

Read more than one newspaper
Listen to more than one commentator

Read & listen to those of different
viewpoints

Press & Radio increase their
world coverage

Movies = plots in other countries

Every portion of our people
has a responsibility for
a part in this new role.

All agree — no longer needed

all agree — one world

all agree world organization

Must interpret what this
means

Any of future should not be
simply the plan for peace

Give us Peace

Give us a just peace — or give us war.

Even as there are ~~qualities~~
no life more precious than
life itself —

So there are qualities in
nationhood more precious
than peace itself,

That is the ^{best} road to lasting peace
& a full satisfying happy life
for a nation.

THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE
ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

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I took the view that the
delegation ^{directly} represented ~~its~~
seven different viewpoints
that $\frac{2}{3}$ or $\frac{3}{4}$ of the people of
America ^{who most properly} ~~therefore~~ determined
at the outset that I would not seek
to go beyond the instructions agreed
of the delegation, & would refrain
for the duration of my service as a delegate,
from ^{publicly} expressing individual views beyond those
which were agreed upon by the delegation.

THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE
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~~I wish we~~

We should not move in world
affairs any faster than $\frac{2}{3}$ of the
people of our country want us to move.
This in turn imposes on us the
obligation to plainly state our views
so that the people may have an
opportunity to study and to decide.

When representation & voting
is worked, perhaps then we
can begin the process of legislation
rather than recommending.

THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE
ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

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Aviation x

Shipping - ^{smaller nations}
Denmark Norway

World policy formation

not by government officials alone

not by professors alone

not by special interests alone

A Blending - with a view to future

Decisions by govt with full
knowledge & support of the people

In remaining strong & carry out our
we need
bases throughout the Pacific
& Atlantic

Indian Ocean
From Japan to Singapore
From China to South America

responsibility for world stability

THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE
ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

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From the ~~Mediteranean~~
to the North Atlantic

We must no longer wait
to see what other nations
are going to do. We must think
then our policy and talk it
through our people.

Requires special policy forming
conferences - Legislature -

Public - Executive

Labor Business Agriculture

India

China

Dardanelles

Balkans

Trade with Russia

Trade with British Empire

World Shipping

World Aviation

Pan American Union

Economic relations
with South America

Human rights

Africa

Rebels of Emigre + its people

Near East — Arab Federation

Japanese Surrender Terms

Adm of Germany

Not Administrative
Not policy deciding

But policy recommending
to Govt & to the people

Intangible results
based in large degree on people
"be the people"

Report conditions of the people

Possible Articles

General — Similar to Speech

Our Economic Relations to the World

Our Domestic Policy — its
relation to World

The Trusteeship

The General Assembly

The Security Council

Peaceful Settlements —
The World Tomorrow

THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE
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The New World Court

The Social & Economic Council

The Human Rights Commission

THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE
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The World has an
interest in what happens
to John Doe

Contingent of every man
must be interested in &
concerned with the World

Remarks on implications —
Brought in at San Fran —
the people —
Rights Commission — Human
Lasting Chapter

THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE
ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

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Any nation that
seeks to dominate the
world will fail -

Man was not meant
to be dominated. He
was meant to be free &
cooperated with.

Political, Economic, Social, Military
Wrest leaders are those who
recognize this basic fact
& shape their policies accordingly

Not an irresponsible freedom

a cooperating freedom.

Fullness of the enjoyment of
the freedom increases with the
degree of the cooperation

Rules for the freedom

PRELIMINARY DRAFT - ADDRESS OF HAROLD E. STASSEN OF MINNESOTA,
DELIVERED AT A PUBLIC MEETING SPONSORED BY A NUMBER OF NATIONAL
ORGANIZATIONS IN WASHINGTON, D. C. ON JULY 5, 1945, BROADCAST
NATIONALLY.

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Citizens:

On this morning, I reported to President Truman that I
had completed the special assignment which the late beloved
President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, had requested me to carry
out.

Within a few days I report back to Admiral William Halsey
aboard his flagship in the Western Pacific to resume my duties on
his staff.

Tonight I speak to you as an individual citizen. Frankly
discussing the results of the San Francisco Conference and ~~xxxx~~
~~impfixakianx foxxthexfntmr.x~~ the future world policy of our
country.

History, of course, must be the real judge of the
San Francisco Conference and of the United Nations Charter that
was drafted there. But some things can and should be said now.
It was a thrilling sight on the afternoon of June 23rd when the
question was put to the steering committee as to the approval of
the Charter as it ^{sends} ^{way} stands the lay before them (?) the result of
^{days and}
hours and/weeks of discussion and dissention, of conference and
of compromise, of translation and revision. It was late in the

afternoon. In Room 223 of the Veterans' Building, where so many earnest discussions had taken place, The arguments over clauses had been carried right up to the hour immediately preceding this vote. Chairman Stetinius asked if there was any further discussion. There was no response. Then he said "Those who approve of the Charter will raise their hands". The interpreter immediately re-stated the question in French. Then up and down the long tables, the hands of the Chairmen of delegations began to arise. The Secretaries quickly counted and turned to the Chairman and said "With your vote, Sir, it's fifty votes, or unanimous". Somehow, in the atmosphere of that room, as you looked from face to face, as you thought of the billion and a half of the world's peoples that were represented, of all races, of all colors, and of many races and creeds, as you realized that most of them had stood together through extremely difficult years of bitter fighting and suffering in the war, there was a definite feeling that the conference had been a real success; that the documents which had been drafted of this United Nations Charter might well become one of the truly great documents of all times.

As you read this Charter, and I sincerely commend its reading to every citizen of our country and to every boy and girl who looks forward to being a citizen, you will find that it ~~XXXX~~ sets forth in black and white, in five languages, in a curious blend of idealism and realism, the fervent hopes and aspirations of the

two billion peoples of the world. And the measure of its greatness may well be found not so much in its immediate clauses, but in the fact that it has within it the room for growth and adjustment and change under future world traditions and experiences. It is drafted, not for a world standing still, but for a world that is dynamic, changing, and it provides the means for change with peace and with justice and without war.

It provides within it for future revisionary conventions which may be held after the millions of men who are now in the armed services have returned to their civilian occupations throughout the world and can take part in the deliberations of their country. It also has many open pathways for progress within its own broad terms. It is possible too that its true measure of greatness will be found in some of the tremendously important underlying principles which are recognized in the document as a whole for the first time in an international document and which you find only when you study the Charter and its relationship to other international documents of the past. It is of the greatest significance. The Charter is a landmark in the history of the world. Each of these underlying principles is an indication of the point at which the sovereign members are delegating a small portion of their sovereignty to this United Nations organization of their own in order that the objectives of peace and progress might better be obtained.

The very opening words of the charter are significant.

determined to save succeeding generations from the
They are: "We, the people of the United Nations,". Contrast this
scourge of war.

with the opening words of the League of Nations Covenant: "The
high contracting parties, in order to promote international
cooperation". Secondly, the Charter recognizes that if there is
to be peace, a lasting peace, a just peace - then all the peoples
of the world must have the hope of gradually improving their
conditions while at peace. It recognizes indirectly that peace
cannot endure ~~in~~ ^{where} conditions of political, economic or social tyranny
are widespread. Therefore it establishes as one of the principal
councils of the organization, a social and economic council of
eighteen members elected by the assembly, and gives to them broad
objectives, a wide field of activity, even though admittedly, very
little direct power. But here will be an instrumentality to approach
on a continuing, constructive basis the underlying causes of economic
warfare and injustices that impede the progress of men and form one
of the causes of military conflict. If this economic and social
council has constructive and vigorous far-sighted leadership, even
though its powers are only to recommend to the members - if its
recommendations are sound ^{and} the world public opinion is mobilized
behind them, this section of the charter can become one of its most
important, and it is entirely new in the history of the world.

It can have a direct bearing on the jobs and the food and

the shelter and the clothing and the literacy and the health and the happiness of the peoples ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ of the United States of America, and of the World.

There is a third underlying principle which you find expressed most clearly in the chapters on the trusteeship of non-self-governing people. This is the principle that the whole world is entitled to know what is happening, at least in an elementary way to the men, women and children in all parts of the world. The objectives of the advance in the general welfare of the peoples who are not yet governing themselves, and the responsibilities of those more advanced peoples who are administering them, are stated in very strong and direct terms, and a specific provision is included for reports to the world through the organization as to the general welfare of the people who live in these territories. In other words, just as we so correctly emphasized that all the people in the world must recognize that this is one world and must be concerned with what happens to other parts of the world, just so the world as a whole must be interested and must be informed about what is happening to the various peoples of the world.

We fully recognize that this ^{great} principle, stated for the first time, will not be fully and suddenly realized, but this is a significant start and the United States should take the lead by sending to the new organization when it is formed, within the limits

of security consideration, full information as to the health and mortality and education and literacy and civil rights statistics of all of the peoples that are now or hereafter come under their jurisdiction.

The Security Council is the body which will be looked to for the direct maintenance of peace and security. Its eleven members which include the five major powers, China, France, Great Britain, Russian and the United States, and six others to be elected by the general assembly, will have the primary responsibility of the maintenance of peace and security. They will have the right and the duty to step in to ^{serious} disputes at an early stage and the measure of their success will be in accordance with the speed and decisiveness with which they intervene early in the situation. When a dispute or situation arises, which threatens world peace, any seven of the eleven members may invite before the Security Council any of the parties to the dispute and any other interested states. Any seven of the members of the Security Council may place this dispute on their calendar for discussion with the interested parties and among themselves as extensively as they may wish to do so. These are under Article _____ which is one of the procedural articles of the Constitution. If after these discussions and consideration and hearing there is a desire to order an investigation to go more fully into the facts, than it has thus far been possible to ascertain them, the Security Council may order an investigation

and in that decision, any member of the Security Council, who is a party to the dispute, cannot vote, and the major powers who are not parties to the dispute, plus enough of the other members to make a total of at least seven, may order the investigation. Likewise, if it is desired that a recommendation of the terms of settlement should be made, any parties to the dispute who are members of the Security Council cannot vote, and ~~xxxxxxx~~ the other major powers, ^{to make at least seven,} plus a sufficient number of the ~~xxxx~~ other members, may recommend the terms of a settlement to the parties. At this point, the Security Council will, in effect, ^{be} /passing judgment upon the merits of the dispute. It will be doing so without the vote of any parties to the dispute, whether it be a major power or a minor power. Thus the full facts of the dispute can be brought before the world and the full moral influence of the world, the full persuasive power of world public opinion, will be brought to bear at an early stage.

If this is not enough, then the Security Council may begin to take measures to maintain or restore peace. These may include economic sanctions, or the actual^{7/} application of military force. The members of the organization are to make agreements with the Security Council as to what forces they will hold available for these purposes as police forces. The decisions to use force, either economic or military, require the unanimous vote of the five major powers and at least two of the other six members of the Security Council. This, of course, means that if a major power acts

arbitrarily and aggressively, contrary to the full force of world public opinion, contrary to its obligations under the Charter, then the Security Council itself will not be able to bring economic or military force to bear. This is in some ways a point at which the organization falls short, or a point of weakness, but in other ways it is a realistic recognition of the situation that actually exists in the world. And if this arbitrary and wilful illegal action ever occurs, then it will be a bad situation in the world with or without an organization. Furthermore, the Charter provides, that when an armed attack actually occurs, nothing in the Charter shall impair the right of individual or collective self-defense, so that the other nations of the world may then make their decisions as to the method by which they shall restore international peace and justice.

These particular voting provisions which were agreed upon at Yalta by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Marshall Stalin which are included in the final charter, also emphasize the importance of unanimity among the major powers of the world if there is to be peace and security. It has been correctly called a right of veto on the part of each of the major powers. It can also correctly be called a rule of unanimity and it should be emphasized that it places a solemn duty upon each of the major powers to find the basis for agreement, consistent with the principles and obligations of the charter.

The Charter's provisions for the general assembly, which will

be the world form of the future, are complete and comprehensive.

The World Court Section is likewise well drafted. The Trusteeship Council will have very significant responsibilities for dependent peoples.

Taken as a whole, the Charter is a human document. It is a realistic document. It is not perfect. It has weaknesses. The extremes of the voting procedure from the one equal vote for each member in the assembly regardless of size or strength, to the other extreme in the Security Council of the requirement affirmative vote of each of the five major powers on nearly all important decisions. The jurisdiction of the very excellent world court is still optional, and the states are not required to submit to it. The Assembly and the Economic and Social Council can only recommend and they cannot directly work out rules for world conduct. The organization will have no individual/^{direct}source of revenue or taxation and must rely on its funds for the appropriation of its members. The Bill of Rights is not spelled out specifically in exact terms. The organization does not have an international police force of its own, but must rely upon the forces of the members in which the members are to agree to furnish. The organization will not have direct jurisdiction over the airways in the future or over the gateways to the seas, ~~EX XXXXX~~ But in each of what I term weaknesses, of these instances, there is room for the growth and development and correction of them/~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ at such time as their necessity is apparent and that the American people as expressed by 2/3rds or more

9.

of the Senate and the governments of the other major powers and by at least two-thirds of all of the members determines that the changes should be made.

These weaknesses or shortcomings should not cause us to minimize the great measure of advance that has been made. Is it not clear that the important thing is that the organization, with the goals and objectives to which all mankind wants to subscribe, is being formed with such an overwhelming support. I do not believe that we should ever go beyond the point in our world policy that at least two-thirds of our people are convinced we should go. This, of course, makes it all the more important that we talk frankly to the people about the problems of our world policy and about our viewpoints on them, so that they are in a position to form their opinions.

At this point I should like to pay a special tribute to those of the leadership of our country, including so many of the splendid national organizations that are represented here tonight, and including many individuals in the Senate and the House and in public life, for the part they have played in the very thorough discussion of our participation in the world organization and in the formation of the plan for this Charter. This unusual discussion of high national policy participated in so thoroughly by the American press and radio and movies, have brought us to the point

where the country is united as never before~~d~~ on the adherence to this Charter. Through the long difficult weeks of negotiation in San Francisco, the consulting groups that were represented there were very helpful, and accomplished definite results. I wish to express a very sincere word of appreciation to my fellow-members on the United States delegation and to the very able determined chairmanship with Mr. Stettinius. These members of the delegation frequently started out, each with a different viewpoint upon a problem, but by a constructive and thorough consideration, they reached in every instance unanimous decisions. In that process, they never yielded on any basic principle of this country¹ But they sought also the area of agreement with the other nations of the world. The result is the document that is now before the ~~xxxxxx~~ Senate. I have been very much encouraged by the reception that it has been accorded. It is very significant that not a single member of the United States Senate has thus far stated that he would vote against it. I hope that not only will the Charter obtain the necessary ~~xx~~ two-thirds ratification, but that in fact, in the final vote, it will receive the unanimous support of the United States Senate. This would have a tremendously important psychological effect throughout the world. The United States Senate was unanimous in its declaration of war. I hope it can be unanimous in its declaration for a just and lasting peace.

But when the Charter is ratified, by the United States

Senate, by the other four major powers, and by at least a majority of the other members, it is of terrific importance that the people of this country of the world do not feel that they have thereby automatically insured future peace, or that they have ipso-facto solved the problems of tomorrow. Even at its greatest significance the Charter only establishes a framework, a machinery, a code. The success in obtaining the goal will depend upon the good faith and continued alert interest of the peoples of the world. No Charter, no machinery can overcome the widespread bad faith or ill will or malice, or complacency. That is why our adherence to the Charter is only one step in the whole field of our world policy.

We, in the United States are now thoroughly and almost unanimously agreed that the walls of isolation are gone forever, that as that great American, Wendell Willkie, has so vividly said, "This is One World", and that we should join a world organization dedicated to peace and progress.

But we have not yet thought through the manifold problems of the reorientation of our entire world policy that must result from these agreed facts. This thinking through and definitely formulating of our future world policy is one of the most urgent tasks before our country. We must find in most broad and in specific



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