

FOR RELEASE AT 5:00 P.M. EDT JUNE 26, 1970

Address of Harold E. Stassen at the National Presbyterian Center
Ecumenical Dinner held on June 26, 1970 at Washington, D.C.
to Commemorate the 25th Anniversary of the Signing of the
United Nations Charter

In responding to your invitation to speak to you on this occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the signing of the United Nations Charter, may I first of all express a sincere tribute to the other signers, and especially to the other United States signers of the Charter on that 26th day of June, 1945.

They were older then. Now they have all passed on. I honor their memory tonight, and ask that you join in their memorial remembrance.

They were an exceptional delegation of diverse individuals. During the long weeks of drafting and re-drafting, of amendments and deadlocks, they had a degree of concentration and depth of devotion to the objective rarely observed in national and international matters. They demonstrated their true patriotism for America through effective work for peace for all humanity! There is no higher patriotism! There is no more meaningful demonstration!

Arthur Vandenberg was a United States Senator from Michigan, a Republican, and Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. His continuing analysis of the facts of the world developments had brought him to open advocacy of world organization and world involvement, and had a very large influence on his colleagues in the Senate, on his party, and on his country.

Tom Connally was a United States Senator from Texas. He was the Senior Democrat on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and at times served as Chairman. He was colorful, direct, dramatic, and persistent in moving the United States Senate to constructive action. He had a unique rapport with many of the unique delegates from other nations, a rapport which surmounted language and cultural differences on the road to arguments.

Charles Eaton was the Congressman from New Jersey, a Republican, serving as Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Quiet in nature, reverent in attitude, well informed on many issues, he made a very effective contribution.

Sol Bloom was a Congressman from New York, Senior Democrat on House Foreign Affairs Committee. Chairman at times of Democratic majorities, intelligent, intense, and also understanding, he added to the dimension of the delegation.

Virginia Gildersleeve was the beloved Dean of Barnard College at Columbia University. Erudite, and perceptive, she had an empathy for all the world; which was exceptional in the creative and constructive work of the group.

Edward Stettinius was the Secretary of State, Chairman of the Delegation, and one of the Co-Chairman of the entire conference. He had an exceptionally successful career in business at an early age, and then had turned to diplomacy upon his appointment by President Roosevelt to succeed Cordell Hull. He was an administrator of skill and perseverance, and kept the entire process and all the diverse elements from losing their way in frustrating deadlocks.

May I add a special salute to the two Presidents who were directly responsible, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman. President Roosevelt early took firm hold of the concept that after the world war was concluded in victory, there must be a continuing organization of the United Nations for peace.

He joined with Winston Churchill in the issuance of the Atlantic Charter as a forerunner of the United Nations Charter.

He led brilliantly in the successful establishment of a climate for a lasting organization for peace.

He appointed the United States Delegation with a full representation of individuals who had opposed him politically, and showed statemanship in leadership of divergent individuals and opposing viewpoints which is rare in Presidential history.

Upon his sudden death on the eve of the Charter drafting sessions, President Truman, in a characteristic forthright and decisive manner, directed that the work should proceed as planned, and that the individuals named should be confirmed for the fulfillment of the assigned task.

When one of the most serious deadlocks developed, acting upon the advice of the delegation, he sent Harry Hopkins to Moscow for a direct and meaningful confrontation with Marshall Stalin, without which the drafting may well have failed.

On the 25th Anniversary of the United Nations, the memory of President Roosevelt, and the life of President Truman, are entitled to, and should receive, our enthusiastic acclaim!

As you are aware, a large company of advisors and drafters, of preparatory workers and supporting personnel, of representatives of the press and radio and television, of observers and contributors of non-governmental organizations, merit recognition as vital participants in the historic and significant establishment of the United Nations Charter.

In reminiscing, we could spend all of our minutes together in recalling specific events, some meaningful and some humorous, some frustrating, and some exulatory.

Clear in my memory is the occasion when a speaker skilled in the use of both the English and the French language, made a plea to one of the sessions in English, and then listened spellbound to the impassioned presentation of the interpretation into French by one of the exceptional staff, upon the conclusion of which the speaker arose and said simply, "Until this moment in my life, when I listened to my interpreter, in French, I had never recognized the exceptional qualities of my own eloquence".

Above all, of course, I recall that dramatic moment, following the week after week of difficult work and the often threatened failure, when the Chairman of a plenary session of delegations asked whether there were any further amendments to prepare to the working draft of the Charter as it was then upon their desks in the five language editions; and no one asked for the floor!

Then the Chairman asked if there were any further objections to be presented to any Article in the working draft. And the silence continued.

Then the Chairman asked if the delegations were ready to vote, and from various delegates came the response, yes, let us vote.

"As many as are prepared to vote for the Charter as it is now before you, and to sign it, subject to the ratifications in accordance with your respective constitutional and governmental requirements, please stand", said the Chairman.

The chairs began to scrape as they were pushed back from the long tables, and the delegation Chairman stood behind the national name cards.

The side glances were evident as delegations looked to see if certain others were standing.

Suddenly there came a realization in the room that all fifty Chairmen were standing!

There was a breathless silence for a moment, and then, for the first time in the long deliberations, the delegates themselves broke into long and sustained applause.

But the prime focus of my interest of this 25th Anniversary is not upon recollection of historic acclaim.

Rather would I speak of the urgent need now of modernizing and strengthening the Charter, of bringing it up to date, of making it more effective. This is urgent if it is to have a reasonable chance in the next 25 years of "Saving preceeding generations from the scourge of war".

When we drafted it, we anticipated that it would need changing and modernization.

We provided in Article 109 for the method of comprehensive modernization through a conference of nations.

None of those who drafted and signed the Charter considered it to be perfect, or to be the last word. It was the best that could then be agreed upon.

We spoke of it as a beachhead in mankind's long struggle for the way of peace.

Now we must take a major further step.

It will take a few years to do it, but the process must now begin.

Even as the religious forces of the world were crucial in establishing the climate for the first Charter, they must play a large part in establishing the climate for a modern Charter for peace.

That is why I welcome especially the privilege of speaking on this day at this remarkable National Presbyterian Center and Church, with its ecumenical thrust in our nation's capital, and its exceptional leadership under Dr. Lowell R. Ditzen, as Director, and Dr. Edward Elson, as pastor, and as Chaplain to the Senate.

Perhaps here and now things may begin! I hope and pray so.

It is my view that the urgent and overdue changes include the following.

I will refer to these briefly. To clarify my meaning, I have drafted a complete revision of the Charter for this 25th Anniversary to serve as a stimulant to the long process of re-drafting.

Above all the United Nations will become universal, it must represent all of humanity on this earth.

The summary of needed changes as I see them are as follows:

1. Making the Organization truly universal in scope, encompassing all of the peoples of the world, whatever may be their current form of government. Under this principle, membership would be open to both German Governments, both Chinese Governments, both Viet Nam Governments, and both Korean Governments.
2. Establishing a Central Council of Ministers of nineteen members, each representing a region of the world, to be elected by weighted votes, and to act with weighted votes reflecting in general the real situation of the world.
3. Creating a new United Nations Peace Force consisting of volunteer individuals from all members.
4. Providing an assured method of regular and more adequate financing through a one percent duty on all export and import of tangible goods, materials, and machinery.
5. Establish a new World Court of Equity to fill the wide gap between the International Court of Justice and the judicial requirements of this modern age.
6. Moving a bit away from the absolute enlarged group of permanent members of the Security Council and a three-fourth vote requirement. The enlarged membership to include: Brazil, Japan, both Chinese Governments, both German Governments, India, the United Kingdom, the USSR and the United States.

7. Affirming definite sovereign jurisdiction over the depths of the sea and sea bed, and the outer space, in the areas of each outside of the sovereign jurisdiction of any member or non-member states.

8. Moving affirmatively to safeguard the environment of the other against pollution of the air, land, and water.

I realize, of course, that some say that we must wait until the Viet Na, war is over and the Near East crisis is ended before consideration can be given to such major long term changes in the United Nations.

But it is my view that both the Viet Nam situation and the Arab-Israel clash can be solved in the context of a broad constructive initiative for the basis of a sound long term peace.

Furthermore, it is my view that neither the Viet Nam war nor the Near East tension can be solved in any other way.

There are no military answers. There are no solutions in the narrow points of immediate issues. Only by turning all parties to sensible desirable long-range moves of mutual interest can be the basis for peace be found.

Others say that steps such as I have proposed are too far reaching and cannot be accomplished. They take a defeatist view which they sometimes endeavor to cover with a pragmatic cloak.

But I responded that the steps that I propose are not as difficult as the task of first establishing the United Nations 25 years ago. These steps are attainable. They are necessary urgently.

Refinements and improvements and adjustments would be made in the three or four year process of multi- governmental studies and negotiations. But constructive and creative results would begin the moment major governments took an initiative in this direction for world peace.

If the members of the United Nations drift without new direction, the danger of deterioration through inadequacy are very serious.

Deterioration of the United Nations would raise intense perils of a holocaustic world war.

The church leaders of the world are for peace and almost unanimously against the present wars. But they need to come to focus on the essential steps to build for peace.

This is the plea of the challenging I present tonight.

A constructive church leadership for a new universal strengthened United Nations can be crucial for world peace in the next 25 years.

Does not the basic moral thrust of the fundamental philosophy and the spiritual concepts of all major religions all point toward and even demand such an initiative for peace!

In our Christian faith, we have it emphasized and re-emphasized, "Seek peace and pursue it".

ADVANCE SUMMARY FOR LECTURE OF HAROLD E. STASSEN AT RIDER
COLLEGE, TRENTON, NEW JERSEY, AT 8:00 P.M. OCTOBER 5, 1970

What the world needs most is a new United Nations Charter,
modernized, improved, and strengthened.

I recognize that very few will at first agree with that statement,
as they will have other priorities in mind.

But these other urgent problems are in reality symptoms of the
inadequacy of the present United Nations Charter, and to attempt the cure of
the symptoms without moving upon the cause, will continue to result in intense
worldwide frustration, confusion, and tragedy.

Thus to those who may say that what the world needs most is an end
to the War in Vietnam, I would comment that I doubt that any solution can be
attained without moving upon an urgent sensible modernization of the United
Nations Charter. Furthermore, I am convinced that the type of modernization
which I advocate will result in a sound prompt solution of the Vietnam War.

To those who would place priority on the lack of adequate resources for

rebuilding our cities, or the serious depth of alienation of the younger generation, or the extent of drug abuse, I will explain my view of the degree of these problems as being symptoms of inadequate action on the overriding problem of all humanity on this earth for movement to an effective world structure for peace with justice, and for progress with freedom and human dignity.

For the occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the signing of the present United Nations Charter, and to stimulate the consideration of the situation, I have drafted a new proposed Charter.

A summary of the nine major changes which the proposed new United Nations Charter includes, is as follows:

1. Changes the concept of the organization to universal inclusion of all humanity, and toward that end, revises the preamble, and opens the membership to the presently divided and excluded governments, anticipating for the contemporary period of history two German Governments, two Chinese Governments, two Korean Governments, and two Vietnam Governments, as the

best approach to peaceful competition without war.

2. Establishes a new substantial regular method of financing the organization through a one percent duty on all international movement of tangible goods, materials, and machinery.

3. Provides for a United Nations Peace Force which is distinct, well prepared, elite, and not composed of national units.

4. Sets up a new Central Council of Ministers with weighted voting to effectively reflect and act for the world situation, and to stand between the veto power in the Security Council and the one-state one-vote assembly.

5. Creates a new World Court of Equity as an additional court with broader and special jurisdiction to add to the functioning of the judicial decision side of world affairs.

6. Adds two additional organized methods for reaching settlements of international disputes, through the establishment of a World Board of Arbitration, Articles 131 to 137, and a World Panel of Mediators, Articles 138

to 142, and provides for a notification of the Secretary-General of all pending disputes, Article 33, Section 3.

7. Requires the ratification of three-fourths of an expanded list of major permanent Members to become effective. The expanded list includes Japan, India, Brazil, the two Chinese Governments, and the two German Governments, as well as France, the United Kingdom, the USSR and the United States of America.

8. Formally takes sovereignty over those areas of the seabed and of outer space which are outside of national sovereign jurisdiction.

9. Initiates affirmative objectives and methods for the safeguarding of the environment against pollution, and for the fuller enjoyment of life by all humanity of all races.



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