

FOURTH
CONFERENCE
ON THE
**UNITED
NATIONS**
OF THE
NEXT
DECADE

Quebec, Canada
June 22 - 27, 1969

Sponsored By The Stanley Foundation

Foreword

For the fourth time, distinguished statesmen met under the auspices of The Stanley Foundation to examine the role of the United Nations in the next decade. They continued the discussions of three prior conferences: San Francisco (1965), Burgenstock (1967) and Dubrovnik (1968).

These conferences have examined ideas, programs and emphases that would make the United Nations more effective. They have considered steps to strengthen and improve the United Nations and to encourage nations to use it more. The time focus of these conferences has been the next decade to avoid undue concentration on today's crises and unwarranted attention to Utopian objectives.

Conference participants have been knowledgeable about the United Nations and personally convinced that it needs to play a more important role in the affairs of the world. They have participated as individuals rather than as representatives of governments.

The format of each conference has been an informal, off-the-record exchange of ideas and opinions. No time has been spent in the presentation and debate of prepared papers or positions. No effort has been exerted to achieve consensus where difference of opinion has been noted. The conference statements have been prepared by the rapporteurs to reflect the gist of the conclusions.

The 1965 conference convened at San Francisco on the eve of the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations Charter. Its recommendations (see page 21 of this report) outline prerequisites for a fully effective United Nations, the scope of which would require revision of the Charter.

The 1967 and 1968 conferences concentrated upon more immediate steps toward a more effective United Nations, not requiring Charter revision. Emphasis was placed on peacekeeping, peacemaking, economic development, human rights, universality, financing, and the International Court of Justice. The conclusions of these two conferences, modified and updated, are largely embodied in this report of the fourth conference.

The fourth conference (1969) took as its point of departure probable developments of the next decade posing new problems to the United Nations or indicating new roles that it should fill.

This report is distributed in the hope that it will stimulate study, research and education with respect to the United Nations and its vital role in achieving international peace and security and a better world.

The Stanley Foundation

Opening Remarks

by C. MAXWELL STANLEY
CONFERENCE CHAIRMAN



A new decade will be upon us within a few short months - the 1970s. The first year of this new decade will mark the twenty-fifth birthday of the United Nations. The nuclear age will be of like vintage a year later. The temper and the trend of the forthcoming decade are pertinent to the deliberations of the Fourth CONFERENCE ON THE UNITED NATIONS OF THE NEXT DECADE. Would that we were clairvoyants, able to foretell the profile of the 1970s. Without a crystal ball we can only analyse and speculate.

The dominant factor of the 1950s was the cold war. The United States and the Soviet Union, each with adherents, were locked in a bitter rivalry. They competed for political, economic, military and ideological superiority and status, stopping short of direct armed confrontation. The Soviet Union sought to export Communism, secure its boundaries and balance the nuclear lead of the United States. The U.S. reacted to maintain nuclear superiority, contain the threat of Communist expansion and suspect and fear all things Soviet.

No single factor dominated the 1960s. The decade just ending was one of change and transition. The pace of science accelerated and space travel became commonplace. The cold war waned. The superpowers confronted each other over Cuba but achieved and held a comparatively stable strategic arms balance. A few arms control measures were initiated: the Limited Nuclear Test Ban, the Treaty on Outer Space, and the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. An influx of new nations changed the United Nations from a club of great powers to a forum of the world - at least three-fourths of it. Defense alliances began to deteriorate. The two superpowers became less able to dominate despite their nuclear supremacy. The U.S. had its Vietnam, the Soviet Union its Czechoslovakia and the world its continuation of armed conflict. U.N. programs for economic and social development, while strengthened, were too minuscule to dent the hard shell of the world's poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance. U.N. peacekeeping prospered for a while, but was then weakened due to great power disagreement over financing and authorization. Protest and dissent proliferated.

Caught in such circumstances, the performance of the United Nations has been less than adequate to cope with its delegated responsibility to:

"... save succeeding generations from the scourge of war ... reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights ... establish conditions under which justice and respect for obligations can be maintained, and ... promote social progress and better standards of life and larger freedom ..."

As our Second Conference said at Burgenstock in 1967:

"The United Nations is caught in a vicious circle. Lack of confidence in the United Nations discourages its use and limits its performance. This makes it difficult to achieve the support of nations for the basic changes in the United Nations which are necessary. Yet only a strengthened United Nations can provide the successful performance which is needed to build confidence."

The impact of the 1970s upon the United Nations promises to be different than either the '50s or the '60s. Several important trends and forces are evident. Together, they foretell exciting and difficult times for those responsible for national and international affairs. Such factors as those listed below are bound to leave their imprint upon the United Nations.

STRATEGIC INSTABILITY: Like a space craft on a launching pad, the arms race is poised for another take-off. Early decisions by the superpowers could thrust the arms race into an orbit of strategic instability. The U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. seem ready to forge ahead with both MIRVs and ABMs. Such action would escalate the world's outlay for military establishments beyond the current staggering level of \$180 billion. It would generate further strategic instability and set back efforts to control and limit armaments.

POPULATION EXPLOSION: Stress and strain arise when the population of a home, a building, a city or a nation is doubled. Demographers predict that the world's population will double by the year 2000, if present patterns go unchecked. The impact of burgeoning growth will not be long coming. It will be evident in the 1970s. Food supply, jobs, infrastructure and education for teeming hordes of young people will become even more critical. Governments soon face chaos as world development acquires a new order of magnitude. Unchecked, the population explosion threatens the economic and political stability of many nations, and disturbs all international relations.

POLLUTION: Poisons pour into our atmosphere from vehicles, power plants, industries and homes. Insecticides and herbicides pollute our rivers and lakes. Our oceans are dumping grounds for wastes, nuclear and otherwise. The next

decade will witness rising demand for control and abatement of pollution. Such action transcends national boundaries and calls for international regulation.

SCIENCE: Without abatement, the pace quickens for scientific and technological development. On the positive side it furnishes tools for a better world: medicine, health, agriculture, production, communication, to mention a few. On the negative side it spawns weaponry of increased sophistication: missiles, warheads and warning systems, as well as chemical and biological warfare devices. Significantly, orbiting space detection devices are reducing the need for on the site inspection to assure compliance with future arms control and disarmament agreements. Tragically, scientific progress outstrips advances in the areas of government, economics and human understanding and relations.

ECONOMIC STRAINS: The 1960s will hand to the new decade an armful of lopsided and troublesome economic problems. The gap between the have and the have-not nations widens. Commerce and trade are hampered by confusing national restrictions. Developing countries cannot market their products at fair and predictable prices. The flow of capital into the developing countries is pitifully inadequate and uncertain. The multiplicity of national monetary systems reveals its shortcomings to serve a world economy.

SELF DETERMINATION: The deep-seated instinct for self determination continues to be revealed in ways that challenge the world community. Fragmentation and fratricide are provoked, as in Nigeria. Ministates clamor for independence, as in Anguilla. More sovereign entities are created despite their marginal economic and political viability. Within the United Nations General Assembly, the one nation-one vote concept becomes further unbalanced against the medium and large nations.

POWER STRUCTURE: The dominance of the two superpowers lessens despite their nuclear superiority. Other centers of power, geographical and interest related, are emerging. The European community gains strength and other regional groups crawl forward. The People's Republic of China has increasing impact on the world. Japan and India grow in power. Developing nations tend at times to coalesce on critical issues. These identifiable trends will intensify in the 1970s and affect the power balance of the globe.

NATIONAL FORCE: The habitual use of national military force continues with only occasional exception. Nations, large and small, cling to their historic right to threaten and use armed force as the ultimate instrument of their foreign policy. The military continues to play a strong role in national and international affairs. Nations constantly resort to military solutions for situations basically economic or political. Only rarely are these concepts resisted. The 1970s inherit these legacies of the past, little dimmed by ideas of world community.

PROTEST AND DISSENT: As never before displeasure and dissatisfaction are openly expressed loudly and sometimes violently. Radio, TV and Telstar assure that protest and dissent are no local phenomena. The effect upon public opinion is startling. Establishment is questioned, changes forced and governments are toppled. Although sometimes extreme, the protest of youth reflects genuine concern with the pace of progress: economic, social and political. This concern

is shared, covertly or overtly, by wide segments of population in many countries. Justified or not, such highly visible public reaction adds a dimension of uncertainty to the 1970s.

The 1970s seem fraught with risk and hazard. Pollution poses a growing threat to health and life. Self determination expressed in fragmentation threatens more war. Population growth places heavier burdens on nations already far behind in economic development. Scientific advance further exacerbates the lag of social, economic and political progress. Unsolved economic relations handicap the have as well as the have-not nation. New weapons threaten the strategic balance between the great powers even as their power dominance lessens. The proliferation of nuclear weapons is not yet checked and dispersion of conventional weapons continues. Over all hangs the symbolic threat of the mushroom shaped cloud of nuclear devastation.

The trends and forces offsetting those described above are comparatively weak and puny. World conscience and world community develop slowly as nations continue to rely on national power and national sovereignty. Little determination exists to quickly strengthen and expand world institutions to cope with the problems of a troubled world. Little will is evident to develop an alternate security system to replace reliance on national power.

On balance the 1970s seem fraught with risk and hazard. So much so that the ten years ahead can well be labeled, "The Dangerous Decade". If we really "tell it like it is", we must admit that the road to international peace, security and progress is difficult and dangerous. The future of the United Nations is by no means secure or certain. Most of the trends and forces now visible can harm or weaken the United Nations. An escalation of tensions between the superpowers would harass and threaten the U.N.. On the other hand, superpower détente could encourage them to bypass the United Nations. The Afro-Asian block may become further disenchanted with the U.N. unless there is more rapid development progress. An influx of the ministates and fragmented nations could add confusion and diminish the effectiveness of the United Nations. Together these hazards constitute a real threat to the United Nations.

Our first Conference at San Francisco in 1965 came to the primary conclusion that the United Nations, while rendering many useful and valuable services, is not equipped under its present charter to deal effectively with the continuing arms race, the spread of nuclear weapons to more nations, the growing danger of accidental war and the pressures of population and poverty. They concluded further that unless drastic changes were made in the United Nations that it may not survive the next ten years as a really viable organization. The report contains this language:

"Like an individual who delays needed surgery until his condition becomes desperate, the world has delayed the major operation which is essential to save the United Nations. If the surgery waits too long, the patient will die."

Although danger be the proper label to affix to the 1970s, to do so is not enough. The hour of danger can force the moment of opportunity. The stress of crises may generate the will to act, to innovate, to throw off old habits and to break new ground. Danger will beget urgent action, however, only if faced with calm and intelligent leadership. Otherwise, the reactions to danger are more likely to be those of ingrained habit, fear and prejudice.

Our task at this conference seems clear. Let us forecast the probable profile of the 1970s and candidly appraise its impact upon the United Nations. From such a point of departure we can perhaps propose imaginative ideas and bold programs - new or old - to give the United Nations greater stature and enlarged capability. Nothing could be more appropriate as the United Nations approaches its 25th birthday. A wise man once said:

"Our world is too small for anything but truth and too dangerous for anything but brotherhood."

Both truth and brotherhood will be enhanced by a better, more effective, more respected United Nations.

Message of The Honorable U Thant

SECRETARY - GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS

At the opening of the Fourth Conference on the United Nations of the Next Decade, convened under the auspices of The Stanley Foundation, I wish to extend to the Conference Chairman, Mr. C. Maxwell Stanley, and to the participants my warm greetings and best wishes for the success of your deliberations.



With a high sense of public service and a dedicated support of the United Nations, The Stanley Foundation has brought together, for the fourth time, a panel of distinguished personalities from all main regions of the world for the purpose of discussing the issues which will face the international community in the decade of the seventies, and the ways and means by which the United Nations may contribute to their solution. Your agenda is a demanding one which touches on vital international questions in the political, economic and social fields. On the basis of the results of your past conferences in San Francisco, Burgenstock and Dubrovnik, I am confident, however, that this meeting will successfully accomplish its aims.

We are in the midst of unprecedented changes in national and international societies. The pace of development is so rapid that it is imperative to examine the international scene on a continuing basis in order to tackle the new challenging problems which constantly arise in greater numbers and with increased complexity. Such an examination naturally includes an accurate identification of future issues at a time when it would still be possible to plan the action which may be required to deal with them. Such a task is not confined only to governments; gatherings such as yours can contribute significantly to this process, complementing the deliberations which are conducted at the inter-governmental level, contributing to increased public awareness of international issues, as well as offering points of view and suggestions which may contribute in moulding public opinion on international questions.

I am particularly glad to see the importance given in your discussion outline to economic, social and scientific trends of the next decade which, as you know, has been designated the Second Development Decade by the United Nations. In this connexion, I am sure you agree with me that no effort should be spared to ensure that the Second Development Decade accomplishes its objectives, for there is no task of greater urgency than to uplift the situation of countless millions of human beings who are still living under unacceptable conditions of poverty, ignorance and ill health.

In conclusion, let me reiterate my best wishes for the success of your conference. I look forward to reading the report on your discussions.

Statement by Members

QUEBEC, CANADA
June 22-27, 1969

We face a decade of danger and opportunity.

As we enter the 1970s, the world sits on time bombs: an accelerating arms race, rising racial hostility, exploding population, the widening economic development gap and the lag of human institutions behind scientific progress.



Allen, Khan, Akwei

We continue the work of previous Conferences on the United Nations of the Next Decade held in 1965, 1967 and 1968. These Conferences warned that major changes in the United Nations are needed to make it more capable of maintaining peace, justice and freedom under law. That warning is even more pertinent today, and action to strengthen the United Nations is even more urgent.

But danger creates opportunity, if we have the will to act. The world must seize every opportunity to build a stronger United Nations.

New opportunities lie before us. New roles for the United Nations are opened by world problems such as population, pollution and the new frontiers of the seabed and outer space. Increasing international contacts and the growing interdependence of nations compel new forms of cooperation. The failure of old structures and programs opens the door for new. The idealism of many young people, and their determination to participate in building a better world, should be enlisted to strengthen the United Nations.

The 25th birthday of the United Nations in 1970 should be more than mere ceremony. It is time for a searching examination of the strengths and weaknesses of the United Nations - and new determination to make the United Nations adequate to the dangers and opportunities of the 1970s.

Speaking solely as individuals and recognizing that some differences exist, we propose the following specific steps to make the United Nations more effective:

ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT: Prompt arms control measures are needed to prevent a dangerous new escalation of the arms race in both nuclear and conventional weapons. We recommend prompt new efforts by the great powers to limit and reduce both nuclear and conventional weapons and to prevent introduction of new weapons systems, realistic agreements to prohibit all nuclear weapons tests under necessary safeguards, continued progress in detection and surveillance methods to aid inspection and enforcement of arms

control agreements, new treaties to prohibit chemical and biological warfare and to limit to peaceful purposes the use of the seabed beyond national jurisdiction, and participation of France and the People's Republic of China in disarmament negotiations.

Most participants recommend immediate ratification and full implementation of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty by all nations. Some participants recommend a requirement that all transfers of weapons between countries be reported to and published by the United Nations.

Major progress toward general and complete disarmament will be possible only if the United Nations security system is strengthened so that all nations can rely upon it.

PEACEKEEPING: The nations will not rely on the United Nations until its peacekeeping capability is restored and greatly strengthened, including the capacity to act promptly rather than having to improvise after trouble begins as in the Middle East and the Congo. Most participants urge prompt action to create a permanent United Nations peace force, to be recruited, paid and trained directly by the United Nations. As a first priority, permanent United Nations units should be created for specialized tasks such as communications, logistics and police duty.

More members should earmark and train units of their own national armed forces and police forces for United Nations duty when needed. The United Nations should adopt definite but flexible policies on the scope, control, operation and financing of peacekeeping. Proposals for a special peacekeeping fund, a special scale for financial contributions to peacekeeping, and a peacekeeping staff for the Secretary-General should be seriously considered.

ENFORCEMENT ACTION: In addition to United Nations peacekeeping action, a determined effort is needed to implement Chapter VII of the Charter to enable United Nations peace enforcement action by the Security Council. The Military Staff Committee should be activated and effective organization to plan and administer economic sanctions should be provided. Members should make agreements to provide armed forces on call of the Security Council pursuant to Article 43. When enforcement measures are approved by the Security Council, including economic sanctions, they must be fully and effectively implemented by all members.

PEACEMAKING: The United Nations should play a larger and more determined peacemaking role in solving international problems and conflicts. We recommend: better procedures to monitor Security Council and General



Sanger, Mates,
Haekkerup



Yankov, D. Stanley, Akwei

Assembly resolutions by investigation and reporting; improved methods of international arbitration and greater use of arbitration; increased activities of regional and other international groups to promote peaceful cooperation; more problem-solving facilities for the Secretary-General, including panels of distinguished individuals operating independently of governments to provide objective guidance; support and expansion of the good offices and mediation services of the Secretary-General and his staff; and greater use of these services by the members.

The great powers should cooperate through the United Nations and should abandon the dangerous and obsolete "spheres of influence" concept. The United Nations should help the great powers realize and pursue their mutual interest to maintain peace. Informal groups of other members and the prestige of the Secretary-General should be used to aid this process.

INTERNATIONAL COURT: All states should voluntarily accept without reservation the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice in the categories of international disputes listed in Article 36 of the Statute. All treaties which do not specify other methods of settlement should provide that disputes arising under the treaty shall be determined by the Court. The judicial independence of members of the Court and their freedom from national or other interference must be maintained and enhanced by all suitable methods. Increased efforts are needed to develop and codify contemporary international law. These measures should strengthen the authority of the United Nations to maintain a just peace under law.

HUMAN RIGHTS: We recommend ratification and full implementation of the United Nations human rights conventions by all members. Additional steps to advance human rights should be taken. These measures might include a United Nations Commissioner for Human Rights, a United Nations Human Rights Council, regional treaties and institutions (similar to those in Western Europe) to protect the rights of individuals, and increased publicity, education and research to help remove racial prejudice.

SOUTHERN AFRICA: The explosive situation in Southern Africa is a grave danger to peace and freedom and threatens interracial understanding throughout the world. The Security Council has imposed mandatory sanctions against the illegal minority regime in Southern Rhodesia, but the sanctions have been inadequate because of non-compliance by some nations. Therefore, the



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Security Council must take further action in accordance with the Charter. In the opinion of most participants, such action should include stationing U.N. sanctions inspectors on (or as close as possible to) the Rhodesian borders, or a blockade or other use of force if necessary, as authorized by Article 42. The permanent members of the Security Council and other members having important relations with the area have a special responsibility to help implement Security Council action.

The United Nations and its members should help independent African states bordering Rhodesia or the Republic of South Africa to maintain their independence and to provide a "showcase" of progress and racial harmony. We urge special efforts to communicate with the white youth of Southern Africa and to encourage changed attitudes which will ultimately change national policies.

DEVELOPMENT: We again strongly endorse the statement of the 1967 Conference that: "The critical situation of the developing countries is a growing threat to peace. This great and urgent challenge requires a vastly expanded and dynamic effort under United Nations leadership to attack the problem on many fronts. The developing countries have the primary responsibility for their own development, including the full mobilization of their human and natural resources and the economic, social and structural changes which are necessary for growth. But in order to allow the developing countries to assume full responsibility for their development, it is the duty of the world community to remove obstacles to development and promote an expanding world economy which will benefit all peoples regardless of their present degree of development. Among the measures required are these: increased financial and technical assist-



C. M. Stanley, Smith, Romulo, Rossides

ance, both bilateral and multilateral, on terms which will encourage development; trade policies, including temporary trade preferences, which will enable the developing countries to build their own economies through increased exports; a serious attack on the population problem, including aid to nations willing to accept it; and better coordination of all United Nations development and trade programs."

We repeat these recommendations with increased urgency. United Nations programs to promote development have made limited progress, but they are far too small. The total annual world investment in developing countries is standing still or declining; the developing nations' debt repayment burden is increasing; and the developed nations' contribution to development has fallen far short of the goal set for the First United Nations Development Decade and is only a tiny fraction of their military spending.

A greatly increased effort is essential if the Second United Nations Development Decade is to avoid the failure of the first. The self-interest of every nation requires expanded or enlarged action to replace the present half-hearted effort.



Fairweather, Orn

REMOVAL OF BARRIERS: The world community is severely restricted by barriers to trade and travel and by an inadequate monetary system. The increasing interdependence of nations requires the United Nations and its members to seek realistic new approaches and better coordination of existing efforts in the fields of trade, international investment, monetary policy, communications, and reducing restrictions on travel.

POPULATION: The world is faced with a worsening population problem. Density of population is already an acute problem in some countries. In many other countries, rapid population growth reduces the per capita benefits of economic growth. Both economic development and population planning are essential; progress in either area aids the other.

But the population crisis is not primarily a problem of food; it is also a grave threat to the quality of human life. Stabilization of world population is essential to protect the dignity of the family and the individual. The people of the world are increasingly alarmed and willing to support action.

The United Nations should be a center for family planning research, information, and aid to nations willing to accept it. Firm coordination of overlapping United Nations activities related to population is imperative. Most participants

favor the appointment of a United Nations Commissioner of Population for this purpose. The United Nations should concentrate its efforts where population pressure is most critical, but most nations -- developed and developing -- need family planning. Total resources allocated to the population problem must be greatly increased, including the efforts of private and public agencies, which should be harmonized with the United Nations program.



Vinci, Sen, Khan

HUMAN ENVIRONMENT: The natural environment provides an opportunity for a vital new United Nations role. Pollution is a growing problem, but the threat is matched by the growing public demand for clean air and water. International action is required because most forms of pollution cross national boundaries, and because nations which act against pollution could suffer economic disadvantages if other nations fail to act.

We commend the United Nations General Assembly for calling a Conference on the Human Environment in 1972. We urge prompt planning and research so that the conference can take decisive action.

The conference should draft and submit to the nations an international convention on clean air, clean water and other aspects of the human environment which require international protection. For example, it should be determined whether an international agreement is necessary to deal with the noise problem caused by supersonic aircraft. The convention should provide for international standards for quality of air and water and safeguards against pollution, to be executed by national and local governments. The cost of eliminating pollution will be high, but the cost of inaction would be higher.

SEABED: The seabed is the common heritage of all mankind; the United Nations should be its trustee. The United Nations should take the lead in establishing international law for the seabed, guiding its exploration and development, and protecting the marine environment against damage.

An international convention should be drafted and ratified to assure United Nations control of the seabed and its resources for the benefit of the world. United Nations control should include the entire seabed outside the limits of national jurisdiction. The 1958 Geneva convention on the continental shelf should be revised to remove "limit of exploitability" as a basis for national jurisdiction and to restrict national control to clearly defined limits. An immediate moratorium is needed on further extensions of national jurisdiction or national appropriation. A United Nations agency should be authorized to



Martinez, Rossides, Whitaker, Allmand

administer the seabed, even before a final agreement is reached on jurisdictional limits. This problem is urgent, because the technology which allows increasing use of the seabed will not stand still.

Also, the seabed and its resources may be an important source of revenue for the United Nations. Most participants agree that a system of licenses by the United Nations to various private or public organizations may be the most effective means of developing those resources.

MEMBERSHIP: Universality is fundamental to the United Nations, and the United Nations should move more effectively toward universal membership. In the opinion of most participants, the People's Republic of China should promptly be seated.

The United Nations should seek solutions to the problems of divided countries and so-called ministates which will permit their effective participation in United Nations activities. Most participants believe that the United Nations should provide observer status for both parts of Germany, Korea and Vietnam, without prejudicing questions of recognition and reunification and without encouraging division of nations. Some participants believe the United Nations should set minimum standards for full membership and should create a form of associate membership for extremely small states.

FINANCING: We support orderly growth of the regular budgets for the United Nations and the specialized agencies and a rapid expansion of voluntary contributions to the United Nations system and programs, together with more economy and efficiency in United Nations operations. In addition, the United Nations should be assured new and reliable sources of revenue independent of national contributions. For example, the United Nations might be authorized to collect fees for the use of outer space, international telecommunications frequencies, and international seabed resources.

ORGANIZATION: The United Nations system is weakened by proliferation and overlapping of agencies and programs. Reorganization and better coordination are needed. The United Nations family must restore order in its house and establish firm direction of these many important activities. Each member should coordinate its own national activities which relate to United Nations programs. The work methods and schedule of the General Assembly and its committees should be improved to enable the General Assembly to function more effectively in view of its increased membership and range of concerns. The United Nations must use its limited funds and time more efficiently.

CHARTER REVISION: We favor all practical methods to strengthen the United Nations, including greater use and implementation of the present Charter and use of the amending process under Article 108 to make the Charter and the United Nations more effective. Some of the changes recommended in other parts of this statement may require Charter amendments.

The 1965 Conference pointed out the need for a fundamental revision of the United Nations Charter. Most participants believe that revision of the Charter in accordance with Article 109 is both needed and timely, that a number of problems related to the United Nations could be solved more easily with a fresh and comprehensive approach, and that a preparatory committee should be appointed promptly to assure thorough advance work for a Charter review conference. The United Nations' structure and powers must be revised to keep pace with changing world conditions. Thorough reorganization of the main organs of the United Nations, their functions and their financing is necessary.



Khan, C. M. Stanley, Romulo, Haekkerup

PUBLIC INFORMATION: Increased public support for the United Nations will come primarily through improved United Nations performance in dealing with serious problems. But the United Nations and its members must also do more to present its achievements and challenges in ways that will command the attention and imagination of mankind. The news media and information agencies should give more coverage to the vital non-political work of the United Nations which often goes unnoticed, and should emphasize the fundamental and continuing efforts and problems of the United Nations rather than crises of the moment.

The Second Conference noted that the United Nations is caught in a vicious circle. Lack of confidence in the United Nations discourages its use and limits its performance. This makes it difficult to build support for the basic changes in the United Nations which are necessary. Yet only a strengthened United Nations can provide the successful performance which is needed to create new confidence.

This vicious circle must be broken by taking definite steps to strengthen the United Nations. The 1970s must be a decade of progress toward this goal. Everyone concerned with the future should work for a more effective United Nations which can overcome the dangers of this decade and use its opportunities to build a better world.



FOURTH CONFERENCE ON THE UNITED NATIONS OF THE NEXT DECADE

Quebec, Canada June 22 - 27, 1969

Left to right: Front Row - ROMULO, Philippines; C.M. STANLEY, Chairman; KHAN, Pakistan; HAEKKERUP, Denmark. Second Row - ROSSIDES, Cyprus; SEN, India; HUEBNER, Rapporteur; AKWEI, Ghana; ALLEN, U.S.A.; MATES, Yugoslavia; MARTINEZ, Mexico; ZOLLNER, Dahomey; VINCI, Italy; FAIRWEATHER, Canada. Third Row - SANGER, United Kingdom; YANKOV, Bulgaria; MAKONNEN, Ethiopia; D.M. STANLEY, Rapporteur; WHITAKER, U. S. A.; ALLMAND, Canada; ORN, Sweden; SMITH, Conference Director. Not pictured: KITTANI, Iraq.

Participants

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Chairman: Mr. C. Maxwell Stanley, President, The Stanley Foundation

His Excellency Mr. Richard Maximilian Akwei, Permanent Representative of Ghana to the United Nations.

Mr. Ward P. Allen, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau of International Organization Affairs, United States Department of State.

The Honorable Warren Allmand, Member of Parliament, Canada.

The Honorable Gordon Fairweather, Member of Parliament, Canada.

The Honorable Per Haekkerup, Political Spokesman of the Social Democratic Party in the Danish Parliament; former Foreign Minister of Denmark.

Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, Pakistan, Justice of the International Court of Justice; President of the Seventeenth Session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Mr. I. T. Kittani, Iraq, Director, Executive Office of the Secretary-General, United Nations.

His Excellency Lij Endalkachew Makonnen, Permanent Representative of Ethiopia to the United Nations and Cabinet Minister in the Imperial Ethiopian Government.

Senor Licenciado Don Gustavo Martinez Cabanas, Former Commissioner of Technical Assistance for the United Nations to Mexico; Organization of American States committee member for the Development of Rural Mexico.

The Honorable Leo Mates, Director, Institute for International Politics and Economics, Belgrade; former Ambassador of Yugoslavia to the United States and to the United Nations.

The Honorable Mr. C. Torsten W. Orn, First Secretary of Political Affairs of Swedish Mission to the United Nations.

General Carlos P. Romulo, Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines; President of the Fourth Session of the United Nations General Assembly.

His Excellency Zenon Rossides, Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations.

Mr. Clyde Sanger, Correspondent at the United Nations for the Manchester Guardian and The Economist.

His Excellency Samar Sen, Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations.

His Excellency M. Piero Vinci, Permanent Representative of Italy to the United Nations.

Dr. Urban Whitaker, Professor of International Relations, San Francisco State College.

Dr. Alexander Yankov, Former Counsellor of the Permanent Mission of Bulgaria to the United Nations.

His Excellency M. Maxime-Leopold Zollner, Permanent Representative of the Republic of Dahomey to the United Nations.

Rapporteurs :

The Honorable David M. Stanley, Iowa State Senator and Lawyer.

Mr. Lee W. Huebner, White House Staff Assistant.

Conference Director :

Mr. Jack M. Smith, Executive Director, The Stanley Foundation.

Observations

The following comments prepared by the Conference Chairman touch upon several points that are pertinent to the United Nations of the Next Decade. They concern matters discussed at Quebec and prior conferences, but go beyond the Conference statements.

CHARTER REVIEW: Charter revision through a United Nations Charter Review Conference has been discussed in each of our four conferences. At the San Francisco Conference in 1965, we took a "long look" and viewed Charter change through the review procedure as an imperative. Two years later at Burgenstock we relegated Charter review to a lower priority as we searched for specific steps to thrust the United Nations out of its vicious circle involving lack of confidence and inadequate performance. But in 1968 at Dubrovnik we termed revision of the United Nations Charter, in accordance with Article 109, as both needy and timely. Though most participants did not consider a Charter Review Conference feasible in the near future, some believed that a number of problems related to the U. N. could be solved more easily with such a fresh approach.

At Quebec we went further and recommended that "a preparatory committee should be appointed promptly to assure thorough advance work for a Charter Review Conference." Query: Does this increasing emphasis on the Charter review reflect a greater willingness to use this procedure to change United Nations structure and power in keeping with the needs of a changing world?

POPULATION: The First Conference on the United Nations of the Next Decade took note of the developing pressures of population and their relationship to poverty and development. At Burgenstock we urged "the serious attack upon the population problem including aid to nations willing to accept it." At Dubrovnik we repeated this statement and commented upon the "still inadequate measures to curb population increases." At Quebec, looking into the 1970s, stronger emphasis was placed on the population problem and a separate section of the statement was devoted to it. It views the population crisis as not just one of food and economic development, but more basically as a threat to the quality of human life and an encroachment upon the dignity of the family and the individual. Without doubt the United Nations will be increasingly involved with population and environmental matters in the next decade.

YOUTH: Although the Conference statements do not comment on the youth movement and youth protest, each of the last three groups devoted appreciable time to the subject. Personal opinions of the participants were not uniform, but there was general sympathy with the objectives of youth, if not always with their methods. We recognized the root cause of youth activity to be

dissatisfaction with the "establishment" and its failure to cope adequately with the great issues facing man. On a world level these include crucial problems of war, development, human rights, environment, and international peace and security. We noted youth concerns are most frequently oriented towards domestic issues and relate to world problems only as they impinge on domestic ones. We discussed ways in which youth could become more involved in support of an effective United Nations. To many of us such participation seems an urgent need to offset the inertia and lethargy of governments.

BARRIERS: Each of the four conferences have urged accelerated economic and social advancement of the less developed nations. In this context we have suggested the need to remove obstacles to an expanding world economy to benefit all peoples regardless of their present state of development, with particular reference to trade.

At Quebec we briefly explored the desirability that the United Nations become more involved in overcoming numerous barriers. Travel is impeded by a confusion of immigration procedures regarding passports, visas, and permits. Communication systems are inadequate. Trade is handicapped not only by protective tariffs and quotas but by inadequate mechanisms. The world's inadequate and unstable monetary system is a handicap to development. These and other blocks could well be the subject of greater discussion at a subsequent conference.

ACTION: The four Conferences on the United Nations of the Next Decade have facilitated study and exchange of ideas by able statesmen and scholars knowledgeable and interested in the U. N. Their conclusions, embodied in the several reports of the Conferences, have been given reasonably wide distribution. We receive many favorable comments upon them.

At each of the Conferences there has been an underlying sense of frustration at the lack of action to implement recommendations of the type developed by the participants. Leadership to this end must come from around the world. But, without exception, the participants of our several conferences have urged higher priority be given to the U. N. They suggest broader dissemination of information, more research, other conferences, and, above all, a greater sense of urgency.

Statement of the First Conference

ON THE UNITED NATIONS OF 1975

Menlo Park, California
June 19, 1965

Twenty years after the signing of the United Nations Charter in San Francisco, we have come together as friends of the United Nations who are deeply concerned about its future. Our conference includes citizens of 13 nations from four continents, who speak solely as individuals.

We have studied the changes in the United Nations which are needed in the next ten years, rather than concentrate on immediate crises or utopian proposals.

We have unanimously reached the following conclusions, and have also discussed and noted many detailed steps which will be necessary to implement these conclusions.

NEED FOR A STRENGTHENED UNITED NATIONS: The United Nations is rendering many useful and valuable services. However, under its present Charter the United Nations is not equipped to deal effectively with the continuing armaments race, the spread of nuclear weapons to more nations, the growing danger of accidental war, and the pressures of population and poverty.

Peace and freedom depend upon law and law enforcement. No city or nation could survive without laws, police, and courts. The United Nations and the world community cannot survive without enforceable world law, world police, and world courts for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Unless drastic changes are made in the United Nations Charter, there is grave danger that the United Nations may not survive the next ten years. Like an individual who delays needed surgery until his condition becomes desperate, the world has delayed the major operation which is essential to save the United Nations. If the surgery waits too long, the patient will die.

NECESSARY CHANGES IN THE UNITED NATIONS: The United Nations must be greatly strengthened to provide these essential requirements for peace:

1 Complete and enforced disarmament of all nations, in carefully controlled stages. When the disarmament process is complete, each nation would retain only strictly limited and lightly armed police forces for internal order. Significant progress in disarmament will not be possible without parallel progress toward the provision of international security through the United Nations.

2 A permanent United Nations peace force to maintain international peace and security; and an effective United Nations inspection system to supervise disarmament.

3 A General Assembly empowered to adopt binding rules and regulations in respect to the peace-keeping functions of the strengthened United Nations and implementing the disarmament plan; a revised Security Council responsible to the General Assembly; and, in the opinion of most but not all of the conferees, a revised voting system appropriate to the strengthened United Nations, including abolition of the present "veto power" in the Security Council.

4 A strengthened International Court of Justice empowered to interpret the United Nations Charter and decide all international legal disputes; a system of regional courts; and other tribunals and agencies to settle international disputes which are not capable of decision upon legal principles. Membership in the United Nations should carry with it the acceptance of the jurisdiction of the International Court in all international disputes.

5 A world development program. As a matter of human survival, the world must use a substantially larger share of its resources to promote the economic and social advancement of the less-developed nations. Expansion and better coordination of existing development programs are urgently needed. A major part of the savings from disarmament should be used for a large-scale development program administrated by the United Nations.

6 A reliable and adequate revenue system for the strengthened United Nations.

7 Safeguards to prevent abuse of power by the strengthened United Nations, and a clear reservation to the member states and their peoples of all powers not granted to the United Nations under the revised Charter.

8 Eligibility of all nations for membership in the United Nations. Disarmament will not be possible unless all nations are subject to the enforcement system.

CHARTER REVIEW IMPERATIVE: Because most of these changes require Charter revision, a United Nations Charter Review Conference must be called at the earliest possible date under Article 109 of the Charter, to adopt the necessary Charter amendments for submission to the member nations.

HUMAN RIGHTS: The draft of United Nations covenants on human rights, including necessary implementation provisions, should promptly be adopted by the General Assembly and ratified by all nations.

APPEAL FOR ACTION: We appeal to the peoples and governments of the world to face the present crisis and act while there is still time. Every citizen and every nation should press for a Charter Review Conference until the demand becomes irresistible. The smaller nations now have the opportunity to lead the way. National governments, private organizations, and individuals should immediately begin intensive study of United Nations Charter revision and formulation of proposed changes.

NOTHING LESS WILL SUCCEED: We confine our recommendations to the minimum essentials for peace. Nothing less than enforceable world law can succeed. The strengthened United Nations which we advocate will not change the nature of man or solve all the world's problems, but it will keep the human race from committing suicide.

IT MUST BE DONE! The difficulties of building enforceable world law are great, but the hazards of a world without enforceable law are greater. We have heard all the reasons why it cannot be done, but we know that it must be done. We speak for an idea whose time has come.

Participants of Prior Conferences

The Hon. Chief S. O. ADEBO, Nigeria, Executive Director of United Nations Institute for Training and Research.

The Hon. Zulfikar Ali BHUTTO, former Foreign Minister of Pakistan.

Mr. Andrew BOYD, Great Britain, Foreign Affairs Editor of "The Economist".

General E.L.M. BURNS, Advisor to the Government of Canada on Disarmament.

M. Robert BURON, France, President of Development Center of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

Mr. Grenville CLARK, United States, (deceased) Co-author of "World Peace Through World Law".

The Hon. Sori COULIBALY, Counselor on Foreign Affairs to the President of Mali; former Ambassador to the United Nations.

H.E. Gabriel M. d'ARBOUSSIER, Senegal, Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany.

The Hon. Gordon FAIRWEATHER, Member of Parliament, Canada.

The Hon. Donald M. FRASER, United States, Foreign Affairs Committee, House of Representatives.

The Hon. Per HAEKKERUP, Political Spokesman of the Social Democratic Party in the Danish Parliament; former Foreign Minister of Denmark.

Dr. Ahmad HOUMAN, Iran, former Assistant to the Prime Minister and Vice Minister of the Imperial Court.

Sir Muhammad Zafrulla KHAN, Pakistan, Justice of the International Court of Justice; President, Seventeenth Session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Dr. Hermod LANNUNG, Member of Danish Delegation to the United Nations.

H. E. Lij Endalkachew MAKONNEN, Permanent Representative of Ethiopia to the United Nations and Cabinet Minister in the Imperial Ethiopian Government.

The Hon. Leo MATES, Director, Institute for International Politics and Economics; former Ambassador of Yugoslavia to the United States and to the United Nations.

H. E. Mr. Akira MATSUI, Ambassador of Japan to France.

The Hon. Jose Antonio MAYOBRE, Venezuela, former Executive Secretary of United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America.

The Hon. F. Bradford MORSE, United States, Foreign Affairs Committee, House of Representatives.

The Hon. B. K. NEHRU, India, Governor of Assam; former Ambassador to the United States.

The Hon. Sivert A. NIELSEN, President of Bergens Privatbank; former Ambassador of Norway to the United States.

The Hon. Glenn A. OLDS, Ambassador of the United States to the United Nations.

The Hon. Dr. Adnan PACHACHI, former Ambassador of Iraq to the United Nations.

H. E. S. Edward PEAL, Ambassador of Liberia to the United States.

The Hon. David H. POPPER, Ambassador of the United States to Cyprus.

Dr. Luis QUINTANILLA, Mexico, former President of the Council, Organization of American States.

The Hon. Dr. Majid RAHNEMA, former Ambassador of Iran to Switzerland; Minister of Science and Higher Education.

General Carlos P. ROMULO, Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines; President, Fourth Session of the United Nations General Assembly.

H. E. Zenon ROSSIDES, Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations.

Mr. Konstantin SMIRNOV, Embassy of the U.S.S.R., Belgrade.

The Hon. Zdenko STAMBUK, Chief Editor of "Review of International Affairs" and Member of the Federal Parliament of Yugoslavia.

The Hon. M. van der STOEL, Member of Parliament, Netherlands.

The Hon. A.Z.N. SWAI, Tanzania, Minister of State for the Union.

Dr. Hideki YUKAWA, Japan, Director of Research Institute for Fundamental Physics, Kyoto University; Nobel Prize in Physics, 1949.

RAPORTEURS:

Mr. Robert H. ESTABROOK, United Nations Correspondent, The Washington Post.

The Hon. David M. STANLEY, Iowa State Senator and Lawyer.

Mr. Richard H. STANLEY, Vice President, The Stanley Foundation.

The Stanley Foundation

The Fourth CONFERENCE ON THE UNITED NATIONS OF THE NEXT DECADE at Quebec was sponsored by The Stanley Foundation. A primary interest of The Foundation is to encourage study and research in the field of foreign relations toward the achievement of a secure peace with freedom and justice.

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