stern determination, but they also demand patience and deliberation if we are to find a common agreement upon which a lasting peace can be found.

In reflecting upon our own experience, the American constitutional development, we find that even where we were one people and there were generally agreed objectives, a long time, much of forbearance, and a willingness to compromise were needed in building our great constitutional system. We believe that the peoples of the United Nations also have common basic purposes which provide the foundation for effective machinery for international cooperation. We should be neither surprised nor discouraged if time and great effort are required to move forward. We hope that the effort itself will produce increasing unanimity of purpose, a unanimity which will in turn make possible more effective international action.

The United States Delegation to the General Assembly will have continually in mind the basic purposes of the American people and will strive to give them effect. We seek at this Assembly not a United States success but a United Nations success. The latter will include the former since our objectives are the objectives of the Charter itself. We earnestly solicit your backing for this great effort in which we are now engaged.
Faith and Fidelity—American Pledge to the United Nations

ADDRESS BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE:

I am glad to participate in the opening of United Nations Week.

The interest and the sense of public responsibility shown by the American Association for the United Nations and the scores of other national organizations which have joined in preparing this week of public education in the work of the United Nations is deserving of commendation. It should result in a deepened understanding of the purposes, the accomplishments, and the difficulties of the United Nations and a more understanding determination on the part of the American people to make it succeed.

The General Assembly will convene at Flushing Meadows on Tuesday for its second regular session. Delegates from the 55 member states are now arriving in this country for this meeting. They will receive a warm and cordial welcome from our people, who will follow their work with close and sympathetic attention. The Assembly will consider a number of unusually complex political problems, including those relating to Greece and

1 Delivered before the American Association for the United Nations at New York Sept. 14, 1947, and released to the press on the same date. The address was also carried over the national network of NBC.
Palestine, for which solutions must be found. There are already approximately 80 items on the agenda, with still others to be raised in the course of debate.

It is important that the peoples of the world should turn their eyes toward the United Nations while the General Assembly is in session. It is particularly important that the people of the United States closely follow the proceedings and gain a full appreciation of the nature of the problems faced by the General Assembly. The broad outlines of our foreign policy are determined by our citizens. The American people, fortunately, are free to speak out on matters of policy. They vote; they form their own opinions; and they organize themselves into innumerable groups to give expression to their views. Through a free press and radio and through the film and other means of communications, they have full access to all shades of thought and opinion.

In order that the conclusions of the American public will be firmly based upon fact and upon mature reflection and realistic consideration of the issues involved, it is of importance that all sources of information and aids to the enlightenment of public opinion be used to the full. We are faced with policy questions which are baffling and far-reaching. Even when all the facts are available it is seldom easy to reach a decision with complete certainty that the right decision has been made. Without the facts, sound judgment of the issues is impossible.

This is why your endeavors deserve the support of all those who work for a peaceful world. The achievements of your organizations in the past have been truly remarkable. Without your help and the help of like-minded people in other parts of the world, the United Nations might not have come into existence. Without such continued help, it can only have a limited future. There is still much to be done and it is of the utmost importance that it be done.

A recent survey of public opinion revealed that one out of three people in the United States still does not know what the United Nations is and what it does. The same study showed that only one in five knows what is meant by the veto.

The problem of creating a broad understanding of the many specific issues before the United Nations bodies is particularly great. The annual report of the Secretary-General to the General Assembly shows that from July 1, 1946, through June 30, 1947, the General Assembly held 443 plenary and committee meetings, the Security Council 347, the Economic and Social Council 168, the Trusteeship Council 56, and other United Nations bodies 897, or a total of 1,911 meetings in one year. The most cursory glance at the subjects discussed at these meetings indicates that as Americans we are concerned with almost every topic dealt with. The entire range of our foreign policy is involved.

To do our share in the work of the United Nations the Government of the United States must operate as an effective team under the leadership

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of the President. Almost every department and agency of the Executive branch of the Government is necessarily involved. Congress, too, is heavily involved in international matters and plays a determinant role in the implementation of our foreign policies from the financial point of view.

But the American public plays the decisive role. They set the objectives, they select the principal officers of Government, and they weigh and criticize results. That is the democratic process. If it is to be fully effective, the public needs leadership—not only the leadership of formally elected and appointed officers of Government but the leadership of informed and discerning men and women in each community throughout the country. This is preeminently the role of the organizations which are cooperating in this United Nations Week.

The Department of State welcomes public scrutiny of its efforts and the criticism which helps us to check the wisdom of our actions. We try in every possible way to find out what the American public thinks about the great issues before us and to explain to them what we think and do about them. Many of you have participated in the regular meetings we have organized with representatives of national organizations. Many of you have spoken to officers of the State Department, who are all available for consultation. Letters from organizations and individuals, which we receive in great numbers, are carefully studied. No organization or individual expressing opinions or judgments on important public issues should conclude that such views are of no interest or assistance. The contrary is the case.

Let me urge you, therefore, that you continue throughout the year activities of the type which you have developed for this United Nations Week.

We learned during the recent war that every household, every farm, every village, and every business is deeply involved in the great problems of peace and security for the solution of which we have established the United Nations. These same problems, and the efforts to meet them in the United Nations, therefore require intelligent attention in all of our schools, our churches, our civic, business, and social organizations—wherever, in fact, citizens gather to discuss their vital interests.

We Americans must obtain a clear understanding of the role which we ourselves are called upon to play in the United Nations. We must understand the roles which others are playing or are failing to play. We must continually remind ourselves that the United Nations succeeds or fails according to the conduct of the members themselves and their willingness to act in accordance with the Charter. We must become familiar with the terms of the Charter. I think this might well be included in the curriculum of our high schools and colleges.

The limitations inherent in this great organization for the preservation of peace should be made clear to our citizens. We make a grave error to suppose that every international problem should be handled by the United Nations. Actually, this would neither be desirable nor practicable. The
American Government, for example, is conducting negotiations continuously with every recognized government in the world on hundreds of subjects. Other governments are doing the same. The great majority of these matters are satisfactorily settled by mutual agreement between the parties directly concerned. Nothing would be gained and much would be lost by complicating the procedures of day-to-day negotiation by multiplying machinery where simple methods suffice.

Even in cases of international disputes the continuance of which might endanger the maintenance of peace and security—in other words, in matters of primary interest to the United Nations—the Charter enjoins the parties first of all to seek solution by negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice. Clearly this means that parties to disputes should use such peaceful means in good faith and in a spirit of mutual accommodation. Recourse to United Nations agencies in such matters may constitute an abuse of the Charter if the purpose be merely to better a bargaining position, to obtain a larger forum for propaganda, or to create greater rather than less international friction. Ultimately, of course, the United Nations is there and should be freely used where a basis for agreement does not exist and action or advice of the United Nations is needed for the maintenance of good relations.

Those who would understand its functions must also be aware of the part which is to be played by the specialized agencies which are now being related to the United Nations under the general coordination of the Economic and Social Council. These agencies are designed to encourage international cooperation in specific fields; they are not, in general, agencies with extensive resources of their own or with direct responsibility for the execution of policy within the United Nations, although some have important operating functions. Some of them, such as the International Labor Organization, have long histories of accomplishment in the international field; others, such as the proposed International Trade Organization, to be considered at the forthcoming International Trade Conference in Habana in November of this year, are very young indeed. Others, such as the International Refugee Organization, are envisaged as temporary agencies to be disbanded when a particular job is done. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund are agencies with direct operational responsibilities in a particular field.

I have touched upon these matters merely as reminders that an intelligent participation by the United States in the United Nations requires persistent effort by our citizens and by organizations such as yours. I will turn now to the relation between the United Nations and the foreign policy of the United States.

The President and other responsible Americans have on many occasions declared that support for the United Nations is the cornerstone of our foreign policy. On this we are a united people, without party or regional differences.
Our “fidelity to the United Nations”—to use the words of the President in his recent address to the Inter-American Conference at Rio—goes deep. Our faith in the United Nations has its roots in the basic moral values and spiritual aspirations of the American people. These aspirations of ours are identical with the purposes and principles of the Charter. The late President Roosevelt had this in mind when he spoke of freedom of speech and expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear—everywhere in the world.

How do we translate these general principles into practical terms? What precisely does our support for the United Nations mean?

First, it means that we ourselves must faithfully live up to our obligations under the Charter.

Second, it means that our public acts must be consistent with the Charter, whether they are carried out through the United Nations or through other means.

Third, it means that we must refer to the United Nations problems which have failed of solution by other peaceful means and which require solution under the Charter.

Fourth, it means that we must work persistently and loyally within the several organs and agencies within the United Nations toward the successful accomplishment of their assigned tasks.

Fifth, it means that we must seek to improve the procedures and machinery of the United Na-

tions organization itself and to join with others in providing the resources which are necessary for its efficiency.

Sixth, it means that we must join with other members to make it unmistakably clear that aggression against the territorial integrity or political independence of others will be resisted by the combined efforts of the members of the United Nations.

Seventh, it means that we must exert every possible effort to conclude the remaining peace treaties, thereby creating the normal conditions under which the United Nations was designed to function. It is intended—that is, the United Nations—to maintain peace, not to make peace, after this war.

Eighth, it means that we join with others in seeking to improve the world’s economic situation, to bring about the economic conditions necessary to international stability.

These are clear rules for our conduct; in fact they accurately reflect our national policy.

We have heard in this country, particularly in recent months, expressions of concern about the future of the United Nations. I do not believe that it stems from lack of confidence in the possibilities of the United Nations organization or in its technical efficiency. This apprehension is caused rather by doubt as to whether all members are willing to adjust their national policies to the common interest of all humanity. This common interest is expressed in article after article of the Charter, enjoining its members to pursue in their international conduct the principles and purposes
of the Charter. I can of course speak only for the United States. I have, I hope, made it clear that our national policies will continue to conform to these principles and purposes. Obviously, if all members do not similarly strive to meet their obligations under the Charter, the United Nations will be imperiled.

The forthcoming session of the General Assembly may begin a new phase in the life of the United Nations. During the course of this session, on October 24, the second anniversary of the coming into force of the Charter will be celebrated. These two years have, to a very considerable extent, been taken up with the work of organization and with the development of techniques and procedures. With the establishment of the Trusteeship Council in March and April of this year, the major organizational development of the United Nations was completed.

During these two years of birth and growth, governments and peoples have been slow to criticize and have shown commendable sympathy toward the initial efforts of this new world organization for peace and security. That initial period is coming to an end. Our work will now be subjected to more critical examination. Apprehension and anxiety over the future of the United Nations reflect insecurity about the aims and intentions of the members themselves. There is genuine danger that our hopes of two years ago will give way to skepticism.

The General Assembly is the forum in which this skepticism must be forestalled and the forum in which our disagreements must be resolved. The great moral and political forces of the world must somehow be brought to bear with full effect through the General Assembly.

Within a few days’ time the United States Delegation will be making a number of proposals to the General Assembly, which we believe will help to resolve some of the issues which are now disturbing good relations among nations. You will appreciate that presentation of these proposals must await the meeting of the Assembly. However, I believe you will be interested in two or three general considerations which bear upon our work in the coming General Assembly.

We are not unalterably opposed to every proposal for a revision of the Charter, although we believe that there is at the present time no need for major revisions of the Charter or for a change in the general character of the United Nations. Many articles of the Charter have not yet been brought into play and given life and meaning by practical application. None of the principal organs has as yet fully exerted the authority and influence which are possible under the existing Charter. The members themselves as represented in the General Assembly have by no means exhausted the potentialities of the Charter in finding ways and means of overcoming obstruction and of meeting their common problems. While we might be willing to accept certain amendments to the Charter, we believe that rapid progress can be made in the immediate future within the general framework which we now have, and we shall ourselves make proposals for utilizing more fully existing machinery.
In the meantime, there are serious matters in the political and security field which require prompt action by the Assembly. We are particularly concerned with the aid and assistance which are being provided by Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania to the guerrillas in Greece—a direct threat to the territorial integrity and political independence of that country. We seek nothing in that situation but the protection of the Greek people which is their due under the Charter. We have no interest beyond the pacification of that troubled area. The solution must be the cessation of the threat—and we earnestly hope that the General Assembly will be able to devise means for accomplishing that end.

The matter of Palestine will be before the forthcoming Assembly for solution. We believe that the techniques which have been used by the Assembly thus far in dealing with this question have been soundly conceived. After preliminary consideration, the General Assembly established a commission of representatives of disinterested states which has inquired into the problem and reported its conclusions and recommendations to the Assembly. We believe that it is of the greatest importance that every effort be made to obtain maximum agreement in the General Assembly on a solution for that problem and that the peoples directly concerned will accept the recommendations of the coming General Assembly as a basis for a definitive solution of this complex matter.

Throughout the General Assembly the United States Delegation will be motivated by a desire to develop the United Nations as the central organization for the maintenance of international peace and the promotion of international cooperation. We do not look upon it as a handy instrument for obtaining temporary national advantage. We have no desire to slip back upon the road to international anarchy out of which we have been hoping we are beginning to emerge. We look forward to the early admission into the United Nations of the remaining nations which might now be qualified for membership. If the United Nations is to serve the genuine self-interest of all members over the longer period and if it is to be, as suggested in article 1 of the Charter, a center for harmonizing the actions of nations, we believe that its world-wide membership must be preserved as far as possible in accordance with its original design.

It would be a sore, a tragic disappointment if experience should prove that the harmony which was achieved at San Francisco was only temporary. We find it difficult to believe that members of the organization would deliberately seek to destroy its structure by persistence in acts of aggression or by obstruction of a nature to paralyze the principal organs of the organization.

Our own attitude and sense of responsibility will have much to do with the success of the coming General Assembly. Under the pressure of our war effort we developed in this country a laudable impatience for obstacles which stood between us and the attainment of victory, obstacles which were removed by an application of astonishing energy, ingenuity, and singleness of purpose. The problems of peace require moral courage and