

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

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As we mark the passing of the first quarter of a century in the history of the United Nations, we could raise glasses high in salute of the fact that the U.N. is still standing. Or we could list past failures and paint a dismal picture for the future based on the inadequacies which events of the past have demonstrated all too vividly.

But I happen to believe that the best way to celebrate is to take a critical view of the United Nations in an attempt to determine what conceivable role it can have in the future. The Charter, when it was first written 26 years ago, was based on assumptions that grew from the trying experience of World War II and to a lesser extent from the aftermath of World War I. We, that is the United States, as one of the original and principal founders of the United Nations, were devising a system based as much on past configurations as on the future. The principles of that system were designed to be a lasting and effective rebuttal to all governments and forces which debased human dignity and fostered international strife.

The goals were Herculean and the means as set out in the Charter, or for that matter whatever means were selected, could not possibly service such goals adequately. Put another way, as our former ambassador to NATO, and Vice Chairman of the United Nations Association-USA has said, "The trouble with the United Nations is that it became indispensable before it became possible. Our problem now is to make it a practical proposition."

I think that this is precisely the problem. We do not have to tamper with the goals, all of which are tributes to human intellect and sensitivity, any more than we have to rewrite the Preamble of our Constitution. But we should concentrate on revising and reforming the structure in order to make it a "practical proposition," to make it responsive to the changing order of our international society.

How to best characterize that changing order? We have witnessed rapid technological change, interdependent and integrated economies, tremendous population growth, ecological alterations, and lowering of the threshold for the rapid internationalization of conflict. All these developments spell the decline of the nation state and require its replacement by an effective international organization.

If this stage in international political development is not perfectly clear, one only need look at specific examples to realize the full portent of where we stand today. The most recent example that I can think of of interdependence is the international monetary crisis. In my estimation the present situation is an outgrowth of several nations' economic policies and the repairing of present circumstances, both commercial and monetary, can only be done through international cooperation and coordination of policies.

Many will say that the dollar has faced trouble and adversity before, but with guts, jawboning, and national inventiveness, we will see our way out in flying colors. I believe that this is only wishful thinking. It is not just a question of the dollar facing a challenge and when we legislate certain measures, everything will turn out just right. On the contrary, the dollar we suddenly realize has become what it always should have been -- an international unit of exchange. It only has value in terms of what other countries, what foreign consumers as

well as our own people give it. And it is a means of translating our own production position. Here, the link is obvious for we simply cannot produce without the inputs from other nations. In short, our economy is international and, therefore, the institutions we devise to regulate the economy must also in large part be international.

To take another, more painful and still blistering example, there is Vietnam. We thought, as did the Soviet Union, that we could localize this conflict and resolve it ourselves. Well, I think that history proves that this was a fallacy. Vietnam has become a sore point for the entire international community and has obstructed forward momentum in many areas which are ripe for international agreement and cooperation.

Or, another defense matter. There was a time that national defense systems, if ever unleashed, could at the worst affect only the warring parties. Now with nuclear weaponry, there is no doubt that the firing of one nuclear missile threatens the entire earth. What, then, could be more demonstrative of the clear need for an effective international organization to help initiate and systematize international decision-making, based on international consensus.

While highly critical of past failures, Secretary General U Thant in his latest annual report on the work of the U.N. stresses the essential place which the U.N. holds for the future maintenance of international peace and security. He emphasized that, "At this stage, the United Nations system provides the best available and workable method by which nationalism and national sovereignty can evolve in order to keep pace with the vast changes that have made the nations of the world interdependent. The United Nations as a global organization has a vital role to play in the control of the new breed of world-wide mass phenomena which we are now, almost helplessly witnessing."

If it has a "vital role," as it undeniably does, and yet if it is inadequately equipped to meet the demands which we would like to place upon it, then the focus of our attention on this 26th birthday should be on revitalizing the United Nations institutionally and spiritually. Spiritual vitalization is the most difficult because it involves the intangible of commitment which no revisions in the Charter or additional legislation can create. Commitment is the stuff of society, be it national or international and without it we are lost.

Although we can't define it in precise terms, we can identify it when it is there. We know that the flying of the U.N. flag alongside the state flag in Minnesota is commitment; we know that major power financial obligations in arrears is not; joint peacekeeping efforts are, the refusal to settle international conflicts under international auspices is not.

An ounce of commitment can go a long way. If there is a minimum of spiritual support for the United Nations, which I believe there is, then it can be maximized through institutional reforms which in turn engender further support. After 26 years we have reached the cold realization that there are institutional inadequacies which help to account for past failures, but, also, I think there is a discernable willingness such as never before, to reform the structure and system of the United Nations. During the 25th anniversary celebrations the General Assembly passed a resolution requesting member states to make their views and suggestions on the review of the U.N. Charter known to the Secretary General.

Accordingly the President set up a U.N. Commission under the Chairmanship of Ambassador Lodge to make a report on this very question. At the same time, several independent studies, including the most distinguished reports by the United Nations Association-USA, and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, were published. Together these reports form a tight weave of suggestions for necessary institutional reform.

If the maintenance of international peace and security are still the main goals of the United Nations, then bold new initiatives must be undertaken to upgrade and strengthen the peacekeeping and disaster relief capabilities of the U.N. While the United Nations Emergency Forces have played a most effective part in staving off a confrontation between the Turkish and Greek communities in Cyprus, the record of the UNEF in the Middle East is far less illustrious. As a start, the United States could earmark specialized units within its own defense forces to be made readily available for U.N. peacekeeping efforts. In a similar fashion military equipment could be made available.

Before resorting to the use of force in the defense of peace, the U.N. Charter offers a number of procedures for pacific settlement of international disputes. These could be expanded. For example, investigatory and mediation procedures could be greatly improved, especially in the field of arms control and disarmament. For those cases following the formal judicial route, more accessibility and a comprehensive definition of jurisdiction would greatly change the stature and functioning of the World Court. The United States could begin the movement for reform by ending the Connally amendment which has severely limited the jurisdiction of the Court. I introduced legislation which would repeal the Connally amendment as early as 1959 and again this year. At the same time, we could make every effort to incorporate into treaties provisions which would explicitly accept the jurisdiction of the Court.

With respect to economic, social and environmental questions, great advances must be made if we are even to approximate the goal of promoting "social progress and better standards of life" for all nations. Here, the United States can lead the way by programming more of its foreign assistance through the multilateral agencies of the U.N. It could also prepare a concrete plan for the establishment of a U.N. Commission on the Environment. This plan could be worked out in detail, as I have suggested in another piece of legislation which I introduced this year in the Senate, at the U.N. Conference on the Environment in Stockholm.

Perhaps the most important and by far the most difficult reforms must be in terms of organizational and structural changes. While the General Assembly has developed into an extremely important organ of the U.N., it is often paralyzed by the frequent failure to agree, something which is most understandable considering the fact that there are 130 member states, large and small, represented. Every attempt should be made to preserve the openness of the General Assembly while at the same time giving due recognition to the varying degrees of power and influence that individual nations have. Some system of weighted voting based on financial contributions within the General Assembly would be extremely helpful in translating the realities of present international political relationships.

The latest efforts of the United States to offer a seat on the Security Council to mainland China should certainly be considered as part of this reform drive. But if the intention is to make the Security Council the vehicle for international understanding and compromise by the major powers, it must include all the major powers. With the seating of China I would suggest that Japan and India be extended the same offer. Certainly Japanese representation is totally consistent with the goals of the U.N. and with historical precedent. Japan was, after all, an original member of the Council of the League of Nations, and is today the third most wealthy nation in the world.

I have just provided what can only be considered an outline of reform. In each instance I have singled out the United States and made suggestions with respect to its U.N. policies.

This bias is out of habit and necessity. The United States was the first great power to propose a workable system of world government. Then, as it got older, it neglected its offspring and tried it along with such tactics as "brinkmanship" and "gamesmanship." Now I think we are discovering how unsuccessful this choice of tactics can be. We are maturing by realizing the limits of our own power.

I would intend that other great powers may be reaching the same stage of consciousness. True or not, the United States should be prepared to inspire the commitment and the institutional reform which can launch the United Nations into another quarter century, stronger than before, more equipped to deal with the complexities of a new age -- an age of true internationalism.

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un. → Success or Failure
on a little of both

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

COLLEGE OF ST. THOMAS
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA
OCTOBER 11, 1971

U. N.
UNESCO
UN. DISARM

Guthrie

Pres. Murphy - ^{Jim} Marrinan

AS WE MARK THE PASSING OF THE FIRST QUARTER OF A CENTURY

IN THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED NATIONS, WE COULD RAISE GLASSES

HIGH IN SALUTE OF THE FACT THAT THE U.N. IS STILL STANDING!

OR WE COULD LIST PAST FAILURES AND PAINT A DISMAL PICTURE

FOR THE FUTURE BASED ON THE INADEQUACIES WHICH EVENTS OF THE

PAST HAVE DEMONSTRATED ALL TOO VIVIDLY!

BUT I HAPPEN TO BELIEVE THAT THE BEST WAY TO CELEBRATE

IS TO TAKE A CRITICAL VIEW OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN AN ATTEMPT

TO DETERMINE WHAT CONCEIVABLE ROLE IT CAN HAVE IN THE FUTURE,

THE CHARTER, WHEN IT WAS FIRST WRITTEN 26 YEARS AGO, WAS BASED

ON ASSUMPTIONS THAT GREW FROM THE TRYING EXPERIENCE OF WORLD

WAR II AND TO A LESSER EXTENT FROM THE AFTERMATH OF WORLD

WAR I.

WE, THAT IS THE UNITED STATES AS ONE OF THE ORIGINAL

AND PRINCIPAL FOUNDERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS, WERE DEVISING A

SYSTEM BASED AS MUCH ON PAST CONFIGURATIONS AS ON THE FUTURE,

↳ THE PRINCIPLES OF THAT SYSTEM WERE DESIGNED TO BE A LASTING

AND EFFECTIVE REBUTTAL TO ALL GOVERNMENTS AND FORCES WHICH

DEBASED HUMAN DIGNITY AND FOSTERED INTERNATIONAL STRIFE.

↳ THE GOALS WERE HERCULEAN, ^{! but} AND THE MEANS AS SET OUT IN THE

CHARTER, ~~OR FOR THAT MATTER WHATEVER MEANS WERE SELECTED,~~ COULD

NOT POSSIBLY SERVICE SUCH GOALS ADEQUATELY. ↳ PUT ANOTHER WAY,

AS OUR FORMER AMBASSADOR TO NATO, AND VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION-USA, HARLAN CLEVELAND, HAS SAID,

↳ THE TROUBLE WITH THE UNITED NATIONS IS THAT IT BECAME INDIS-

PENSABLE BEFORE IT BECAME POSSIBLE.

OUR PROBLEM NOW IS TO MAKE IT A PRACTICAL PROPOSITION.

~~I THINK THAT~~ THIS IS PRECISELY THE PROBLEM. WE DO NOT HAVE TO TAMPER WITH THE GOALS, ALL OF WHICH ARE TRIBUTES TO HUMAN INTELLECT AND SENSITIVITY, ANY MORE THAN WE HAVE TO REWRITE THE PREAMBLE OF OUR CONSTITUTION. BUT WE SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON REVISING AND REFORMING THE STRUCTURE IN ORDER TO MAKE IT A "PRACTICAL PROPOSITION" TO MAKE IT RESPONSIVE TO THE CHANGING ORDER OF OUR INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY.

↳ HOW TO BEST CHARACTERIZE THAT CHANGING ORDER? WE HAVE WITNESSED RAPID TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE, INTERDEPENDENT AND INTEGRATED ECONOMIES, TREMENDOUS POPULATION GROWTH, ECOLOGICAL ALTERATIONS, AND A LOWERING OF THE THRESHOLD FOR THE RAPID INTERNATIONALIZATION OF CONFLICT.

ALL THESE DEVELOPMENTS SPELL THE DECLINE OF THE NATION STATE

make even more necessary

AND REQUIRES THE REINFORCEMENT OF AN EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL

ORGANIZATION,

Interdependence has become the fact of our time.

IF THIS STAGE IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IS

NOT PERFECTLY CLEAR, ONE ONLY NEED LOOK AT SPECIFIC EXAMPLES

TO REALIZE THE FULL PORTENT OF WHERE WE STAND TODAY. THE MOST

RECENT EXAMPLE THAT I CAN THINK OF OF INTERDEPENDENCE IS THE

Monetary crisis

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY CRISIS. IN MY ESTIMATION THE PRESENT

SITUATION IS AN OUTGROWTH OF SEVERAL NATIONS' ECONOMIC POLICIES.

THE REPAIRING OF PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, BOTH COMMERCIAL

AND MONETARY, CAN ONLY BE DONE THROUGH INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

AND COORDINATION OF POLICIES.

MANY WILL SAY THAT THE DOLLAR HAS FACED TROUBLE AND
ADVERSITY BEFORE, BUT WITH GUTS, JAWBONING, AND NATIONAL

INVENTIVENESS, WE WILL SEE OUR WAY OUT IN FLYING COLORS, ~~IT~~

~~BELIEVE THAT~~ THIS IS ONLY WISHFUL THINKING, IT IS NOT JUST

A QUESTION OF THE DOLLAR FACING A CHALLENGE AND WHEN WE

LEGISLATE CERTAIN MEASURES, EVERYTHING WILL TURN OUT JUST

RIGHT ON THE CONTRARY, THE DOLLAR WE ~~SEE~~ now know has

BECOME WHAT IT ALWAYS SHOULD HAVE BEEN -- AN INTERNATIONAL

UNIT OF EXCHANGE. IT ONLY HAS VALUE IN TERMS OF ~~WHAT~~

~~COUNTRY~~ WHAT FOREIGN CONSUMERS AS WELL AS OUR OWN PEOPLE

GIVE IT. AND IT IS A MEANS OF TRANSLATING OUR OWN PRODUCTION

POSITION.

HERE, THE LINK IS OBVIOUS FOR WE SIMPLY CANNOT PRODUCE WITHOUT
THE INPUTS FROM OTHER NATIONS. (IN SHORT, OUR ECONOMY IS
INTERNATIONAL AND, THEREFORE, THE INSTITUTIONS WE DEVISE TO
REGULATE THE ECONOMY MUST ALSO IN LARGE PART BE INTERNATIONAL.

(TO TAKE ANOTHER, MORE PAINFUL AND STILL BLISTERING
EXAMPLE, THERE IS VIETNAM. (WE THOUGHT, AS DID THE SOVIET UNION,
THAT WE COULD LOCALIZE THIS CONFLICT AND RESOLVE IT OURSELVES.
WELL, ~~I~~ HISTORY PROVES THAT THIS WAS A FALLACY.

(VIETNAM HAS BECOME A SORE POINT FOR THE ENTIRE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY AND HAS OBSTRUCTED FORWARD MEMENTUM IN MANY AREAS
WHICH ARE RIPE FOR INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT AND COOPERATION.

↳ OR, ANOTHER DEFENSE MATTER, THERE WAS A TIME THAT
NATIONAL DEFENSE SYSTEMS, IF EVER UNLEASHED, COULD AT THE
WORST AFFECT ONLY THE WARRING PARTIES. ↳ NOW, WITH NUCLEAR
WEAPONRY, THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE FIRING OF NUCLEAR
MISSILES THREATENS THE ENTIRE EARTH. ↳ WHAT, THEN, COULD BE MORE
DEMONSTRATIVE OF THE CLEAR NEED FOR AN EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL
ORGANIZATION TO HELP INITIATE AND SYSTEMATIZE INTERNATIONAL
DECISION-MAKING, BASED ON INTERNATIONAL CONSENSUS.

↳ WHILE HIGHLY CRITICAL OF PAST FAILURES, SECRETARY GENERAL
U. THANT IN HIS LATEST ANNUAL REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE
U.N., STRESSED THE ESSENTIAL PLACE WHICH THE U.N. HOLDS FOR
THE FUTURE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY.

HE EMPHASIZED THAT "AT THIS STAGE THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM PROVIDES THE BEST AVAILABLE AND WORKABLE METHOD BY WHICH NATIONALISM AND NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY CAN EVOLVE IN ORDER TO KEEP PACE WITH THE VAST CHANGES THAT HAVE MADE THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD INTERDEPENDENT. THE UNITED NATIONS AS A GLOBAL ORGANIZATION HAS A VITAL ROLE TO PLAY IN THE CONTROL OF THE NEW BREED OF WORLD-WIDE MASS PHENOMENA WHICH WE ARE NOW, ALMOST HELPLESSLY, WITNESSING."

IF IT HAS A "VITAL ROLE," AS IT UNDENIABLY DOES, AND YET IF IT IS INADEQUATELY EQUIPPED TO MEET THE DEMANDS WHICH WE WOULD LIKE TO PLACE UPON IT, THEN THE FOCUS OF OUR ATTENTION ON THIS 26TH BIRTHDAY SHOULD BE ON REVITALIZING THE UNITED NATIONS INSTITUTIONALLY AND SPIRITUALLY.

↳ SPIRITUAL VITALIZATION IS THE MOST DIFFICULT BECAUSE IT INVOLVES
THE INTANGIBLE OF COMMITMENT WHICH NO REVISIONS IN THE CHARTER
OR ADDITIONAL LEGISLATION CAN CREATE. COMMITMENT IS THE STUFF
OF SOCIETY, BE IT NATIONAL OR INTERNATIONAL AND WITHOUT IT
WE ARE LOST.

↳ ALTHOUGH WE CAN'T DEFINE IT IN PRECISE TERMS, WE CAN
IDENTIFY IT WHEN IT IS THERE. WE KNOW THAT THE FLYING OF THE
U.N. FLAG ALONGSIDE THE STATE FLAG IN MINNESOTA IS COMMITMENT;

↳ WE KNOW THAT "MAJOR POWER FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS IN ARREARS IS
NOT; JOINT PEACEKEEPING EFFORTS ARE; THE REFUSAL TO SETTLE
INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS UNDER INTERNATIONAL AUSPICES IS NOT.

[AN OUNCE OF COMMITMENT CAN GO A LONG WAY. [IF THERE IS
A MINIMUM OF SPIRITUAL SUPPORT FOR THE UNITED NATIONS, WHICH
I BELIEVE THERE IS, THEN IT CAN BE MAXIMIZED THROUGH
INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS WHICH IN TURN ENGENDER FURTHER SUPPORT.

[AFTER 26 YEARS, WE HAVE REACHED THE COLD REALIZATION THAT THERE
ARE INSTITUTIONAL INADEQUACIES WHICH HELP TO ACCOUNT FOR PAST
FAILURES [BUT, ALSO, I THINK THERE IS A DISCERNABLE WILLINGNESS,
SUCH AS NEVER BEFORE, TO REFORM THE STRUCTURE AND SYSTEM OF
THE UNITED NATIONS [DURING THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS
THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY PASSED A RESOLUTION REQUESTING MEMBER
STATES TO MAKE THEIR VIEWS AND SUGGESTIONS ON THE REVIEW OF
THE U.N. CHARTER KNOWN TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL.

↳ ACCORDINGLY THE PRESIDENT SET UP A U.N. COMMISSION UNDER
THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF AMBASSADOR LODGE TO MAKE A REPORT ON THIS
VERY QUESTION. ↳ AT THE SAME TIME SEVERAL INDEPENDENT STUDIES,
INCLUDING ~~THE MOST DISSENTING~~ REPORTS BY THE UNITED NATIONS
ASSOCIATION-USA, AND THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE,
WERE PUBLISHED. ↳ TOGETHER THESE REPORTS FORM A TIGHT WEAVE OF
SUGGESTIONS FOR NECESSARY INSTITUTIONAL REFORM.

↳ IF THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY
ARE STILL THE MAIN GOALS OF THE UNITED NATIONS, THEN BOLD
NEW INITIATIVES MUST BE UNDERTAKEN TO UPGRADE AND STRENGTHEN
THE PEACEKEEPING AND DISASTER RELIEF CAPABILITIES OF THE U.N.

h WHILE THE UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY FORCES HAVE PLAYED A MOST EFFECTIVE PART IN STAVING OFF A CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE TURKISH AND GREEK COMMUNITIES IN CYPRUS, THE RECORD OF THE UNEF IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS FAR LESS ILLUSTRIOUS. AS A START, THE UNITED STATES COULD EARMARK SPECIALIZED UNITS WITHIN ITS OWN DEFENSE FORCES TO BE MADE READILY AVAILABLE FOR U.N. PEACEKEEPING EFFORTS. IN A SIMILAR FASHION MILITARY EQUIPMENT COULD BE MADE AVAILABLE. Funds

h BEFORE RESORTING TO THE USE OF FORCE IN THE DEFENSE OF PEACE, THE U.N. CHARTER OFFERS A NUMBER OF PROCEDURES FOR PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES, THESE COULD BE EXPANDED.

FOR EXAMPLE, INVESTIGATORY AND MEDIATION PROCEDURES

COULD BE GREATLY IMPROVED, ESPECIALLY IN THE FIELD OF ARMS

CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT. FOR THOSE CASES FOLLOWING THE FORMAL

JUDICIAL ROUTE, MORE ACCESSIBILITY AND A COMPREHENSIVE DEFINITION

OF JURISDICTION WOULD GREATLY CHANGE THE STATURE AND FUNCTIONING

OF THE WORLD COURT. THE UNITED STATES COULD BEGIN THE MOVEMENT

FOR REFORM BY ENDING THE CONNALLY AMENDMENT WHICH HAS SEVERELY

LIMITED THE JURISDICTION OF THE COURT. I INTRODUCED LEGISLATION

WHICH WOULD REPEAL THE CONNALLY AMENDMENT AS EARLY AS 1959

AND AGAIN THIS YEAR. AT THE SAME TIME, WE COULD MAKE EVERY

EFFORT TO INCORPORATE INTO TREATIES PROVISIONS WHICH WOULD

EXPLICITLY ACCEPT THE JURISDICTION OF THE COURT.

WITH RESPECT TO ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL
QUESTIONS, GREAT ADVANCES MUST BE MADE IF WE ARE EVEN TO
APPROXIMATE THE GOAL OF PROMOTING "SOCIAL PROGRESS AND BETTER
STANDARDS OF LIFE" FOR ALL NATIONS. HERE, THE UNITED STATES
CAN LEAD THE WAY BY PROGRAMMING MORE OF ITS FOREIGN ASSISTANCE
THROUGH THE MULTILATERAL AGENCIES OF THE U.N. IT COULD ALSO
PREPARE A CONCRETE PLAN FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A U.N.
COMMISSION ON THE ENVIRONMENT. THIS PLAN COULD BE WORKED OUT
IN DETAIL, AS I HAVE SUGGESTED IN ANOTHER PIECE OF LEGISLATION
WHICH I INTRODUCED THIS YEAR IN THE SENATE, AT THE U.N.
CONFERENCE ON THE ENVIRONMENT IN STOCKHOLM.

PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT AND BY FAR THE MOST DIFFICULT REFORMS MUST BE IN TERMS OF ORGANIZATIONAL AND STRUCTURAL CHANGES,

WHILE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY HAS DEVELOPED INTO AN EXTREMELY IMPORTANT ORGAN OF THE U.N., IT IS OFTEN PARALYZED BY THE FREQUENT FAILURE TO AGREE, SOMETHING WHICH IS MOST UNDERSTANDABLE

CONSIDERING THE FACT THAT THERE ARE 130 MEMBER STATES, LARGE

AND SMALL, REPRESENTED. EVERY ATTEMPT SHOULD BE MADE TO PRESERVE

THE OPENNESS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY WHILE AT THE SAME TIME

GIVING DUE RECOGNITION TO THE VARYING DEGREES OF POWER AND

INFLUENCE THAT INDIVIDUAL NATIONS HAVE. SOME SYSTEM OF WEIGHTED

VOTING ~~IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY~~ WITHIN THE GENERAL

ASSEMBLY WOULD BE EXTREMELY HELPFUL IN TRANSLATING THE REALITIES

OF PRESENT INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS.

THE LATEST EFFORTS OF THE UNITED STATES TO OFFER A SEAT ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO MAINLAND CHINA SHOULD CERTAINLY BE CONSIDERED AS PART OF THIS REFORM DRIVE. BUT IF THE INTENTION IS TO MAKE THE SECURITY COUNCIL THE VEHICLE FOR INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING AND COMPROMISE BY THE MAJOR POWERS, IT MUST INCLUDE ALL THE MAJOR POWERS. WITH THE SEATING OF CHINA, IT WOULD SUGGEST THAT JAPAN AND INDIA BE EXTENDED THE SAME OFFER. CERTAINLY JAPANESE REPRESENTATION IS TOTALLY CONSISTENT WITH THE GOALS OF THE U.N. AND WITH HISTORICAL PRECEDENT. JAPAN WAS, AFTER ALL, AN ORIGINAL MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, AND IS TODAY THE THIRD MOST WEALTHY NATION IN THE WORLD.

I HAVE JUST PROVIDED WHAT CAN ONLY BE CONSIDERED AN OUTLINE
OF REFORM. I IN EACH INSTANCE, I HAVE SINGLED OUT THE UNITED
STATES AND MADE SUGGESTIONS WITH RESPECT TO ITS U.N. POLICIES.

L THIS BIAS IS OUT OF HABIT AND NECESSITY. L THE UNITED STATES
WAS THE FIRST GREAT POWER TO PROPOSE A WORKABLE SYSTEM
OF WORLD GOVERNMENT. L THEN, AS IT GOT OLDER, IT NEGLECTED
ITS OFFSPRING AND TRIED IT ALONG WITH SUCH TACTICS AS
"BRINKSMANSHIP" AND "GAMESMANSHIP". L NOW I THINK WE ARE DISCOVERING
HOW UNSUCCESSFUL THIS CHOICE OF TACTICS CAN BE. WE ARE MATURING
BY REALIZING THE LIMITS OF OUR OWN POWER.

I WOULD INTEND THAT OTHER GREAT POWERS MAY BE REACHING
THE SAME STAGE OF CONSCIOUSNESS. TRUE OR NOT, THE UNITED STATES
SHOULD BE PREPARED TO INSPIRE THE COMMITMENT AND THE INSTITUTIONAL
REFORM WHICH CAN LAUNCH THE UNITED NATIONS INTO ANOTHER QUARTER
CENTURY, STRONGER THAN BEFORE, MORE EQUIPPED TO DEAL WITH THE
COMPLEXITIES OF A NEW AGE -- AN AGE OF TRUE INTERNATIONALISM.

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