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THE ESSENTIALS OF A SUCCESSFUL UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION

It is a distinct honor and privilege to be afforded the opportunity of welcoming you to this first annual Minnesota Student United Nations Conference. It is significant that such a conference ~~as this~~ should be held in the legislative chambers of our state capitol. May your words and discussion leave an everlasting imprint upon these walls as a living reminder to those of our legislators who in their official business will soon convene in this same room.

If we could but believe that the spirit of this meeting would permeate the thinking and philosophy of all those who succeed you in these chambers, I am sure that our state would be much the better. It is equally significant that the students of Minnesota colleges should let their elders know that the thinking of young men and women in Minnesota today is directed towards internationalism with an open and clear-cut repudiation of isolationism.

Many Americans have been lead to believe that we of the Midwest are of a provincial mind, ~~and~~ unaware of our interdependence ^{with} ~~upon~~ other peoples in other areas of the world. Let this conference be a forthright demonstration of our conception of democracy, which includes the recognition of international cooperation with the ultimate objective of worldwide unity and brotherhood for ^{an} enduring and lasting peace.

Your conference meets when dark diplomatic clouds are gathering.

~~XX~~ In the minds of thoughtful people everywhere is the frightening question, "Are we to lose the peace again this time?"

Our statesmen seek frantically to inject new meaning into their efforts for international cooperation, but anxiety hangs heavy over us

as after the last war. This war, some may say, may have been fought in vain. But we of this generation are not easily discouraged. There is yet an abiding faith within us that offers renewed hope. We have dedicated our efforts to a strong and democratically organized United Nations, supported by the leadership and strength of American democracy, and pledged to the world-wide realization of democratic ideals. It is with this pledge in mind that ~~we~~ ^{WE} come together to ^{Pay honor + tribute to those who have} (discuss and explore the) ^{so gallantly fought + died for their country.} ~~out~~ strength and the weaknesses of the United Nations organization.) ~~out~~

The subject of your conference is one which must be approached with an objective mind, freed from prejudice and historical emotionalism. This is serious business that goes far beyond an exercise in forensics or political theory. Your deliberations in this conference must provide the support and strength of a great world-wide organization that, on the other hand, seems so far removed from the people, and yet on the other hand, can only be successful if it is understood by the people.

International organization is no longer a dream or a plaything of idealists. Today we slowly but surely are implementing the general objectives and purposes of the charter United Nations by deed and action. What was once known as the Declaration of the United Nations has inspired the growth and development of a practical working world organization.

We have come through the days of Dunbarton Oaks, and the San Francisco Conference, The meetings at Moscow, and Yalta, Teheran, and Cairo are like steps leading to the entrance of the hall of peace. There may be those who doubt the soundness of our planning, or the genius of our architecture, ~~and~~ ~~we~~ ^{we} who have worked so diligently and persistently to build this temple of peace, may recognize its structural defects and be aware of its inadequacies, but we have every right to be proud of the accomplishment considering the tools with which we had to work, the

material with which we had to build, and the circumstances in which we designed and planned the realization of mankind's dream.

Yes, It is imperative that, as we discuss the essentials for a successful United Nations, we recognize the limitations of our achievement and, as I have said, the circumstances in which we were compelled to operate. *out*

⑨ This is not a perfect world. World war ~~also~~ does not remove from our minds the prejudices and the symbolism of centuries of misguided effort. People do not change by the stroke of a magic wand. That which we know as civilization has been a long time in the process of creation. *P* It should be recognized at the outset that the United Nations organization, as it is today, is but the framework around which we must build the political, economic, and moral substance that gives meaning to the phrase "one world."

As with all other forms of government, fundamental or constitutional law is within itself but a statement of principle. It is the task of statesmanship to implement these principles by the political machinery and the political and economic philosophy which makes them meaningful. We as Americans should be able to understand this.

We have demonstrated a genius in the field of political organization. We have made the Constitution of the United States — our fundamental law — a living force, *avital instrument of power through* ~~the~~ statute, interpretation, and tradition.

The charter of the United Nations in the 20th Century is no greater challenge to the political genius of men than the Constitution of the United States *was* in the 18th Century. Both have the unique quality of being new and different. Just as the skeptics in 1789 heaped their scorn upon our Constitution, so men of little faith in 1946 spread their cynicism about the United Nations.

We have one consoling thought. These men of little faith — these

doubters and cynics -- have always been on the wrong side at the right time. Their blindness has deprived them of perspective. Their love of the past and their fear of the future has relegated them to mediocrity and failure.

We dare to dream and to try in this day and age because we recognize the realities of our time. We know that the sovereign nations state, acting alone and independently, has proven its inability to either provide security in peace time, or safety from the aggressor in war time.

People everywhere sense this inherent weakness in our world of individualistic, nationalistic nation states. People, yes ordinary people, are not much interested in such high sounding concepts as sovereignty and balance of power, or ~~spheres~~^{spheres} of influence. The plain citizen of today is searching for economic security and personal safety without sacrifice of individual liberty.

This same citizen has witnessed two world wars in one generation. He is convinced that something is wrong, and that it is time to try new ideas -- new or improved plans of political and social organization. ~~men + women everywhere~~
~~Americans~~ are not going back to normalcy. They remember all too well that normalcy in this past generation has been an era of unrest, unemployment, insecurity, and war. Men and women know today that there has been no peace. There has been no general security. We have had a false belief in America first, or Britain first, or Russia first. The principle of today and tomorrow must be humanity first. Today we are living in "one world", where our mutual interdependence is the only real fact of social organization. #

World War symbolizes the breakdown of power politics with all of its antiquated devices of alliances, secret treaties, and balance of power principles. The western state system with its independent nations, its

concept of absolute sovereignty, and its code of international law based upon sovereign and independent states flourished in a world that had not accepted the doctrine of human equality as stated in the American Declaration of Independence or the rights of man in the French Revolution. Once the creed of liberty, equality and fraternity spread its influence over the Western world, the foundations of power politics began to give way.

Political democracy is predicated upon a belief in the dignity of the individual and an acceptance of the brotherhood of men. Political power is recognized as resting in the people or the community. We call it popular sovereignty. The inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are to be secured and protected by government. It was with this purpose and objective that governments based upon the consent of the governed were instituted among men. The twentieth century has revealed the complete inadequacy of our sovereign and independent nation states to guarantee these inalienable rights. ^{WORLD WAR II} ~~This war~~ has demonstrated that not even the most powerful nation can by its own strength stand alone.

Our freedom and liberty, ^{then} rest in the recognition of our interdependence. Our equality can have real meaning only if we are permitted to survive. Survival is not possible by the continued use of out-moded and antiquated concepts of political organization which ignore the essential fraternity of humanity.

Liberty and true equality can come only in a world of law and order guaranteed by the creation of international organization resting its claim to obedience upon the will of the people. It is precisely at this point where the United Nations become the embodiment of democratic principles applied on a world scale. The rights of nations are not to supercede or destroy the rights of people. Humanity ^{is to have} a priority over nationality.

We as democratic citizens, and as Americans, should be able to understand the philosophy and the thinking which will make possible a successful United Nations. We have pledged ourselves to the doctrine of human equality. We have recognized as part of our faith that all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by the Creator with certain inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

We have come to understand that democracy is not a static thing - *JX*
~~that~~ can only live if it progresses and expands. Likewise, we have come to know that democratic ideals are seldom realized in the short course *of 5 yr or 10 yr*
plans of ~~human events~~, but stand out as ^{an eternal} challenge to the morality of men and their dedication to high and noble purposes.

Yes, (young men and women trained in the schools and colleges of this land should) ^{yes, we} know that our institutions of free government were not born as if ^{by a} miracle, but are the product of centuries of sacrifice and years of development. And even today, these institutions of free government can still be classified under the agenda of unfinished business. *we have much work to do!*

After better than a century and a half of political democracy, we still have men and women in this country who are not permitted to vote. We still suffer from racial discrimination and economic exploitation. Our political processes do not always lend themselves to majority will or respect for minority rights. In other words, we, as Americans, with better than 150 years of political ^{experience} ~~progress~~, have not realized the ideals as outlined in the Declaration of Independence or the Preamble to our Constitution. Yet we proudly acclaim our freedom and our individualism.

We can justly make this claim because we are moving ahead, not retreating. That is the essence of democratic development. So it is

with this United Nations that now is in its infancy. This child of peace has yet to develop and grow. It has just seen the light of day. It is now suffering from the cruel reality of a world that it never had a chance to direct. It is the product of an unhappy civilization. It is the result of a frantic effort for survival, and it was baptized by the fire of the atomic bomb.

Its entrance into this world of power and selfishness was not an easy one. It came as a stranger into a strange land. It seeks to learn the vocabulary of our age, and by living in an environment foreign to its purposes, to so grow and develop that it can redirect the thinking and the policies of mankind everywhere.

That is a big order. It is a tremendous challenge, and yet there is not a one of us who would dare say that it shall perish or not survive.

One determined purpose must govern the development of the United Nations organization in all stages of its evolution. Yes, I say evolution because political organization can never remain static: ^{our Purpose must be -} never to water it down, never to weaken its authority, always to build it up, always to add to its prestige and moral power, until the time comes when it speaks for the conscience of mankind with irresistible force.

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The United Nations organization is not an automatic device under divine guidance. It is a man-made structure which must be guided and nourished by men. It is merely a tool, and even the most perfect piece of machinery is valueless unless there is a will to make it succeed.

Like the muscles and flesh of the human body, it grows strong with care, discipline, and exercise. ^{yet} The machinery of the United Nations organization is absolutely essential. Without it, there can be no concentration of aim and effort. But this organization must be built on a realization of the common interests and the common denominators which

bind men together everywhere, yes, and of the common dangers which confront us as members of the same human race.

The Preamble of the San Francisco Charter clearly recognizes the fact that only as we begin to build in those areas of common interest where cooperation is possible and probable, and the results are of benefit to all, can we erect the ultimate structure of a united society. #

"The United Nations is," as Mr. Bevin, the foreign minister of Great Britain recently declared, "the instrument which, if all nations resolved to use it, can establish a rule of law and prevent war. I say -- resolve to use it because to my mind, here is the essence of the problem. Just as no system of inspection or control of weapons is ^{worthwhile} ~~to avail~~ without good will, so no international organization, however carefully framed, will ~~be of avail~~ ^{succeed} unless the nations resolve to lay aside war and threat of war as an instrument of policy -- unless they determine to establish between themselves such mutual confidence that war is unthinkable."

The strength of the United Nations organization lies in the fact that it is an honest document corresponding to the practical considerations and sentiments of the times. *It is the product of that which was possible. And as Lincoln said - Politics is the Art of the possible.*

Helpful Nations (X) Yes, It establishes the machinery to keep the peace, if we have the will to make it work. But it can become much more than a means of suppressing aggression. Properly used, it can be a great adventure in establishing throughout the world the positive conditions for peace and progress. We must realize that peace is not merely the absence of war. It is not a static thing. It is dynamic. It is something that has to be fought for all the time -- something that will require continued sacrifice, high courage, and fanatical patience.

Peace is something that we shall be ever winning or losing. This is not a battle where final victory can ever be achieved. It is a battle

without end. Mankind is forced to live precariously under the constantly menacing threat of destruction. Surely developments in science and technology have convinced us that we are in a race with our own scientific genius, with our own mounting capacity to destroy as well as to create.

It is only through irresistible and persevering determination that we can gather to ourselves a future worthy of men. Through international organization, based upon the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, nations and men can settle disputes, suppress aggression, develop friendly relations among nations, promote social progress, assist in the solution of international economic problems, encourage respect for human rights everywhere, and in the long run, establish "fundamental freedoms" respected and acceptable to all nations and all peoples.

These ideals can be realized. The organizational machinery as provided in the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Secretariat, the International Court of Justice, and the Economic and Social Council, provide the means towards the realization of the principles and objectives stated so concisely and dramatically in the United Nations Charter. Those of us who long to see this great instrument of international peace strengthened, recognize the weakness that rests within the veto power on the Security Council. We recognize the inherent lack of trust and faith evidenced in the actions of the big powers. We recognize, above all, that those nations which have pledged themselves to the principles of the United Nations, have not necessarily accepted the philosophy and the doctrine of internationalism and world unity which is the very essence of a successful program of world peace.

Nation states today are, in a historical sense, like the pagan or the heathen who accepted Christianity merely through baptism, and not through understanding and faith. We should be perfectly aware of the

limited jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. Likewise, we should be deluding ourselves if we thought for a moment that international trade barriers would be and could be eliminated in a few short months, or in one or two sessions of the Assembly. Men do not learn to live together easily. ^{idea} The concept of a world state will be as difficult to assimilate and understand as was that of the nation state. We will learn through trial and error -- we will learn through necessity.

Here As Thomas Paine once said, "We have it within our power to begin the world over again." The human race is not a spineless, ignorant species to be pushed around and finally exterminated by forces which it has itself created. In spite of the atomic bomb, we are still the captains of our own destiny, and we can make that destiny anything we desire. We recognize that man changes slowly, and his steps towards progress have often been checked by his own inertia and prejudice. But this time we must act quickly and decisively. We are summoned to accomplish in perhaps two or three decades, or even less, what we have failed to do in all the long history of the human race. This time it is one world, or none."

We should not close our eyes to our differences with other nations. This may be one world, but few have learned to know it. To ignore the differences that now exist between the major powers, is not to strengthen the United Nations. It is to weaken it by hypocrisy and outright dishonesty. Our task is not to play upon these differences -- not to chastise and criticize, but the task of our nation and our people is to state clearly and concisely that which we believe, and press for its acceptance. It means being firm and definite and not talking too much, or spending our time in idle rumor. I can think of no nation towards which these remarks are more pointedly directed than to the Soviet Union. Our ideas, or religion, or democracy, or individual freedom, or economic enterprise,

are widely different from those of the Russians. Yet we recognize that with the United States and Russia together, there will be international peace. We ought to know that other nations may disturb the peace of the world -- only we two can destroy it.

This is not to say that we should change our beliefs or our ideals. It is to say, as the Catholic bishops of the United States recently said, "that a frank recognition of these differences is preliminary to any sincere effort in realistic cooperation and peace."

These same Catholic bishops accordingly stated, "Our country acted wisely in deciding to participate in this world United Nations organization. It is better than world chaos."

Better than world chaos -- that is the point, and chaos is what we may well have unless we develop an understanding with the Soviet Union -- an understanding without the sacrifice of our way of life, or without the scrapping of our political and spiritual faith. This understanding can be obtained only if all of us think clearly and fairly and speak with firmness and restraint.

A clear-cut statement of American foreign policy is a basic essential for a successful United Nations, and for world peace. We are the nation to which the world looks for leadership. We are the people who must assume responsibility for political, economic, and social direction. It is upon this nation that the major burden of a war-stricken and impoverished world will rest for many a year.

If we are not prepared to assume this task -- if we are but to talk peace and not implement it by sound economic and humanitarian measures, then again we will have destroyed the hope of world peace. ~~We find ourselves in a paradoxical situation.~~ On the one hand, we are rich and powerful,

respected and feared; yet we live in a world that asks us to share our blessings, to give of our strength, and to exercise our political leadership. If we want a successful United Nations, we must be prepared to assist in the rehabilitation of Europe and Asia. We must be prepared to feed, or at least share in the feeding of millions of starving people. We must demand respect for treaties and the rights of smaller nations. We must repudiate economic nationalism and political imperialism. We must know and come to understand the peoples of other nations. We must be prepared to stand firmly in defense of the right of the smaller and less advanced nations, to be free of domination and exploitation by their larger and more powerful neighbors. We must press upon our war-time allies a respect for law and order, and urge the universal acceptance of the basic rights of free speech, free assembly, free press, and free elections.

This requires strength of character, and the willingness to stand alone against the selfish tide of powerful forces. But as we make these demands upon other people and other nations, we must come forth with clean hands and an example of democratic living which can command the respect and confidence of people everywhere. As the Chinese philosopher has said, "It is better to light a candle than to curse the darkness."

In conclusion, we in this country must grow to realize that international peace and domestic peace and prosperity, are one and inseparable. There can be no peace in a world threatened by mass unemployment. There can be no peace in a world if this nation of ours suffers economic disaster. There can be no successful United Nations if by narrow and greedy American domestic policies, we thwart the progress of our economy to a point where our country finds itself fighting for its own economic existence. An America broken in spirit, disunited in its politics, disrupted in its

enterprise, will deprive the world of its only hope of survival.

If this world is to have democratic leadership, it will ^{in a great part} come from America. If it is to be lost in chaos, we must accept our share of the responsibility. Now, if ever, we need faith and confidence in the instruments of international peace embodied in the Charter of the United Nations. Now, if ever, there must be a true and sincere respect for individual differences and personality for all races, ~~political~~ creeds, economic views and religions.

Government policy today is too important to be left in the hands of those who have neither faith in their country nor belief in the principles of democracy. The problems of today and the policies of tomorrow can never be left to those who despair of our future, and who believe in the inevitability of depression, chaos, and war. We need a new faith. We need a new determination in the ability of men and women to be masters of their own destiny and capable of designing their own future.

Roosevelt Statement



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