

terms what our view is on the problems of world relationship. I urge that these should be our broad principles of world policy.

First: That we accept the responsibilities of participating in world leadership; that we develop and intelligent, informed, American viewpoint on major world problems and that we mediate and work out solutions between contending viewpoints in the world.

Second: That we not only ratify the United Nations Charter, but give the new organization full support in all its activities.

Third: That we consider the future welfare and peace and happiness of the people of America as inseparably intertwined with the future welfare and happiness of the men and women and children of the world.

Fourth: That we remain strong in our domestic economy, with an economic system of private capital and individual enterprise and that we use the enormous productive capacity that that gives us and the great reservoirs of capital and of credit and technical skill to contribute to the gradual advancement of the standards of living of the peoples of the world, not as recipients of charity, but as self-respecting men and women of dignity and of pride.

Fifth: That we enter into agreements for the use of our armed force and support of the stability and security of the world Nations through the United/organization, and to that end, we remain strong on land and sea and in the air with complete authority for the

necessary administration and use of the necessary bases and airfields throughout the Pacific, from Japan to the Indian Ocean, the Coast of China to South America, throughout the Atlantic, from ~~North~~~~East~~~~South~~~~West~~~~Africa~~ the Mediterranean to the Panama Canal and from the South to the North of that Ocean.

Sixth: That we support the new world court and at an early date accept its continuing jurisdiction as including ^{appropriate} ~~the~~~~United~~ ~~x~~ international legal questions of the United States of America.

Seventh:
That We take the ~~xxxxix~~ position that the world is entitled to know what is happening to dependent people and that we make appropriate reports of all peoples in our jurisdiction, and that we expect similar reports to be made by others and that we will extend ~~xxxx~~ in a practical way a helping hand to these peoples in their struggle for progress.

(This one will be first) That we will follow through to complete, decisive victory over Japan, and the re-establishment of peace and stability in the Pacific.

Eighth: That we believe that freedom of information to ^{and freedom of worship} press and radio and school and forum/is a vital factor in the peace and progress of the world and in the fulfillment of the dignity of man, and will seek constantly to increase the area of the world in which these freedoms are specifically recognized and will seek their ^{specific} ^{as} ultimate/inclusion (~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~~~xxxx~~~~xxxx~~) among the fundamental freedoms of the United Nations organization.

Ninth: That those who are aggressors in this war shall be stripped of all means to make war and shall remain so stripped (applause).

Tenth: That we are and propose to remain a democracy of free citizens; that we will explain our system to the world; that we will leave it to the peoples of each nation to decide for themselves their own form of government so long as they do not trample on basic human rights or threaten the peace of the world or transgress upon their neighbors; that we will permit our own citizens to learn of any other form of government that they wish to study, but will not permit any other government to seek actively to undermine our own.

Eleventh: That through it all, we will constantly emphasize and recognize the basic dignity of man and his inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The methods by which we seek to advance these principles of our world policy, are almost as important as the principles themselves. It was my observation at San Francisco that the best results were obtained in our conferences with the other nations of the world when we were frank and friendly and firm. These should be the watchwords of our method in our future dealings with the nations of the world. - - Frank and Friendly and Firm.

As a democracy, our world policy should also be conducted

with a maximum of direct information to the American people. In fact, our world policy can be successful only if it is and the people are thoroughly informed and if the reasons and difficulties are interpreted to them. This should be carried to the point ~~that~~ except for military security, the American people should be promptly informed of every definite proposal of world policy that is made by our government. Obviously, preliminary discussions and exploratory ^{and studies} negotiations/will need to take place before a definite proposal can be made which can be communicated to the people. But as soon as the stage is reached where/^adefinite proposal of our government is to be made, it should be released to the press and the radio and given to the people of the country. This will mean frequently, of course, that our original proposal as announced will need subsequently to be changed or adjusted or modified to meet the other governments that are involved, or to meet new facts that were not taken into account in the original proposal, but I am confident that the American people will understand these things as they know that it takes place in everyday life and they will recognize the necessity of it in harmonious world relations.

There will, of course, be some disadvantages to this method of conducting our foreign affairs, and at times it may handicap our negotiations, but in my judgment these ^{disadvantages} ~~difficulties~~ will not be as great as are the disadvantages of the other course of not informing the people. In fact I would give a good portion of the credit for the successful conclusion of the San Francisco Conference to the fact that either through direct relief or through enterprising search for news, the press of America and of the country attained an unusual degree of accuracy and of promptness of reporting the course of deliberation and of conferences during the last half of that conference. I believe this also has a direct bearing upon the unusual support that is now present ~~before~~ for the final result in the United States. This, of course, will mean an end to some of the old methods of devious diplomacy. It will mean that there cannot be combinations of friends vs. friends. There cannot be special blocks. It means we must ^{be} ~~xxxxxxx~~ open, strong, friendly, progressive and humble leaders among and toward the peoples of all the world.

It also emphasizes the responsibility of the press. If a free press is to be true to its own great privileges, it must exercise itself a high sense of responsibility and of self-discipline. It must use its own ~~policy~~ columns and its own headlines with careful thought as to their accuracy and their effect upon the welfare of the people of its country and of the world.

And the people who read the free press should make it a practice to read more than one daily newspaper and to seek to read those of different types of viewpoint so that they can form a balance and well-informed judgment. ~~In fact it would be well if some~~ ~~University School of Journalism~~ x This would also assist in the spreading of free press throughout the world. We will also need to move promptly to formulate considered viewpoints of this country upon the major problems of the world. I believe this could best be done by the appointment by the President of policy groups upon each of these major problems. These policy groups ought to include representation from an enlarged and revitalized state department, from both sides of the aisle in the Senate and in Congress, and from some of the leaders of our citizenry, including where appropriate, representation from the economic groups of labor and management and agriculture. These special policy groups should begin promptly to study the respective problems assigned to them and seek to evolve a recommended viewpoint for the United States. (returning veterans)

Among these major world problems that urgently need this special extended and careful consideration are world shipping after the war, post-war world aviation, the Dardanelles (?), China's future, India and her new Constitution, the Balkans, world trade with the British Empire, world trade with the Soviet Union, future development of the Pan-American Union, our economic relations with South America, the human rights throughout the world, Africa's role in the world future,

the rebuilding of war-torn Europe, the Near East and the Arab Federation the Japanese Surrender Terms, the administration of Germany.

These special policy groups would definitely not be administrative groups. They would not be policy-deciding groups, but they would be policy-recommending groups and they would play a definite part in the formulation of informed public opinion and intelligent government decisions when specific issues arose within the field of these major world-wide questions. If we fail to move forward upon these problems, we fail in the responsibility that is ours. We drift along. We leave vacuums that create confusion and distrust. This is a large order - Yes - but not too large, and it is essential to the future well-being of the people of this country and of the world. Nothing less than this is worthy of this nation and of the system which opens its fields, its prairies and cities to the sons and daughters of all nations, through the very rights and opportunities it gave them, and the duties it placed upon them it became the powerful leader that it is today.

I am so extremely desirous that we do proceed to study these problems because I am fundamentally convinced that if our policies are wise and if the American people understand what we are doing, we will be able to live at peace in a world at peace. We will be able to live on friendly terms with all of the other nations of the world. This will particularly require an increased understanding between the major powers of the world. It will require an increased

understanding between the people of each of them. This is the place where the press and the radio and the moviewe have a special responsibility. I hope that our newspapers and our radio companies and our movies ~~hxxx~~ send increased numbers of correspondents and representatives throughout the world to learn of the peoples there and their problems and attitudes and report them back to the American people. I hope that other countries of the world will send ~~tepre-~~ representatives of their press and their radio and their movies to this country and to other parts of the world and report back. I hope that there is an increased travel of the peoples of all countries. I hope that there is an increased exchange of students between the institutions of higher learning from the various parts of the world. We must basically recognize that there is room ~~on~~ the world for all the peoples ~~an~~ in it. That there is need in the world for all the production and that ~~inxxx~~ ~~prodxxx~~ ~~ianx~~ x new producers means new consumers. It will mean a greatly enlarged and re-vitalised state department. In fact, it would be a good thing if its name~~s~~ were even changed and it became the department of world policy. It means large numbers of new personalities including many who have had practical experience in industry and ^{in labor and} in war, In accordance with the program just being started by the able secretary of state Ed Stettinius. I know that there will be cinics who will say "Goals such as these cannot be realized." They will scoff at the very idea of United States of America playing a role such as this in world

affairs. But let us not forget that the real progress of the world has come because some men have done what others said could not be done. We have won the European war and are on our way to victory over Japan, because time and again men have accomplished the impossible. We must not forget that the clinic said "Stalingrad could not stand", but it did; the clinic said "The Rhine could not be crossed", but it was; they said that with those meagre arms at Guadalcanal it could not be held, but it was; they said the RAF could not survive, but it did. Back in 1787 when this country was first being formed an eminent writer said "Of course this is not an easy program. This nation cannot drift and meet these responsibilities. This is not something that can be accomplished by a few." It will require the people of the United States as a whole to take an active, continuing interest in the role that their country plays in the world. It will mean that the millions of men coming home from service in the war cannot take the attitude that they are relying on the others to solve the questions. It will mean that they, themselves, must follow through after having played their part in the winning of the war, to also play a part in their civilian life in the winning of the peace. We must recognize that world security, security for the United States ^{are} inseparable and indivisible. And we must not lose sight of the fact that the world has great confidence that a strong America does not constitute a threat to any part of the

world; that the presence of American soldiers and sailors and airmen ~~is~~ is not feared, but respected and welcomed; that the world wants us to contribute to its own stability and we must follow through. In the process, we must also be quick to correct any economic or social abuses committed by our citizens, and we must insist on fair dealings and we must oppose monopolistic practices by our own citizens as well as by others. We should also make it clear that the cry of the future should not be simply the plaintive plea "Give us Peace", ^{but the slogan of the} ~~xxxxxx~~ future must be "Give us a Just Peace//or //Give us War".

Over and over again at San Francisco, what seemed ~~at~~ first to be an unreasonable position by some countries, it became understandable upon careful, friendly inquiry, ~~and~~ into the background for this position, into the experience of the state concerned, into the aspirations of its people, or even at times, into the manner in which the particular wording was translated into another language. Conclusions - May this nation, under God, have a new vision of its responsibilities to mankind, and of its opportunities for mankind.

Even as there are qualities in life, more precious than life itself, so there are qualities in nationhood, more precious than peace itself. And I am convinced that that slogan in fact represents the best road to lasting peace, to a full, satisfying, happy life for a nation. Perhaps at some future time representation and voting in the organization will be adjusted through an addition

of a second house to the assembly, a second house in which the ^{number of} votes bear some relationship to the numbers of population, of literacy, of industrial strength, as a stage of development of the people. Then the question of vetoes and of powers to make rules for world conduct will gradually be worked out.

We must no longer wait to see what other nations are going to do. We must think through our policy and talk it through with our people. ^{the statement that} The counterpart of every man must be interested in and concerned with the world is that the world has an interest in what happens to John Doe, whatever may be his color and wherever he may be found.

Any nation that seeks to dominate the world will fail. Man was not meant to be dominated. He was meant to be free and to be cooperated with. He was meant to be free and to be cooperative. The wisest leaders, political, economic, social and military, are those who recognize these basic fact and shape their policies accordingly. Of course it must not be an irresponsible freedom, but a cooperating freedom, for the fullness of the enjoyment of the freedom increases with the degree of the cooperation. That is why the cooperation takes the form at its best of definite rules that all can understand and abide by. In order that we may be strong domestically, we must think through the methods by which the exercise of the rights of ownership and management and the rights of organizing and bargaining do not result in conflict and stagnation of production. This requires an

adjustment by both to the responsibilities that go with the rights. Thinking through our economic policy in relation to other countries, we should frankly inquire what we can best give to the world and to the major ~~economic~~ centers of population of the world and what we can best take from the world in repayment. Major items immediately appear and raw materials can be one of those major items of repayment. Conservation of our raw materials in the country after the abnormal expenditure of them during the war would be a wise, long range policy and would fit in best with the world economy. This will mean the readjustment of our domestic taxation policies so that these raw materials within our country can be preserved without confiscation by taxation. We can also take a large measure of repayment in the form of food and services delivered to our ~~tax~~ people who tour these various countries. We should also contemplate increased investment in these other countries and their resources on a continuing basis.

Likewise, in our domestic policy we must be very careful of inflation in the post-war period. The controls of our prices in the war must be maintained until production reaches the point where it can approximate the demand. These policies could be worked out in consultations with the alert leadership of business and the forward-looking and responsible leadership of labor, and the progressive men of finance. Taxation policies will also need to be adjusted and all must carry a portion of the burden if we are to be as successful in peace as we have been in war.

As one part of our foreign policy, we should make it clear that we do not intend to sponsor or finance or maintain a liason to any organization within these countries which are disloyal to their government and we do not intend to permit any of them to sponsor or finance or maintain a liason to any organization in this country or any other United Nations disloyal to that government. In appraising the Charter, it should be recognized that the final result was in a large measure assisted by the preliminary work that had been done at Dumbarton Oaks and at Yalta, and also that our final result was also in some respects restricted by the work that had been done at Dumbarton Oaks and at Yalta.

ADVANCE

FOR RELEASE AFTER DELIVERY OR IN JULY 6TH DATELINE NEWSPAPERS.

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 OVER THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING SYSTEM AT 8:00 P.M. EWT.

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Citizens:

Having completed my assignment as a delegate, I will resume my naval duties within a few days.

But tonight, I speak to you as an individual citizen, and will frankly discuss the results of the San Francisco Conference and the future world policy of our United States.

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 moment on the afternoon of June 23rd when the question was put to the steering committee as to the approval of the Charter as it then lay before them, the result of hours and days 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 Stettinius 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, 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 worlds' peoples that were represented, of all colors, and of many races, tongues 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 inner feeling that the conference had been a real success; that this United Nations Charter might well become one of the truly great documents of all time.

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 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. 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 transitions and experiences. It is drafted, not for a world standing still, but for a world that is dynamic and living. It provides the means for peaceful change with justice and without war. It has many open pathways for progress within its own broad terms.

It also provides 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 countries.

The very opening words of the charter are significant. They are: "We the people of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of War". Contrast this with the opening words of the League of Nations Covenant: "The high contracting parties, in order to promote international cooperation" etc.

This 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 where conditions of political, economic or social tyranny are widespread. Therefore it establishes for the first time in history a worldwide social and economic council of eighteen members, elected by the general assembly, and gives to them broad objectives and a wide field of activity, even though admittedly, very little direct power. Here will be an instrumentality for a continuing, constructive approach to the underlying causes of economic warfare and injustice which impede the progress and threaten the peace of men. If this economic and social council has constructive and vigorous and far-sighted leadership - if its recommendations are sound and world public opinion is mobilized behind them - this section of the charter will become one of the most important.

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 of the United States of America, and of the World.

Another significant underlying principle will be found expressed most clearly in the chapters on the trusteeship of none-self-governing people. This is the principle that the whole world is entitled to know what is happening to the men and women and children in all parts of the world. The responsibilities of those more advanced states who are administering peoples who are not yet capable of governing themselves, 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 in and must be informed about what is happening to the various peoples of the world.

We recognize that this great principle, stated for the first time, will not be fully and suddenly realized, but this is a significant start. The United States should take the lead by sending to the new organization, within the limits of security considerations, full information as to the health and mortality and education and literacy and civil rights of all of the peoples that are now or hereafter come under its jurisdiction.

The United Nations 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, Russia and the United States, and six others to be elected by the General Assembly, will have the primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security. It will have the right and the duty to step into serious disputes at an early state. The measure of its success will be in accordance with the speed and decisiveness with which it intervenes early in the situations. 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 for extensive hearings and consideration. Any seven members of the Security Council may decide to meet at the scene of a dispute. These actions are all under Articles 28 to 32, which are procedural articles of the Security Council, and no veto can be exercised. If after these discussions and consideration and hearings there is a desire to order an investigation to go more fully into the facts, the Security Council may order an investigation and in that decision, any member of the Security Council who is itself a party to the dispute cannot vote and must stand aside. 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 must stand aside. The other major powers, plus a sufficient number of the other members, to total at least seven, 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 party 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 force of the world and 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 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. The decision to use force, either economic or military, requires 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 and 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. If such arbitrary and wilful and illegal action is ever taken by a major power, then it will be a bad situation in the world - with - or without - a world organization. Furthermore, the Charter specifically provides in Article 51 that when an armed attack 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 will restore international peace and justice.

This particular voting provision which was agreed upon at Yalta by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Marshal Stalin, and which is included in the final charter, emphasizes the importance of joint agreement between the major powers of the world in the use of force 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 a just agreement, consistent with the principles and obligations of the Charter.

The Charter's provisions for the General Assembly, which will be the world forum of the future, are complete and comprehensive, and establishes this vital body with fifty seats, one for each member. It has the power to discuss and make recommendations on any international subject within the scope of the entire Charter.

The World Court section is likewise well drafted. It revises the old World Court statute and makes the new Court an integral part of the entire organization with 15 judges, not more than one from any one member.

The Trusteeship Council will have very significant responsibilities for dependent peoples. Its membership will be divided equally between members who are administering dependent peoples and others who are not administering dependent peoples. It should be noted that there is no veto in the General Assembly, or the Social and Economic Council, or the World Court, or the Trusteeship Council. These bodies all reach their decisions on either a majority or a two-thirds vote.

Taken as a whole, the Charter is a human document. It is a realistic document. It is not perfect. It has weaknesses. The voting procedure has two extremes varying from one equal vote for each member in the General Assembly, regardless of size or strength or population, to the veto requirement of the affirmative vote of each of the five major powers on nearly all important decisions in the Security Council. The jurisdiction of the very excellent world court is still optional, and the states are not required to submit to it. The General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council can only recommend and they cannot directly legislate rules for world conduct. The organization will have no individual direct source of revenue or taxation and must rely on appropriations from 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 which the members are to agree to furnish. The mutual assistance treaties of Europe are not brought under the organization's jurisdiction to the desirable degree. The organization will not have direct jurisdiction over the airways of the future nor over the gateways to the seas.

But in each of these instances of what I term weaknesses, there is room for growth and development and correction of them at such time as their necessity is apparent provided that the American people, as expressed by two-thirds or more of the Senate, so decide, and provided that the governments of the other major powers, and of at least two-thirds of all the members, join in the decision.

These weaknesses or shortcomings should not cause us to minimize the great measure of advance that has been made. Is it not clear that of utmost importance is the fact that the organization, with these high goals and objectives to which all mankind subscribes, is actually being formed with such an overwhelming support. I do not believe that we should ever go beyond the point in our world policy to which 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 world problems and about our viewpoints on them, so that they are in a position to form their opinions.

I should like to pay a special tribute tonight to those of the leadership of our country, including so many of the officers of the 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 a 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, has brought us to the point where the country is united as never before on this issue.

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 also wish to express a very sincere word of appreciation of my fellow-members on the United States delegation, Mr. Hull, Senators Connally and Vandenberg, Representatives Bloom and Eaton and Dean Gildersleeve, and to the very able, determined chairman Mr. Stettinius. These members of the delegation frequently started discussion of a problem with each of them holding a different viewpoint. But by a constructive and thorough consideration, they reach in every instance unanimous decisions. In that process, they never yielded to anyone on any basic principle of this country. But they did seek the area of agreement with the other nations of the world. The result is the document that is now before the 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 two-thirds ratification, but that in fact, without a single reservation, it will in the final vote 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 and 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, and no machinery can overcome 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, so vividly said, "This is One World", and that we should join in a United Nations 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 definite formulation of our future world policy is one of the most urgent tasks before our country. We must find in both broad and specific terms what our view is on the problems of world relationship. I do not claim to have the final answers, but to stimulate the discussion and search for the answer, I frankly present these as suggested broad principles of our world policy:

First - That we will follow through to complete, decisive victory over Japan, and to the re-establishment of peace and stability in the Pacific.

Second - That we not only ratify the United Nations Charter, but that we also give the new organization full support in all its activities and grant to our representative on the Security Council broad powers when he acts with the approval of the President.

Third - That we accept the responsibilities of participating in world leadership; that we develop an intelligent, informed, American viewpoint on major world problems, and that we mediate and work out solutions between contending viewpoints in the world.

Fourth - That we consider the future welfare and peace and happiness of the people of America as inseparably intertwined with the future welfare and peace and happiness of the men and women and children of the world.

Fifth - That we remain strong in our domestic economy, with sound liberal policies within an economic system of private capital and individual enterprise, and that we use this enormous productive capacity and the great reservoirs of capital and of credit and technical skill which that system gives to us, to contribute to the gradual advancement of the standards of living of the peoples of the world, not as recipients of charity, but as self-respecting men and women of dignity and of pride.

Sixth - That we enter into agreements for the use of our armed forces in support of the stability and security of the world through the United Nations organization, and to that same end, we remain strong on land and sea and in the air, and obtain complete authority for the necessary administration or use of essential bases and airfields throughout the Pacific, from Japan to the Indian Ocean, from the Coast of China to South America; and throughout the Atlantic, from North to South, from the Mediterranean to the Panama Canal.

Seventh - That those who are aggressors in this war shall be

stripped of all means to make war and shall remain so stripped.

Eighth - That we believe that freedom of information through press and radio and school and forum, and freedom of worship, are vital factors in the peace and progress of the world; that we will seek constantly to increase the area of the world in which these freedoms are specifically recognized, and we will urge their ultimate specific inclusion as among the fundamental freedoms of the United Nations Charter.

Ninth - That we support the new world court and at an early date accept its continuing obligatory jurisdiction over appropriate international legal questions of the United States of America.

Tenth - That we take the position that the world is entitled to know what is happening to dependent people; that we make appropriate reports of all peoples in our jurisdiction; that we expect similar reports to be made by others; and that we extend in a practical way a helping hand to these peoples in their struggle for progress.

Eleventh - That we are and propose to remain a democracy of free citizens, that we will explain our system to the world, but that we will leave it to the peoples of each nation to decide for themselves their own form of government so long as they do not trample on basic human rights or threaten the peace of the world or transgress upon their neighbors; that we will permit our own citizens to learn of any other form of government that they wish to study, but will not permit any other government to seek actively to undermine our own.

Twelfth - That through it all, we will constantly emphasize and recognize the basic dignity of man and his inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The methods by which we seek to advance these principles of our world policy are almost as important as the principles themselves. It was my observation at San Francisco that the best results were obtained in our conferences with the other nations of the world when we were frank and friendly and firm. These should be the watchwords of our methods in our future dealings with the united nations of the world - be Frank and Friendly and Firm.

We should carefully analyze the economic, social and political basis on which we can expect to maintain continuing good relationships to each of the other United Nations and discuss these principles plainly with the other nations concerned, inviting at the same time their views of the basis for such long range friendship.

We should make it clear that friendship to each and every one of the United Nations does not mean that we will take a friendly attitude toward any of our own citizens who demonstrate a greater loyalty to some other country than they do to our own.

We should make it equally clear that those of our citizens who deliberately or carelessly repeat and publish half-truths and distortions which are calculated to injure our relations with any one of the United Nations are not serving the best interests of America.

The unfaithful sons and the common gossip-mongers are both just as harmful to harmonious world relationships as they are harmful

to harmonious family relationships.

As a democracy, our world policy should also be conducted with a maximum of direct information to the American people. In fact, our world policy can be successful only if the people are thoroughly informed and the reasons and difficulties are interpreted to them. This should be carried to the point that, except for military security, the American people should be promptly informed of every definite international proposal that is made by our government. Obviously, preliminary discussions and exploratory negotiations and studies will need to take place before a definite proposal can be made. But as soon as the stage is reached where a definite proposal of our government is to be made, it should be released to the press and the radio and given to the people of the country. This will mean frequently, of course, that our original proposal as announced will subsequently need to be changed or adjusted or modified to meet the other governments that are involved, or to meet new facts that were not taken into account in the original proposal. But I am confident that the American people will understand these things. They know that similar adjustments and compromises take place in everyday life and they will recognize the necessity of harmonious world relations.

There will, of course, be some disadvantages to this method of conducting our foreign affairs. At times it may handicap our negotiations. But in my judgment these disadvantages will not be as great as are the disadvantages of the other course of not informing the people. In fact, I would give a good portion of the credit for the successful conclusion of the San Francisco Conference to the fact that during the last half of the Conference, either through direct release or through their enterprising search for news, the press of America and of the world attained an unusual degree of accuracy and of promptness in reporting the course of deliberations and the result of conferences. I believe this also has a direct bearing upon the unusual support that is now present for the final result in the United States. This policy of keeping the people informed will, of course, mean an end to some of the old methods of devious diplomacy. It will mean that there cannot be international combinations of friends versus friends. There cannot be special blocs. There cannot be secret agreements. It means we must be open, strong, friendly, progressive and humble leaders among and toward the peoples of all the world.

Such a policy also emphasizes the responsibility of the press. If a free press is to be true to its own great privileges, it must exercise a high sense of responsibility and of self-discipline. It must use its own columns and its own headlines with careful thought as to their accuracy and their effect upon the welfare of the people of its country and of the world. Such self-discipline will assist in the spreading of free press throughout the world. Inaccurate scare headlines, false and twisted columns, are not the best salesmen of free press to other nations which are now considering their press policies. We can and do point out the overwhelming advantages, but self-discipline would make the salesmanship easier.

If we are to follow through on these broad principles of world policy, we will need to move promptly to formulate considered constructive viewpoints of this country upon the major problems of the world. This could best be done by the

appointment by the President of bipartisan policy groups upon each of the major problems. These policy groups ought to include representation from the state department, from both Republicans and Democrats in the Senate and in Congress, from the military and the veterans, and some of the other leaders of our citizenry, including representation from the economic groups of labor and management and agriculture. These special policy groups should begin promptly to study the respective problems assigned to them and seek to evolve a recommended viewpoint for the United States. Among the major world problems that urgently need this special extended and careful consideration are the Japanese Surrender terms; the rebuilding of war-torn Europe; the Near East and the Arab Federation; the Dardanelles; world shipping after the war; post-war world aviation; China's future; India and her new Constitution; the Balkans; World trade with the British Empire; World trade with the Soviet Union; future development of the Pan-American Union; our economic relations with South America; human rights throughout the World; Africa's role in the world of tomorrow; and the long range administration of Germany.

These special policy groups would definitely not be administrative in their functioning. But they would be policy-recommending conferences and they would play a definite part in the development of informed public opinion and they would increase the prospect of intelligent governmental decisions when specific issues arose within the field of each of these major world-wide questions. If we fail to move forward upon these problems, we fail in the responsibility that is ours. We drift along. We leave vacuums that create confusion and distrust. This is a large order - yes - but not too large, and it is essential to the future well-being of the people of this country and of the world. Nothing less than this is worthy of this nation which opened its fields, its prairies and cities to the sons and daughters of all nations, and through the very rights and opportunities it gave them and the duties it placed upon them became the powerful leader that it is today.

I am so extremely desirous that we do proceed to study these problems because I am fundamentally convinced that if our policies are wise and if the American people understand what we are doing, we will be able to live at peace in a world at peace. With wisdom and foresight we will be able to live on friendly terms with all of the other United Nations of the world. This will particularly require an increased understanding between the major powers of the world. It will require an increased understanding between the peoples of each of them. Here again the press and the radio and the movies have a special responsibility. I hope that our newspapers and our radio and motion picture companies send increased numbers of correspondents and representatives throughout the world to learn of other peoples and their problems and their attitudes, and report back to the American people. I hope that other countries of the world will send representatives of their press and their radio and their movies to this country and to other parts of the world and report back to their people. I hope that there is increased travel of the peoples of all countries. I hope that there is an increased exchange of students between the institutions of higher learning from the various parts of the world. We must basically recognize that there is room on the world for all the peoples in it. There is need in the world for all the world's production, and new producers will mean new consumers.

I know that there will be cynics who will say that goals such as these discussed tonight cannot be realized. They will scoff at the very idea of the United States of America playing a role such as this in world affairs. But let us not forget that the real progress of the world has always come because some men have done what others said could not be done. We have won the European war and are on our way to victory over Japan because time and again men have accomplished the impossible. We must not forget that the cynics said that Stalingrad could not stand, but it did. The cynics said the Rhine could not be crossed, but it was. They said that with those small forces Guadalcanal could not be held, but it was. They said the RAF could not survive, but it did.

Back in 1787 when this country was being formed, an eminent spokesman, Josiah Tucker, said, "As to the future grandeur of America, and its being a rising empire under one head, whether republican or monarchical, it is one of the idlest and most visionary notions that ever was conceived even by writers of romance. The mutual antipathies and clashing interests of the Americans, their differences of governments, habitudes, and manners, indicate that they will have no centre of union and no common interest. They never can be united into one compact empire under any species of government whatever; a disunited people till the end of time, suspicious and distrustful of each other, they will be divided and sub-divided into little commonwealths or principalities, according to natural boundaries, by great bays of the sea, and by vast rivers, lakes, and ridges of mountains."

May the cynics of today who scoff at the United Nations be as wrong as this cynic of yesterday who scoffed at the United States.

And may these United States of America meet the challenge of a just peace as thoroughly and effectively as they met the challenge of war.

With all of our industrial and military strength today, peace loving nations do not fear us. Aggressors do. So must it ever be.

May this nation, under God, with its precious freedom and liberty, recognize and strive mightily to fulfill its new responsibilities to mankind and its new opportunities for mankind.



MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Copyright in this digital version belongs to the Minnesota Historical Society and its content may not be copied without the copyright holder's express written permission. Users may print, download, link to, or email content, however, for individual use.

To request permission for commercial or educational use, please contact the Minnesota Historical Society.



www.mnhs.org