

NOTE: I think this should have your attention. Would like to know about this man. Think the letter from Congressman Plumley should be answered preferably by you or Radebaugh or someone explaining that a small group of ~~San Francisco~~ *Minnesota* supporters handled the Wisconsin matter and were sincere and were insistent because they believed in their man above everyone, including W. W. The letter might state that his letter was referred for reply or something of that kind. I believe that you should see that such a careful letter is written. You know the principles on which the S. campaign was conducted - constructive - attacking no one - not against W. or anyone but for S. on his principles and record. Might indicate results as between S. & W. in Wisconsin, Nebraska.

Member
Million Dollar Round Table

Telephone Marquette 1535

SECURITY MUTUAL LIFE
INSURANCE COMPANY
Binghampton, N. Y.

MILTON R. POLLAND
General Agent
312 E. Wisconsin Avenue
Milwaukee 2, Wisconsin

May 24th, 1945

Commander Harold Stassen
World Security Conference
San Francisco, California

Dear Commander Stassen:

It has been some time now since I mailed out the last of the reprints of your "American World Policy For Peace & Prosperity" speech. In looking over what I imagine is the bulk of the replies to this mailing, I find a surprisingly large number of comments and favorable impressions. Of course a lot of them came in from those to whom I had also included a personal letter, but a good number have also come in from those who got only the mimeographed copy.

I have asked Mr. Harold Gauer, my personal assistant in this matter, to go through this file and extract some of the comment and observations received that might be of interest to you, and these are appended herewith.

I might add that people locally have also contacted me personally with their expressions of good will and offers to

help in any way they can. Charles I. Wesley, Milwaukee industrialist for instance, who was for Dewey in 1940, and who stayed away from Willkie in 1944, is enthusiastic and has committed himself to me for all possible support. Another is Colonel Piasecki of the 4th congressional district, publisher of the Kurier Polski an influential Polish Daily newspaper, who insists that support for you is a very important matter.

Exerpts from the file on your speech reprint follow:

RALPH NELSON Register of Deeds, Superior, Wisconsin:

"I hope my negligence in writing does not appear to be a lack of enthusiasm for Commander Stassen's beliefs and ideals. In my opinion he measures higher on World Affairs than any statesman on the political horizon today. I am afraid, however, that if the Republican majority does not face the next campaign realistically they will be doomed for a long time. Thus we cannot afford to gamble on a standard bearer. We will have to exert every effort to give America a chance to vote for a man who states his views as clearly and frankly as Stassen. In this connection it is our duty to see that the forces who so smugly stopped Wendell Willkie will never have the chance to select a nominee again. You can count on me etc."

GORDON H KEYES, Shawano, Wisconsin:

" Thanks etc. Since I did not hear it broadcast I was very interested.have been much interested in Mr. Stassen's progress. Since Mr. Willkie's death it is fortunate to have him expounding substantially the same sentiments.I am, unfortunately, living in what might be called one of Col. McCormick's better fertilized garden spots....fortunately most of Wisconsin seems a trifle less reactionaryI believe many of us, instead of FDR, would have voted for either Commander Stassen or Mr. Willkie had it been possible to do so. I would appreciate future information about Commander Stassen, and think local papers will help out if they get the material in time. I shall be glad to do what I can to aid in supporting Mr. Willkie's most logical successor, Commander Stassen."

C. H. Strick, Euclaire, Wisconsin

"Commander Stassen pays a beautiful tribute to my good friend Wendell Willkie. If there is anything I can do to help the cause along I sure will do so, etc"

J. D. FERGUSON, President & Editor Milwaukee Journal:

"Thanks for your letter about Commander Stassen. I should like very much to talk with him, either at the JOURNAL, or I would be pleased to have you and the Commander either at luncheon or for dinner.....etc."

Commander Stassen page 3

BILL GHARRITY, Chippewa Herald-Telegram, Chippewa Falls Wis.:

"I have been watching this guy for some time.....I agree with every sentence in his speech, the only thing is I am just human enough to keep asking myself what the hell he was doing in there last campaign if he wasn't splitting our vote. Even so, perhaps we ought to start thinking about him in connection with 1948 and if so, perhaps we ought to do our thinking early....."

CONGRESSMAN CHARLES A PLUMLEY of Vermont:

"Thanks, etc. Hearing it and reading it, I felt almost as though Wendell Willkie himself were speaking.What I don't understand is why Stassen permitted his name to be used against Willkie. I have been told that he did not permit it and it was done over his protest. I would like to know about that for sure. And I am one of a very large number of good Republicans who will want to know the answer to that question eventually. Etc...."

C. E. BROUGHTON, Sheboygan Press, Sheboygan, Wisconsin:

"In the immediate future I intend to publish this as a special feature. I would like a photograph from which I can make a double column cut of Commander Stassen. Can you furnish this to me? I commend your attitude on Commander Stassen...etc....."

JOHN COWLES, President, Minneapolis Star Journal & Tribune:

"The speech was excellent. After the war Stassen will have, I think, a great future in public service."To my mind, he fills the shoes that Willkie's death has left vacant, than any other man in the country.....etc."

D.C.EVEREST, President, Marathon Corporation, Rothschild, Wis:

".....very sensible presentation of our present world situation. I do not think you have made any mistake in having this speech re-printed and distributed and I appreciate very much ...etc."

J.A.O.Preuss, Vice President W.A.Alexander & Co.:

"I had the privilege of talking to him the day before he left for the South Pacific, etc....."

BEN MARCUS, State Motor Vehicle Dept, Madison, Wisconsin

"heard same over the radio, I would like to keep this speech however, for future reference. I am very glad that Mr. Stassen is following in the line of Mr. Willkie, etc....."

EDMUND WATERMAN, 19 Rector St., New York City

".....do you know the Commander personally? If so, I would like you

to extend an invitation to him to meet with a group of our faith either in Chicago or New York at his convenience. It would be helpful if some of us knew him and he knew them...etc."

BARTLEY C. CRUM, San Francisco California

".....it is one of the best speeches that has been made. It received widespread approval here.....as of this writing Commander Stassen appears to me to be the logical contender for the Republican nomination. Certainly he is the only progressive Republican I know who at this time, has a chance.I feel that it is up to all of us to back Harold up to the hilt in the San Francisco conference. He will have very shrewd opponents, who not only mean no good to him but also no good to the country.of course, you know that before Wendell's death he felt pretty bitter about Harold. He had a feeling, I think, that in the Wisconsin Primary fight, the Stassen forces were aligned with very reactionary groups. You would know much better than I whether Wendell's feeling was borne out by the facts.my own conviction, however, is that Stassen is genuinely devoted to the cause in which we all believe, and in all probability we will find him the only person who can both get the Republican nomination and be elected.....etc."

M. C. EPIFANIO, Stamford, Connecticut:

"I think it was splendid of you to have this circulated and feel you are doing a great public service. I would be grateful if you would forward me 16 copies of reprints of Commander Stassen's radio speech with your invoice, etc....."

J. P. KLEIN, Wausau, Wisconsin;

"Commander Stassen comes out fearlessly instead of with meaningless phrases would you please send a copy to Mr. George Till, of this city who heard his speech as was much impressed with it.etc."

* * * * *

The above comments seem to be representative of the whole, and include some of the less articulate reactions also, which, I feel are ~~now~~ the less valuable than those of our more active friends.

With every best wish, I am

Yours most sincerely

Milt Polland

Milton R. Polland

HG/

(Press clipping)

"INSIDE STUFF - Some of Wisconsin's bigwig

Republicans are sending word to Cdr. Harold E. Stassen, Minnesota's farmer governor, that they think well of him as presidential timber in 1948. Stassen has said that the United States has left 'isolationism far behind.' In this group are bigwigs who were cool toward 'one world' Willkie."

485. Bureau
May 28, '45

MEMO--HES

This is the piece written by Jim Tripp, mentioned in a recent letter which I sent you+ Thought fact that Jim was doing some work "by request", it might interest you+ In case you do not recall, "Jim" is the "Christmas" of Illinois, and before he enlisted, held the same "job" in that state that I have here--only he's very political minded+ He's been with XX Bomb Command since it started training+ Recently was identified with "58th Bomb Wing" and just recently has moved from APO 493 to 247+ I suspect Yungning operation, details of which were made public last night+ And it seems to me that he's a good guy to have on our side; at least I've been doing all the evangelist work that came to mind+ He started out to start and finish as a Pvt," but he's staggered up to a S/Sgt--refused several commission offers

SUGGEST you have the Aides read it, for criticism as to whether it is true "GI viewpoint+"

Jim writes me: " Enclosed is the written for "Pete" Green, on request+ Mebby you can use some of the ideas in your radio show+"

SEE

APG 247 c/o Postmaster
San Francisco, California
17 May 1945

The Honorable Dwight H. Green,
Governor of Illinois,
State House,
Springfield, Illinois.

Dear Governor:

Your interesting letter of 9 April spent more than a month flying around the world to catch up with me and came the last leg of the journey on a B-29. I received it only the day before yesterday. You will note from the return address that I have changed both organizations and stations since I last dropped you a note.

Need I tell you that your letter was welcome? It was like a breath of air from home; recalling to my mind for a little while, before I had to get back to the task of the moment, the familiar patterns of our old life in Springfield and Chicago. And I was naturally pleased that you should think of me in connection with your own interest in post-war problems.

Your insistence that service men be given a major voice in shaping the post-war world is greatly appreciated, not only by the men from Illinois whom I have met but by service men from many other states as well. When the overseas news service carried a brief announcement of your statement some weeks back, many of my companions who know of my friendship with you called the news item to my attention and all with the comment, "He's got the right idea."

Personally, I want to thank you for this opportunity to crystallize my own observations and opinions on this very serious and important subject. For almost two years I have been noting the opinions and emotional responses, both expressed and those translated into action, of the service men around me concerning America's future relationship with the rest of the world. Of course, I have seen and heard the reactions of only a few thousand men, out of more than 10,000,000, but from this sample certain trends are evident. While there is no unanimity among so large a group of men, I think the following report and deductions are fairly representative.

If the GI thought it at all possible, he would like to be an isolationist -- not in the old political sense but in a deeper personal way. The American soldier has no conceit that he is Heaven's Chosen or a special brand of Herren-volk, but his contacts with the rest of the world have disappointed him. Coupled with his nostalgia and lack of the conveniences of American mass production, his impact with the shortcomings of other peoples of the world have made him envision America as a kind of Utopia. The average GI probably would scoff at the sentimentality implied, but his dream of America as he sits in far off places can rather well be summed up in our old patriotic hymn, "America The Beautiful." The United States and its way of life unquestionably are beautiful, but to the lonely GI, time and distance have mended every flaw. This dream of America, in turn makes the war-bred chaos and the moral upheaval he sees about him in foreign lands all the more despicable.

When a GI sees a thriving Black Market in Paris or Chungking, he is likely to generalize that all Frenchmen and all Chinese leaders are dishonest; and forgets about the paving scandal back in Podunk Center. When he sees an Eurasian sell his daughter into prostitution, he concludes that all such peoples are lack-

ing in basic sex morality and honor; and forgets that economic and social pressures sometimes cause prostitution in America. When he sees millions of Indian coolies loafing in the shade, he decides that all Indians are lazy and lacking in initiative; and fails to take into account the amount of work a man can do on a handful of rice a day. When he sees a caste system in many places in both the Orient and Europe that holds in scorn the man who works with his hands, thus crippling industry and self-reliance, he is puzzled and disgusted; and forgets our own treatment in many places of the negro and the underprivileged. When he sees power politics and political "deals" that appear to be motivated entirely by greed or petty personal whims of leaders, he is angry and resentful; and forgets the Hague machine and similar groups in our own national life.

That this situation should be true needs little comment or explanation. And it is in no way a condemnation of the American soldier, but rather an evidence of his fundamental idealism. All of us long for the old familiar ways -- "The happy highways where we went and cannot come again." Most of us dislike change. When we come up against customs and ethical, economic or political systems that do not square with those we have learned to hold dear, we react against them emotionally. Solid in the turmoil of war so many of us have the time or opportunity to study, analyze and evaluate the situations we meet in terms of their historical and geopolitical causes. It also is difficult to take an objective and cosmic view when one lives in the microcosm of the Army and is cut off from all but the most elemental facts of existence.

The next result of the experiences overseas is to make millions of men want to get home to our beautiful, clean and prosperous United States. Certainly, a majority of the GI's who return from foreign service will be in no mood to set up and finance an international Soup Kitchen and Uplift Society. Even fewer will have any disposition to support any international program which will call for a decrease in the national sovereignty of the United States. Fewer still will cooperate in any movement to increase the living standards of any other people in the world at the expense of reducing our own standards of living.

But while the GI would like to withdraw himself from the rest of the world and to relax in the peace, security and freedom of his own beloved land, war has taught him realism. He knows that no man and no nation can be isolated from or insulated against the rest of the world. The B-29 which can fly from the heart of India and rack destruction on the homeland of Japan and the V-Bomb which can soar from the center of Europe to strike his own America have demonstrated that. The average GI today realizes that as a matter of self-interest he must take part in the affairs of the whole world.

Thus, while the idea of a super world-state would be almost impossible to sell to American veterans, the average GI is definitely in favor of some kind of world peace organization. He does not want generalizations and flowery resolutions; he wants basic, specific and limited machinery which will help to prevent another war which would take him or his children away from home. Although it is unsafe to make categorical statements about what is in the hearts and minds of 10,000,000 men, the following appears to be about the maximum international program that GI's generally would support.

FIRST: A basic statement of world peace aims, implemented by simple machinery for settling international disputes. Although most GI's have thought little about the details of this machinery, from observation it is believed that many would

favor a three step program along these lines:

sovereignty of the American people in dealing with internal crime.

THIRD: Development of international standards and controls in certain limited economic spheres

Step One. Efforts at conciliation by a major power of any dispute arising in its "sphere of influence." If this step failed, then;

Step Two. Mediation by a specially trained staff of experts (non-military) permanently employed by the World Peace Organization. If this step failed, then;

Step Three. Compulsory arbitration of the dispute by a court or commission of the World Peace Organization, backed by armed force.

Realizing that such a world peace program would be futile without active participation by the United States, most veterans, I believe, would favor firm commitment of the United States to realistic and prompt action to back up the final mandates of the arbitration court or commission.

SECOND: A simple and basic world-wide code of justice, covering a limited number of "world" crimes. The basic element of such a code, would be the provision that no person in the world could be executed or imprisoned without a public trial. To make the code effective it would include a sanction providing that any public official anywhere in the world who executed or imprisoned any person without public trial would be turned over to a world court of justice for trial and punishment upon conviction. This would of necessity require the armed intervention of signatory nations in event a nation refused to deliver an official for trial upon complaint.

This code of justice also might include the international control of such heinous crimes as international opium and narcotic sales, international prostitution and slavery. The crimes punishable before an international court would of necessity have to be limited and specific, so as not to infringe unduly on the sovereignty of the American people in dealing with internal crime.

THIRD: Development of international standards and controls in certain limited economic spheres. From observation, I believe that most veterans would prefer to see these standards developed by a series of separate conventions and agreements. These might include:

An international monetary system. This would be supported by any GI who has had to convert dollars into rupees, francs or pounds.

An international system of weights and measures.

Some international regulation of the exchange in scarce raw materials, especially those required for the manufacture of armaments. Agreement on this in principle is almost unanimous, but what products are to be controlled and how the controls are to be effected is a source of considerable disagreement. Many GI's are afraid of the cartel method of control.

Reshifting of world distribution systems so as to insure each people an opportunity to live above a bare subsistence level.

You will note that some phases of this international "program" do not appear consistent with the basic observation that the GI does not want to sacrifice any of America's sovereignty or economic advantages. Perhaps they are inconsistent, but then we are an inconsistent people -- and humanity as a whole has never built its social structure from a perfectly logical or scientific blueprint. If these proposals

form a workable compromise, perhaps that is all we can hope for at this stage of world development. Certainly, we as a democratic nation cannot develop or progress more rapidly in the field of international cooperation than our people, especially the veterans of this war, wish.

Personally, I wish that we might have a world brotherhood of nations and that there were some quick and easy way of guaranteeing the Four Freedoms of the Atlantic Charter for the whole world, for that would be the way to permanent world peace. But from observation of my fellow soldiers and from seeing the state of social and political development in many places of the world, I cannot help concluding that we are not yet ready for that. And as any student of history knows, Freedoms are not given out, they are not superimposed from above, but they are earned by each people and by each generation anew.

This letter has grown rather long, but I presumed you wanted a rather complete report. I trust that it will be of at least half as much value to you in your study of GI opinion as it has been to me in thinking it through and recording my observations.

With best personal regards and sincerest wishes for the success of your administration, I am

Very truly yours,

S/Sgt. James E. Tripp 36 764 791
Hq & Hq Sq 58th Bombardment Wing,
APO 247 c/o Postmaster,
San Francisco, Calif.

THE HOOVER LIBRARY ON WAR, REVOLUTION, AND PEACE
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May 28, 1945

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TO: COMMANDER STASSEN

FROM: H. H. FISHER

Here is the book which I mentioned some days ago and attached is a copy of the letter of acknowledgment which I have written to Mr. Guérard.

As I said the other day, he is one of the most distinguished of contemporary writers on European affairs and a very great admirer of the stand you have taken on international questions.

HHF)fs

C
O
P
Y

Hoover Library

May 28, 1945

Dear Albert:

Because I have not been to the city at reasonable hours for several days I did not turn over your book to Commander Stassen as promptly as I intended to.

I know that he will appreciate very much your kindness in presenting it to him and will value the inscription although you did not give him quite all the rank he has earned. He is, as you realize, frightfully busy and there is bound to be considerable delay in his acknowledgment, partly through my fault and because of the great pressure he is working under.

Sincerely,

H. H. Fisher

HHF)fs

Professor Albert Guérard
Stanford University
California

May 30, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR Mr. Leo Pasvolsky

SUBJECT: Proposed Change in Sponsoring Government's Amendment to Chapter VIII, Section C, Paragraph 2.

As suggested after today's Delegation meeting, I have made a detailed analysis of the French proposed amendment to Chapter VIII, Section C, Paragraph 2, and present to you the reasons for my position.

My overall impression is that the language, as agreed by the four parties, makes it quite clear that it is not contemplated that there should be freedom of enforcement action in Europe unless it is either agreed upon by the victorious Allied powers or by the Security Council and that the mutual assistance pacts must be operated in a manner consistent with the Allied powers' wishes or the Security Council's decisions.

In fact, you will recall that in the four power discussions the words "to the extent not inconsistent with Article 12, 2" were dropped as being redundant.

It is my view that the mutual assistance pacts, so far as enforcement action is concerned, should be supplementary to and in support of the victorious powers and the Security Council and should not supersede either one of these if they are effective.

I believe the French amendment would change the entire interpretation of the article and make it not only possible but probable that enforcement action would be taken in Europe in complete disregard of the United States of America, because it would be taken under mutual assistance pacts without reference to either the victorious powers (of which we are one) or the Security Council (of which we are a member).

My detailed analysis follows:

(a) The French amendment puts a period after "states" instead of a comma and thereby takes away the limiting language at the end of the sentence. I feel strongly that, from an interpretative viewpoint, the limitation on the exception should be in the same sentence as the exception itself.

(b) The French amendment refers to the governments party to the arrangements, whereas the four-power proposal refers to the governments concerned. We are a government concerned but we are not a party to the arrangements and I doubt if we ever will become a party to the treaties that exist between Russia and France and Russia and Great Britain; therefore, this directly tends to cut us out of Europe.

(c) The four-power amendment had a phrase in it which needed subsequent interpretation and clarification when it stated "by a state now at war with the United Nations." At the time this four-power amendment was agreed upon, neither Finland nor Italy nor Rumania was at war with the United Nations. The French amendment changes this to read "by a state enemy of the United Nations in this war." This would clearly direct Finland, Italy and Rumania back into the freedom of action area of the mutual assistance pacts. *our Power* Granted that there is a conflict between the language of the French amendment in this respect and the language of the original Dumbarton Oaks proposals, it is my hope that in resolving this conflict we at least keep Finland and Italy out of the category of enemy states against which there may be a certain freedom of action.

(d) There is also a possible interpretation of the new sentence that the Security Council could never be charged with responsibility for preventing further aggression by a state enemy of the United Nations in this war unless the governments parties to regional arrangements, who might include governments who are not even members of the Security Council, request the Security Council to take over.

I consider these to be extremely serious questions of interpretation and of substance and in the interpretation there would tend to be a presumption in favor of the French interpretation since it is their amendment and since four-power language is stricken out in the acceptance of it.

This is a matter of high policy which can have extremely serious effects upon our future participation in European affairs and can be a tragic weakness in the charter, which would cause a reaction of keen disappointment and cynicism on the part of the American people, if two European powers act in a bilateral manner under their own interpretation of this clause without consulting the United States.

Therefore, I would further like to know what the French interpretation of their own amendment is and I am not at all convinced that their government is in trouble over this issue, as I have seen no indications in the press of any attack on their government on this basis nor do I understand that there is any information from our Embassy in Paris to this effect.

I conclude by stating that if there is actually any difficulty in the meaning of the present language of the four-power amendment, I am entirely agreeable to adjusting this language provided that not only the language but the interpretation of it is clearly agreed upon and that we do not open any door by which the United States might be excluded from European enforcement action and enforcement decisions in which we wish to participate.

Harold E. Stassen

HES:bms

THE BENNETT OFFICE
1601 FOSHAY TOWER
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

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JOHN AURA, AUDITOR

PERSONAL

June 4th, 1945

Commander Harold E. Stassen
Fairmont Hotel
San Francisco, California

Dear Harold:

The insurance savings account in the Farmers & Mechanics is in good shape with a balance on hand more than sufficient to cover insurance premiums for the next twelve months.

Some of Walter Judd's friends and supporters are urging that he go out for the Senate seat now held by Shipstead. I am inclined to view this as unwise or at least premature. There is a strong tradition in Minnesota against having two United States senators from the Cities; also Walter Judd is not as widely known in the Senate as he should be and he would have to make a great many appearances to overcome this handicap. He is, however, a forceful speaker and one who captures an audience by the obvious sincerity of his nature. This in time and with sufficient campaigning might have the same effect in the State at large as it has had in the Fifth District. He recently voted in favor of extending the reciprocal trade powers of the President and in so doing ran counter to very strong party pressure. This vote might hurt him in the rural districts.

This letter is merely to say that I would not at present like to see Walter declare himself for the Senate. I doubt whether he will. I still would like to see you run, or at least not declare that you would not run. I believe that you would show in Congress the capacity to lead your party. I believe a great many independent voters did not cast their ballots for Willkie in 1940 because they thought that he would not have his party behind him if he were elected and could not carry out his liberal policies and plans. The independent vote will again decide the issue in 1948 and the candidate must demonstrate the capacity to carry the party along with him, for this, I believe, will be the yardstick which this independent vote will apply to the Republican nominee. Without the demonstration of such power the electorate may turn down even the most well-liked and eloquent candidate.

There are, of course, many difficulties in the way. The latest you could file for the primaries would be in March, 1946. If elected in November you would not take office until January of 1947 and would have then a short period of only eighteen calendar months in which to demonstrate this party leadership to which I attach such importance.

AIR
MAIL

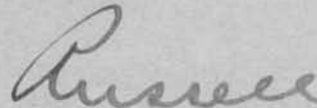
Commander Harold E. Stassen

.2.

June 4th, 1945

I hope you do not mind these animadversions. I know how extremely busy you are and share with your many friends a feeling of pride in your many accomplishments.

Yours very truly,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Russell".

RHBennett:VL

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL
WASHINGTON

San Francisco
June 4, 1945

My dear Commander:

The work of Commission IV has now progressed so far toward conclusion that I am planning to leave for Washington this coming Friday, June 8, unless you think there is need for me to remain longer. I think Commission IV has come through the various discussions and formulation of provisions satisfactorily. The World Court problems are nearing complete solution, and the other legal problems, which have come before Committee 2, have been thrashed out so that in a few days little will remain to be done.

I have not only enjoyed the work but am pleased to have had the opportunity to do it. I have tremendously admired your participation in the Conference, and am sure the Conference will end reasonably soon with a great step forward.

With personal regards and every good wish, believe me

Yours very sincerely,



Commander Harold E. Stassen, U.S.N.R.
Fairmont Hotel
San Francisco, California

June 4, 1945

MEMORANDUM on the Interpretation of the Voting Procedure
in the Security Council

1. Under the Yalta voting formula, which is inserted as Chapter 6, Section C, of the proposed charter, decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters will be made by any seven votes of the eleven members. It is therefore important to interpret what are procedural matters.

2. The four sponsoring powers have unanimously agreed upon the interpretation that all matters under Section D of Chapter 6 are procedural and therefore can be decided by any seven of the eleven members. Under Section D, the following decisions are included as procedural:

- A. A decision to hold a meeting of the Security Council at other places than its permanent headquarters to facilitate its work.
- B. The Security Council may set up such bodies or agencies as it may deem necessary for the performance of its functions.
- C. The Security Council may decide on its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its president.
- D. The Security Council may decide that the interests of a member of the organization are especially affected and that that member should participate in the discussion of the question before the Security Council.
- E. The Security Council may decide to invite any member of the organization not having a seat on the Council and any state not a member of the organization, if it is a party to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council, to participate in the discussion relating to the dispute.
- F. In the case of a non-member, the Security Council may lay down such conditions as it may deem just for the participation of such a non-member in a discussion relating to a dispute.

3. It has also been agreed by the sponsoring powers that any seven of the eleven members may reach a decision in the election of judges of the world court (the Assembly must also participate in these elections by a majority vote).

4. It has also been agreed by the sponsoring powers that the decision to call a revisionary convention to review the charter may be taken by any seven of the eleven members (together with a three-fourths vote of the General Assembly).

5. The Yalta voting formula also provides, in Chapter 6, Section C, Paragraph 3, and the four sponsoring powers agree on this interpretation, that if a member of the Security Council is a party to a dispute, that party must refrain from voting in decisions for the peaceful settlement of the dispute, including decisions to investigate the dispute, call upon the parties to settle, to recommend a procedure of settlement, to recommend terms of settlement, to decide whether or not the dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security and to decide to ask the world court for an advisory opinion in the matter.

The decision in these circumstances then would be taken by the concurring votes of the permanent members who were not parties to the dispute, plus a sufficient number of the elected members who were not parties to make a total of seven out of the eleven.

6. The four powers are agreed, in the interpretation of the Yalta formula, that the unanimous votes of the five permanent members, and at least two additional votes, are required in all cases in which efforts at peaceful settlements fail and a decision is to be made to take any enforcement measures, either diplomatic, economic or military.

It is recognized, therefore, that the organization, as such, can only bring moral force and the force of persuasion and public opinion to bear upon a permanent member of the Security Council and if this fails and peace is broken through the arbitrary action of a permanent member in bad faith, the situation will then need to be met and the economic or military action to restore peace will, of necessity, be taken by the other nations of the world acting outside of the organization.

7. It is also the agreed interpretation of the Yalta voting formula by the four sponsoring powers that if none of the permanent members are parties to a dispute, their unanimous votes, plus the votes of at least two other members of the Security Council, are necessary to decide upon a Security Council investigation of the facts, a decision to recommend to the parties either procedure or terms of settlement, or a decision to call upon the parties to settle their dispute by peaceful means and, of course, any decision to employ diplomatic, military or economic force to bring about a settlement.

8. The four sponsoring powers have not agreed as to the interpretation of whether or not the discussion and consideration of a dispute by the Security Council prior to reaching the point of decision for any of the above steps is a procedural matter or not.

It is the interpretation of the Yalta voting formula by the delegations of the United States, United Kingdom and China that since the Security Council is to be in continuous session and its entire purpose and obligation is to maintain peace and security, and since the procedural section of the charter provides for inviting members and non-members to participate in discussions, and since continuous and free discussion of any dispute or situation should be the normal course of the Security Council's activities, and since the preliminary hearing of parties and discussing facts and considering situations should be the accepted and expected procedure of the functioning of the Security Council, that, therefore, a decision to discuss a dispute or to listen to a party to a dispute is procedural. They hold that it involves no more than a decision to place it on the agenda of the Security Council for the particular day's session and that, therefore, the vote of any seven of the eleven members is sufficient to place such a discussion or hearing on the agenda or order of the day and the votes of all of the five permanent members are not necessary under the Yalta formula for this purpose.

The U.S.S.R. has given a different interpretation to the Yalta formula. The U.S.S.R. holds that "a discussion on a dispute is of great political importance by itself and may entail serious consequences; therefore, the question of whether a dispute should be considered in no way could be deemed a procedural matter." The U.S.S.R. states that "there are no grounds whatever to feel that the sponsoring powers, when they become permanent members of the Council, would actually use the rights conferred on them by the charter to block the discussion by the Security Council on any international dispute affecting the interests of states not members of the Council and other situations likely to endanger general peace or to block the taking of appropriate measures by the Council," and that "only rare, exceptional cases are possible when the permanent members of the Council, conscious of their special responsibility for the prestige of the organization, use their formal right."

The other three sponsoring powers interpret the Yalta formula as not giving the right to block discussion and do not concede that any permanent member has this right and state that free discussion must, at all times, be permissible and must never be blocked by the vote of any one member.

9. The four sponsoring powers are all agreed on the importance of unanimity on substantial decisions if world peace and security and progress are to be attained and that each of the major powers must feel the responsibility to find the ground for agreement in substantial

matters and must act in good faith toward that end.

10. It is to be regretted that a unanimous interpretation cannot be reached on this one point, although three of the four sponsoring powers have agreed, but it is submitted that this need not and must not prevent the completion of the charter and the establishment of the organization which will represent the best hope of maintaining a just peace. In the actual operations of the Security Council this difference in this one respect in the interpretation may never arise in practice. If it does it will then present a direct issue for the Security Council and the Organization to decide at that time. It is pointed out that many great documents have had divided interpretations for many years, some of which were finally resolved by divided opinions of the highest courts.

A wide and important area of agreement has been reached at San Francisco. For the future peace and progress of mankind this agreement must be preserved and we must proceed to establish our United Nations Organization, leaving to the future those future problems which cannot here and now be completely resolved.

H.E.S.



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