Nations more effective in preserving world peace over the next forty years,

Fifth, an inspection service, as well as a commitment to not send nuclear weapons into space is included.

Sixth, a completely new and better financial basis is proposed to provide a sound financial budget for the total activities of a better United Nations Organization.

I will comment briefly on these.

II.

There is an essential need that all peoples everywhere have hope that their problems, their plight, their potential, be considered, without resort to violence.

Thus, there is a major need to improve the peace-making and problem-solving facilities and techniques and methods of the United Nations.

The draft Charter proposes three new controversy-solving entities:

A World Panel of Mediators. Chapter XXII, Articles 144-148.

A World Board of Arbitrators. Chapter XXI, Articles 137-143.

A World Court of Equity. Chapter XX, Articles 128-136.

III.

Very urgent also is a method for the peoples of the world to move effectively against terrorism.

This would be one of the major assignments of a new 250,000 Member United Nations Police Peace Force.

Their other task would be to quiet down and stabilize trouble spots in the world, while the efforts toward solution proceeded. Chapter VII, Articles 39-47.

It is crucial that there be a method of voting which is sound, and fair, and sensible.

On the basis of my long experience, and the suggestions of others, I am suggesting that the voting method for the future should be brought into effect in relationship to a new Central Cabinet of 25 Administrators, consisting of representatives of the major states, and of all other states through groupings.

The Assembly itself should be continued with a one state one voice system, to carry forward the world open forum for all people.

The new voting power, on the other hand, is to be used in establishing a representation, and in the methods of action, of the new Central Cabinet of Administrators. I am proposing that the vote range from 1,000 votes for the ten major states, to one vote for the smallest.

The method of arranging the standing of states should be to give equal effect to three factors:

Total Population.

Annual Gross National Production.

Annual Per Capita Production.

Ranking all Members on these three factors, and then combining the rankings, results in a listing such as suggested in Annex A of the Draft Charter, with the scale of votes moving through groups of ten.

I do believe that decisions in the decades ahead of such a Central Cabinet of Administrators, acting on such a voting basis, would have a rather sound and realistic relationship to a decision by the peoples of the world, and their governments, at any given time. Chapter X, Articles 64-75.

An effective, reliable United Nations Inspection Corps is suggested to verify Arms Limitations and a future of a nuclear weapon-free outer space. Chapter VIII, Articles 48-51.

VI.

For a sound and assured and more adequate and equitable method of financing, I am proposing a method that may be said to have some relationship to the super highway toll road. It is for a small charge of one percent on the import and export of goods and materials, paid one-half by exporters and one-half by importers.

The existence of a successful United Nations will make a basic contribution for future world trade, even as the volume of trade has shown such unprecedented growth in these past 42 years. Chapter XI, Articles 76-80.

Finally, the definition of the status of the Soviet Union and the United States needs exceptional attention and thought and ingenuity.

This is especially significant if we are to keep nuclear weapons out of space, and to provide for effective inspections, and to decrease the danger of a catastrophic nuclear third world war!

You will find in the draft Charter a mixture of restraints and responsibilities and power, which I suggest will reflect in the organization a good mirror of the facts of the world.

This mirror would function within the overall objective to foster conditions for creative competition of social, economic, and political systems without violence and without world war.

The new Charter would continue, with some changes, the Assembly, the Security Council, the Social and Economic Council, the Trusteeship Council, the World Court, and the Secretariat.

I am again emphasizing an invitation for all who wish to be included in the very broad category of peacemakers, to come forward with suggestions and counter-proposals and initiatives for these decades ahead.

I said I was realistic about the difficulties; and may I add that I do not consider these difficulties to be as great as were those we confronted in making the original start 42 years ago!

May I re-emphasize that at that time in 1945 the cynics and doubters and negaters and alarmists and Armageddonites were saying that the then-50 states could never be brought into agreement; and that a third world war in fifteen or twenty years by 1960 or 1965 was inevitable!

When we did reach the agreement of the 50 and all signed the document, we were not naive, we did not declare that we had guaranteed future peace. We said we had established a beach-head in the age-old struggle of the peoples to find the path of lasting peace.

A better United Nations organization is now imperative. The beginnings of the process for such a better United Nations would at once brighten the hopes of all humanity on this earth!

Otherwise, there will be a deepening deterioration of the present United

Nations organization, growing anarchy among states, mounting terrorism, spreading local wars, repeated unilateral action by super-powers, and escalating danger of a nuclear catastrophe.

But if "We the People" of the worldwide human race now move forward from the beach-head of 42 years ago, there can be tremendous benefits to all peoples of all races of all nations in the decades ahead!



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