

VN  
CC  
March 13, 1967

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

In view of the announcement that you are planning another conference on Vietnam in the Pacific, may I respectfully renew my request for an occasion to present to you personally the recommendations which I am confident can lead, on a sound and honorable basis, to a solution in Vietnam.

I met with Mr. Walter Rostow and Ambassador Sisco on Thursday, February 16th, which they stated was at your request, and I feel that I answered effectively all of the objections which they stated their staff review had brought up to my recommendations.

Specifically, with reference to the collateral diplomatic problems which they stated this recommended course in Vietnam would cause, I summarize the results of our hour discussion.

1. I do not agree that it is certain that the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany would object strenuously to the course which I advocate in Vietnam. I believe that a thorough presentation to Chancellor Kiesinger and Foreign Minister Brandt would convince them of the desirability of this course. Furthermore, if they are not convinced, I do not agree that the Federal Republic of Germany should exercise a veto upon a course which would otherwise be considered desirable in the critical situation of Vietnam.

2. I do not agree that the objections of the Republic of Korea should be controlling. The Republic of Korea is in a

special situation and would have difficulty taking the world perspective which it is essential to take in the Vietnam situation.

3. I do not agree that the Nationalist Government of China could veto the program. The ultimate amendments to the United Nations Charter could and should be brought forward in an amending convention. The amending convention can be called without a veto. The amending convention could well decide that for this contemporary period of history there should be two Chinas and neither one of them should have a veto seat on the Security Council, and neither one of them should be a required signator of the amended United Nations Charter. Through this approach, there is in my judgment a real prospect, after an initial objection by each one against the other, both Chinas would ultimately come in. Thus, the evolutionary process and the competition of systems would over the long term lead toward growing freedom for the Chinese people and away from the danger of war on the part of China.

4. I do not agree that history indicates that the only way that guerilla forces are overcome is through overwhelming military force and major defeats of the guerillas. On the contrary, most guerilla movements have been solved when a more attractive program is developed for the young men of the country who are in the guerilla forces, or who are potential recruits for the guerilla forces, than that extended by the guerilla movement. The solution of the Huk Communist guerillas in the Philippines, and the solution of the Communist guerillas in Malaya, were both obtained by the emphasis upon the peaceful development alternatives, and the sovereign status of the people, rather than by extensive war action. The opportunity for the establishment of two Vietnams, each of which has membership in the United Nations, I consider to be an essential part of winning the young men of Vietnam for peace and away from Guerilla and military action.

5. Neither do I agree that the optimistic military reports which Mr. Rostow and Mr. Sisco said they were then receiving justify any conclusions that an American military

military solution can be obtained. As I said to them then, the temporary lull in casualties was more likely related to the positioning of forces or to the weather conditions. The opposition can escalate along with any escalation by the United States. The very courageous and effective sweeps through the jungles by the United States forces, at great cost, does not lead to any lasting result. I know those jungles. Within a few weeks after the sweep, they are again the center for guerilla activity. The jungles and mountains are too extensive to permit a permanent occupation and holding by United States forces.

Thus I reemphasize that I do not believe there is an American military solution through combat in Vietnam.

May I restate that the United States should continue to stay in Vietnam, but should do so in a defensive posture, and in connection with the United Nations development and economic and education priorities which I recommend.

Finally the essential active cooperation of Cambodia can be won in such a United Nations program. I know the Cambodian Prince. I see nothing to indicate any basic change of attitude on his part from that expressed in the extensive discussions I had with him during President Eisenhower's Administration.

With assurance of my continued respect,

Sincerely yours,

Harold E. Stassen

HES/cbh

March 31, 1967

Honorable Kenneth B. Keating  
345 East 46th Street  
New York, New York

Dear Ken:

Thank you for your very interesting letter of  
March 23rd.

From a rather extensive correspondence which  
developed from an earlier letter with reference to the  
United Nations and Vietnam and the recommendations  
for a basis for a sound and strong peace, a memorandum  
has been assembled of the principal questions which arose,  
and of my responses.

With the thought that you may find some interest in  
reviewing these, I am enclosing a copy of that memorandum.

Recent events have served to deepen my conviction  
that this change in policy and program of the United States  
is very necessary, and can be successful.

I would be willing to participate in the program which  
you outline in any manner that I can.

With personal best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

HES/cbh  
Enclosures

PERSONAL  
&  
UNOFFICIAL

KENNETH B. KEATING

Suite 815  
345 EAST 46 STREET  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

March 23, 1967

Mr. Harold E. Stassen  
Stassen, Kephart, Sarkis & Kostos  
1020 Fidelity-Philadelphia Trust Bldg.  
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Mr. Stassen

My years in the U. S. Senate have provided me with a heightened concern that we constantly seek to improve the effectiveness of our foreign policies. In this connection, I believe that the members of our legal profession are uniquely qualified to help formulate policies that would give greater assurance for world peace and economic development.

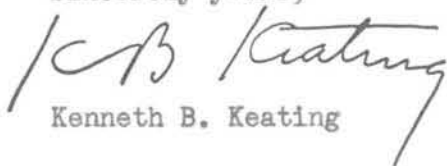
As a "pilot" event, in early February we called a select group of New York lawyers to a special conference with Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg at the United Nations. The enclosed sample invitation and Conference Committee roster demonstrate the remarkable measure of interest and response.

Ambassador Goldberg warmly welcomed our counsel and help to be channelled through the United Nations Association. Following a full discussion of current world problems, the conference adopted a two-fold plan for our profession on a national scale. The plan to consist of (1) the formulation of a blueprint for lawyers to give counsel and assistance to help establish more effective U.S. international policies, and (2) the immediate formation of a National Legacies Committee to enlist long-range support and more immediate gifts from discretionary trusts and estates for the UNA and its expanded programs.

As a leading member of our profession in your community, your endorsement and participation would enhance the scope of our committee and the results of our efforts. Therefore, I cordially invite you to join me as a member of the national legacies committee and take part in the overall program. The measure of your participation would be up to you and in accordance with your availability.

I look to your favorable response and to the benefit of your suggestions.

Sincerely yours,

  
Kenneth B. Keating

*Harold E. Stassen*  
*Philadelphia, Pa.*

*Sample Copy*



*Working Together for Peace,  
Freedom and Justice*

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*of the*

LEGAL AND ACCOUNTING PROFESSIONS

*Welcome*

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*Special Guest*

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*Wednesday, February 8, 1967 at 5:00 P.M.*

*General Assembly Building of the United Nations*

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*Wednesday, February 8, 1967*

*General Assembly Building of the United Nations  
46th Street and First Avenue*

*Tour*

FOUR O'CLOCK - FROM MAIN LOBBY GENERAL ASSEMBLY BUILDING

*Reception and Meeting*

FIVE O'CLOCK - DELEGATES DINING ROOM

*R.S.V.P.*

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Governor

This is the form the letter will take.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'CBH', written over a faint, illegible stamp or form. The signature is stylized and cursive.

CBH



HAROLD E. STASSEN  
1020 FIDELITY-PHILADELPHIA TRUST BUILDING  
PHILADELPHIA 9, PENNSYLVANIA  
KINGSLEY 5-7466

March 28, 1967

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Dear \_\_\_\_\_:

*CBH*  
*Also let*  
*me see my draft*  
*rough draft*  
*HES*

From a rather extensive correspondence which has developed from my earlier letter with reference to the United Nations and Vietnam, and the recommendations for a basis for a sound and strong peace, a memorandum has been assembled of the principal questions which arose, and of my response.

With the thought that you may find some interest in reviewing these, I am enclosing a copy of that memorandum.

If this gives rise to any further questions in your mind, please do not hesitate to write. Recent events have served to deepen my conviction that this change in policy and program of the United States is very necessary, and can be successful. I furthermore believe that the change in Republican policy and program is quite likely a required prelude to the change in the Administration's actions.

May I also urge again that you consider using your significant influence in further developing public opinion and Party and Governmental action toward modernizing and strengthening the United Nations and attaining a sound peace with freedom and justice.

With personal best wishes as ever,

Sincerely yours,

HES/cbh

Enclosures: Memorandum of March 28, 1967  
Previous Letter.

March 31, 1967

Mr. James Reston  
The New York Times  
1701 K Street N. W.  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Scotty:

I was very interested to read your Sunday,  
March 26th column on the Vietnam choices and consequences.

My thinking for some period has been along the  
lines of the in-between alternative, which I am convinced  
would be most desirable.

For your information, I am enclosing the results  
of some of my correspondence.

With personal best wishes as ever,

Sincerely yours,

HES/cbh  
Enclosures

The New York Times  
Times Square



JAMES RESTON  
ASSOCIATE EDITOR

MAY 10 1967

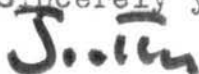
May 4, 1967

Harold E. Stassen  
1020 Fidelity-Philadelphia Trust Building  
Philadelphia 9, Pennsylvania

Dear Harold:

Thanks very much for your U.N. views.  
The only trouble is I'm afraid not many  
people down here are listening.

Sincerely yours,



James Reston

JR:ds

April 4, 1967

His Eminence Richard Cardinal Cushing  
Archbishop's Chancery Office  
2121 Commonwealth Avenue  
Brighton, Massachusetts 02135

Your Eminence:

As one who has long appreciated and respected your exceptional leadership and the evident and effective humanitarian concern which you have manifested, may I write to you directly on a matter of exceptional current concern.

From my continuing study I believe it is urgent that the United Nations be modernized and strengthened in a comprehensive manner and used to end the extensive American War involvement in Vietnam. I am confident that the latter objective could be realized in an honorable and desirable manner. The necessary amending of the Charter can be through a Convention without a veto, as Senator Arthur Vandenberg and I and the others foresaw this need at the time of drafting and signing the Charter.

This modernizing and strengthening should include universal membership in a revised United Nations Charter, bringing all of the people on this one world within the organization, whatsoever their present form of government; thus moving the intense world struggle toward a long term, non-war competition of systems. This is preferable to a continuation of a sharp spreading war, with inherent growing dangers of a future world nuclear war. Furthermore, I have faith that such a competition would result gradually in the future decades in freedom for all peoples.

This universal membership would mean that both German Governments, both Korean Governments, both

Page #2

His Eminence Richard Cardinal Cushing

Chinese Governments, both Vietnam Governments, and the remaining colonial areas, upon their attainment of sovereign status, would all be eligible for representation. I am certain that through this step the American War involvement in Vietnam can be reduced immediately, can be quieted down in a short time, and, for all practical purposes, can be ended at an early date in an honorable and desirable manner.

I am also convinced from my extensive experience in Asia and in Vietnam that a continuation or an expansion of the present American War effort in Vietnam will not lead to a solution.

The United Nations Charter amendments, when made, should also include new sound financial arrangements, and improved methods for functioning to reach peaceful solutions and to make constructive progress.

I realize that this is a brief statement of major policy matters and if you wish me to do so, I will clarify or explain any portion of these recommendations.

With personal best wishes, as ever,

Respectfully yours,

Harold E. Stassen

HES/cbh

April 4, 1967

The Most Reverend John J. Krol  
Archbishop of Philadelphia  
225 North 18th Street  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Your Excellency:

With continued respect and long appreciation for your significant leadership in the religious field in the Greater Philadelphia area of the Archdiocese, may I write to you in a matter of special current concern.

From my continuing study, I believe it is urgent that the United Nations be modernized and strengthened in a comprehensive manner and used to end the extensive American War involvement in Vietnam. I am confident that the latter objective could be realized in an honorable and desirable manner. The necessary amending of the Charter can be through a Convention without a veto, as Senator Arthur Vandenberg and I and the others foresaw this need at the time of drafting and signing the Charter.

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Page #2

The Most Reverend John J. Krol

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I realize that this is a brief statement of major policy matters and if you wish me to do so, I will clarify or explain any portion of these recommendations.

With personal best wishes, as ever,

Respectfully yours,

Harold E. Stassen

HES/cbh

April 3, 1967

William A. Meehan, Esq.  
Meehan & Stoelker  
2210 Girard Trust Building  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102

Dear Bill:

In my continuing endeavor to move Republican policy and national policy in the matter of Vietnam and the United Nations, I have had considerable correspondence with a number of Republican Senators, Congressmen and Governors.

I thought I would like you to have a copy of the form of my opening letter to them, and a copy of the 15 questions and answers which developed from that correspondence.

I know you are thoroughly occupied right now in your drive to win Philadelphia over for our Republican Party, and in this program, as you know, I will continue to do everything I can to cooperate and assist you. I do think, however, that I should keep you informed of my activities in the national and foreign policy fields.

With personal best wishes as ever,

Sincerely yours,

Harold E. Stassen

HES/cbh  
Enclosures



June 12, 1967

His Eminence John Cardinal Krol  
Archdiocese of Philadelphia  
225 North Eighteenth Street  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19103

Your Eminence:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter of June 3rd.

May I respectfully urge that the Bishop in charge of the Catholic Office for United Nations Affairs and the permanent observer of the Holy See at the United Nations give some further study and consideration to this matter of the amending convention of the United Nations as the path toward a modernized and strengthened United Nations and a better outlook for the durable world peace with freedom and justice of which I wrote to you.

The calling of such an amending convention does not require the affirmative vote of all of the permanent members of the Security Council. Under Article 109 it requires only the vote of any seven members. It also requires the affirmative vote of any two-thirds of the members of the Assembly. This provision for "any seven members" was a very deliberate and important provision, worked into the Charter in 1945 at San Francisco. Senator Tom Connally, Senator Arthur Vandenberg and I and others foresaw the need for future modernization and strengthening, and fully understood the imperative necessity of not freezing the organization into a rigid structure of the then five permanent members. We therefore added at San Francisco, after extensive negotiations, the provision for the amending convention which could be called without any state having a veto.

It is furthermore a world-recognized principle of Constitutional Law and of International Law that once such a

convention is convened, it has the power to set the terms of the amended Charter or in legal terms, the new Charter. Specifically, it could make the amendments such that there could be two Chinas, neither one of whom would have a veto. It could provide for the two Germanys, neither one of whom would have a veto. The present Chinese Nationalist Government, for example, could not veto the calling of the Convention, and neither could they veto the ratification of the new Charter. This is also the solution for the dilemma otherwise confronting the world of either substituting the Chinese Communist Government for the Chinese Nationalist Government, or continuing the present unsound and dangerous structure.

It is my further view, based on long experience, that the Russian Government can be persuaded to move forward on these matters if we take the approach of endeavoring to have a truly worldwide representation within the organization. They must be as aware as we are of the inadequacy of the present structure and of the dangers of future war which center in the omission of Mainland China and of the entire German people from the United Nations organization at the present time.

I do know from my participation with President Eisenhower in the Summit Meeting of 1955, that they are as aware as we are of the mutual devastation which would follow a Third World War.

In an amending convention, each state will have the status of its actual power and authority within the world. Obviously the aim of the convention would be to work out all problems on a basis that the new Charter would be ratified by all. But no state would have an arbitrary absolute right to veto either the calling of the convention or the terms of the new Charter.

There has been widespread misunderstanding of these legal points, and it is so imperative that the world now move forward in these matters.

I also continue to be convinced that only the initiative toward two Vietnams in the United Nations in this contemporary period of history can lead to a solution of the Vietnam War.

The emergence of the people of Vietnam from French Colonialism after their long struggle leaves them with a deep desire for complete recognition of national sovereignty and a status at the United Nations table. So long as we cling to the terms of the 1954 French Document which anticipated that one or the other of the Governments would take over a United Vietnam, we rivet in an unending bitter bloody war.

May I add that if there are any individuals who are researching and studying these matters on behalf of the Catholic Bishops, and if they would wish to discuss these points directly, I would be pleased to respond for this purpose.

May I express again my personal respects and my deeply felt best wishes in your continued significant leadership.

Sincerely yours,

Harold E. Stassen

HES/cbh



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