

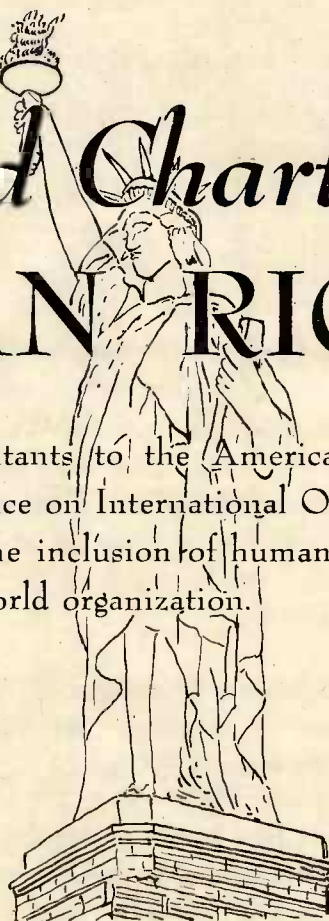
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"...a great beginning, a beginning of which Jefferson and Lincoln and the other
heroes of the endless struggle for human liberty would have mightily approved."

— Archibald MacLeish

Dec. 1948

A World Charter for **HUMAN RIGHTS**

The story of the consultants to the American delegation to the
United Nations Conference on International Organization and their
historic achievement — the inclusion of human rights provisions in
the charter of the new world organization.



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N. Y.

A TRIBUTE

By PROFESSOR JAMES T. SHOTWELL

One of the world's foremost authorities on international organization, Professor Shotwell has been a professor of history at Columbia University since 1908, director of the division of economics and history of the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace, a former president of the League of Nations Association, and is now chairman of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace. In 1919, he was adviser to the American delegation at the Versailles Peace Conference.

Human rights and fundamental freedoms have now been proclaimed to the world as fundamental purposes for the organization of civilization in the future.

We began to study the question of human rights in an organization with which I have been associated as chairman, the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace. And as we studied it, we came in contact, essentially and necessarily, with thoughts, maturing under brilliant leadership, in the American Jewish Committee.

The Commission to Study the Organization of Peace formed a sub-committee that linked up with your leadership. I wish to say that the major and strenuous part of the thinking was done by your leaders. We were profiteers in that matter. Out of that joint work came the suggestion that there should be, within the new international organization, a commission on fundamental freedoms and human rights, and that this commission should carry on in the future the requisite and necessary functioning and practical development of plans for securing human rights across as well as within frontiers.

With Judge Proskauer's leadership in San Francisco, we succeeded jointly, through the consultants' organization at the conference, in inserting in the charter the provisions which we were intent upon realizing.

The actual presentation of the demand for the inclusion of human rights provisions was made by a member of the joint committee, Dr. O. Frederick Nolde of Philadelphia. After he stated the case, Judge Proskauer made the most eloquent and convincing argument that I have ever listened to in my life.

Judge Proskauer's argument on that occasion is destined to become one of the chapters of American history. And I am very happy to bear witness to his great success for he completely won over the meeting and Secretary Stettinius instantly promised that he would do all he could to have the human rights clauses inserted in the charter.

The next morning it was accepted by the American delegates as a whole. And soon it was sponsored by the Big Four. It then got into the charter in the fullest possible way.

I, as a historian with all of the careful reserves that a historian is bound to think of, pay this tribute to the leader of the American Jewish Committee. It was a magnificent victory for freedom and human rights.

FOREWORD

The story of the writing of the charter of the new world organization for peace is one that will engage historians for many years. Part of that historic narrative will be the recording of the activities of the forty-two private American organizations invited to designate groups of consultants to the American delegation, a cross section of some hundred-odd Americans who played a distinguished role in bringing about the inclusion of the human rights amendments in the charter.

Because it is a matter of historic record that will interest historians of the future who were not as fortunate as Professor Shotwell in being personally present at the San Francisco Conference, we have felt it appropriate to tell the story of the role played by the American Jewish Committee in gaining acceptance for the human rights provisions of the new charter. We have chosen to tell this story, not through the eyes of one or another of the participants, but rather through those contemporary historians, the representatives of the American press and radio who recorded the story of the conference in their day-to-day reports.

As the representatives of a free press, in a free world, these reporters by their intelligent interpretative writing played an important part in marshaling public opinion in support of the United Nations Conference on International Organization. In these pages, we present their story of a democratic achievement, the adoption of the provisions safeguarding individual human rights in the charter of the new world organization.

This victory was not won overnight. It followed years of careful preparation by the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, the United Nations Association, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the American Jewish Committee and other groups devoted to the preservation of peace.

Concerned as it is with the rights of Jews and all other minority groups, the American Jewish Committee approached the United Nations Conference with the firm belief that it offered the opportunity of enlisting the world powers behind a new concept in international thinking, that the rights of the individual man transcend even the sovereign rights of a nation.

Our delegates — Judge Joseph M. Proskauer and Jacob Blaustein and a staff of technical assistants — devoted themselves to the furtherance of this attitude which they believed would see eventual fruition in the promulgation of an International Bill of Rights to be administered by a Human Rights Commission operating as a part of the new world organization.

In all of our endeavors at San Francisco, our group — those who were in San Francisco as well as those who maintained daily communication with them from New York — were buttressed in their work by the recent formulation of policies by

our Committee on Peace Problems. They also brought to the conference the invaluable research material compiled during the past five years by our Research Institute on Peace and Post-War Problems under the auspices of the Overseas Committee of which George Z. Medalie is chairman.

In February of this year, the Committee on Peace Problems issued its recommendations in a brochure, "To the Counsellors of Peace," which — translated into various languages — was distributed to every one of the delegates from the fifty nations attending the conference.

The American Jewish Committee had previously voiced its views in behalf of an International Bill of Rights in a declaration issued on December 15, 1944, in which it was joined by 1326 distinguished Americans of all faiths, races and political creeds. This dramatic manifestation of American support of the idea of an International Bill of Rights, endorsed by the late President Roosevelt, won enthusiastic support from newspapers throughout the country. On March 20th, less than a month before his tragic death, Mr. Roosevelt reaffirmed his belief in an International Bill of Rights when, in the course of an interview with Judge Proskauer and Mr. Blaustein, he authorized the representatives of the American Jewish Committee to say that the President was "profoundly interested in the establishment of an International Bill of Rights as well as in other suggestions contained in the Interim Report of the American Jewish Committee." The President further said that he considered the Committee's post-war thinking "a serious endeavor to implement the Dumbarton Oaks program" and that the Committee's interim report would receive his "most serious consideration."

The chairman of the Committee's executive committee, Jacob Blaustein, who in his capacity as associate consultant to the American delegation rendered vital service in all the negotiations leading to the inclusion of the human rights provisions, expressed the Committee's gratification over their inclusion in the charter of the world organization when he recently said:

"The establishment of a Commission on Human Rights is a great step forward because in it, we have the actual international machinery for creating a new world order in which Jews, like all other people, will enjoy equal rights of citizenship.

"For the first time in history, the question of human rights and the treatment of individuals has been officially recognized as being of vital international concern. That recognition is one of the great achievements that has come out of San Francisco."

April 26th: The difficulties in the way of achieving the inclusion of human rights provisions in the United Nations Charter were outlined in a Jewish Telegraphic Agency dispatch which said:

Many obstacles lie in the way of adoption of an international bill of rights by the conference, and the Jewish

leaders are well aware of them. The delegation of the American Jewish Committee, which is the father of the in-

ternational bill of rights idea, is, therefore, concentrating on overcoming all possible difficulties.

The J.T.A. then enumerated the difficulties, which were:

1. The Soviet delegation, which is very suspicious of any proposal which might eventually lead to interference with internal Soviet affairs, is likely to take a very cool attitude to the proposals for the adoption of an international bill of rights on the ground that in a country like the USSR, where there are numerous nationalities, it would be easy for anti-Soviet elements to provoke cases which could be considered violations of the international bill of rights,

thus justifying outside intervention.

2. A similar attitude may be taken by the British delegation since irredentists in India and other British-controlled territories might be enabled under the international bill of rights to cause serious international embarrassment for Britain.

3. The American delegation, though in principle behind an international bill of rights, may be split on adoption of such a bill by the present con-

ference, in view of the fact that there is a marked division in the ranks of the delegation, as well as in the State Department, with regard to immediate objectives of the conference. Some want the conference to limit itself to erecting the structure of an international organization and to leave all other decisions and pronouncements to the various sections of this organization, while others would like to see basic decisions made by the conference as such.

April 28th: Judge Proskauer and Jacob Blaustein, in a statement issued to the press, which appeared in the *Herald Tribune*, *Times* and *World Telegram* in New York as well as elsewhere throughout the country, launched the campaign for an International Bill of Rights under the auspices of the United Nations Conference on International Organization. This declaration, as carried by the *New York Herald Tribune* of April 29th, said:

Establishment by the United Nations Conference on International Organization of a permanent commission to draw up an international bill of rights was urged today by Joseph M. Proskauer, former New York Supreme Court Justice, who is president of

the American Jewish Committee and, on that group's nomination, consultant to the United States delegation to the conference.

Mr. Proskauer said that "the New World order must provide security and contentment for citizens of every na-

tion, irrespective of race or creed."

The American Jewish Committee also recommended, in a brief submitted today, organization of a commission on statelessness to deal with the problem of displaced men and women in Europe. It sug-

gested a third commission to deal with migrations in Europe resulting from economic and social upheaval.

Mr. Proskauer said that implicit in the suggestion for an international bill of rights is "the patent truth that every human being is entitled to live under his own vine and fig tree in his own country."

"The Committee is glad to align itself in fundamental agreement with the statement just issued by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America as well as with many of the official pronouncements of the representative Catholic organizations stressing the moral issues with respect to the conference," he said. "This accord brings into high relief the keynote struck by Secretary Stettinius that the New World order must provide security and contentment for citizens

of every nation, irrespective of race or creed.

"The special plight of the Jewish victims of Nazi savagery will require from the peace conference when it assembles special consideration, but basically the Committee advocates for the security conference recommendations which are wholly consistent with the primary objective of making the world safe for all humanity.

"We have laid special stress on the establishment of a commission on human rights and an international bill of rights. While the details of such a charter may not be within the agenda of the security conference, we have earnestly urged that to comply with the Dumbarton Oaks proposal 'to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedom' a permanent commission should be

set up at the earliest possible time by the conference. The task of that commission would be to formulate an international bill of rights embodying protection of the fundamental freedoms, religious liberty and racial equality."

Mr. Proskauer recalled the declaration of human rights issued recently by the Committee over the signatures of some 1,300 Americans of all races and creeds.

"We emphasize our profound belief," he said, "that while the peace conference will ultimately give attention to the wrongs which have been especially inflicted on the stricken Jews of Europe by the holocaust of war and the bestiality of Hitler, the ultimate safety of the Jewish populations of Europe will rest upon the international enforcement of justice and equality of treatment to all men of every race and creed."

April 30th: The correspondent of the New York Post, Victor Riesel, wrote of the growing sentiment for a human rights commission as enunciated by the consultants of the American Jewish Committee. His dispatch from San Francisco said:

Behind this campaign is the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, the	American Jewish Committee, 12 Catholic Bishops, and the powerful Baptist Joint Con-	ference Committee on Public Relations, which speaks for 11,000,000 Baptists.
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May 4th: The progress of the effort to create an international human rights commission was reported by Mr. Riesel in the New York Post of May 4th when he optimistically wrote:

The American delegates' last-minute decision to include the civil rights commission in its set of amendments was	made suddenly early yesterday after a dramatic series of behind-the-scenes meetings between the 42 consultants,	Secretary Stettinius and members of the U. S. delegation. The first of the closed sessions was held at 2:45 p.m.
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Wednesday after the consultants learned that some of the U. S. delegates were opposed to the commission because it might complicate "efforts to win Senate ratification of the world security plan worked out here."

The consultants made little effort to conceal their anger at this session. Some of them pounded the table and shouted their demands for official support of the civil rights force.

CIO President Murray threw his influence behind the commission. A spokesman for the Federal Council of

Churches in America demanded action. Judge Proskauer, head of the American Jewish Committee, argued for it.

Then, according to informed reports, a petition signed by 25 consultants demanding adoption by the conference of such a commission was handed to Stettinius.

He said he would back it—and promised to push it at the next meeting of the U.S. delegates. Wednesday night, supported by Dean Gildersleeve, Rep. Bloom (D-N. Y.) and Stassen, Stettinius urged the

U. S. delegation to adopt the commission amendment.

The American Jewish Committee program which was the basis of the consultants' petition, suggested the immediate convening of "a United Nations conference on human rights to examine the problem."

The AJC has also urged that local and international courts be set up to deal with "violations of human rights . . . where group conflicts are traditional and the Nazis have long dominated. . . ."

May 5th: The Jewish Telegraphic Agency reported from San Francisco that:

The American Jewish Committee submitted a memorandum to the UNCIO, under the signature of Judge Joseph M. Proskauer and Jacob Blaustein, asking, in addition to the creation of a Commission on Human Rights, the establishment of a Commission on Statelessness and a Commission on Migration by amending the Dumbarton Oaks proposals.

The memorandum urges that both commissions be part of the Economic and Social Council. The function of the Commission on Statelessness would be to act as the international authority protecting the rights, and concerned with the welfare of all stateless persons, and to provide the necessary machinery for iden-

tity documents which would be recognized by all nations.

The function of the migration body would be to prepare and work for an international convention on migration and to establish technical bodies to explore migration possibilities and to coordinate the work of other official international organizations already dealing with this subject.

May 9th: Writing in her syndicated column in the New York Post and other papers of May 9th, Sylvia F. Porter, columnist, said:

For the first time in history, the basic principles of equal rights, justice and non-discrimination as to "race, language, religion or sex" are being written into a world organization's charter.

We fought the Revolution to obtain "self determination," the Civil War to achieve "due

regard for principles of justice." But here, the magic words were accepted without argument and by all nations.

Nothing like this has ever been done before. And while you might be inclined to shrug off the accomplishments as "just words" at this stage, remember that first you must

accept a principle — and then, and then only, can you go on to make it live.

The tale behind the writing of the human rights amendments is dramatic in itself, for the original Dumbarton Oaks proposals included none of this. Here is how it came about:

from El Alamein to the Alps. In a career marked by both the peaks and peaks of the British

tought at the . . . Protestant chapel in the headquarters compound of the United States Forces, European The-

A similar requirement . . . to gifts of rationed shoes sent to civilians abroad the QPA said but

It all started with the consultants to this conference, among them such organizations as the American Association for the United Nations, the American Jewish Committee, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Foreign Policy Assn., etc.

Last week, these consultants descended upon Secretary Stettinius with urgent demands that the organization's

charter say something about justice and freedom.

At a private meeting, Stettinius listened to their arguments, finally declared, "You've convinced me and now I'll try to convince our delegation."

He did convince the American representatives, who promptly drafted a human rights amendment for submis-

sion to the other major powers.

And so enthusiastic did the Big Four become about this that they wrote the human rights clauses into three chapters. They're under the opening "Purposes" of the organization, under the "General Assembly" section, and again under the "Powers of the Economic and Social Council."

May 16th: Peter Edson, widely syndicated NEA Service columnist, writing in the *San Francisco News* and hundreds of other papers throughout the country, told the "story behind the human rights plan."

"The real story behind Secretary of State Stettinius' announcement supporting the inclusion in the United Nations charter of four amendments for the protection of human rights," Edson wrote, "is that these provisions were insisted upon by a group of over 100 unofficial U. S. 'consultants' representing 42 national religious, patriotic,

farm, labor, business, educational and peace organizations.

"Among the leaders in this movement to put a Commission on Human Rights in the Social and Economic Council of the United Nations Organization were Dr. Frederick Nolde of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and Judge Joseph M.

Proskauer of the American Jewish Committee.

"Work of this consultants' group has been pretty much behind the scenes at San Francisco, but its effectiveness is best shown by its victory on the human rights issue which had been previously considered and then dropped by the State Department as something too difficult to attain."

Mr. Edson reported that the consultants first made their views known to a few of the delegates who appeared before the afternoon sessions of the consultants to inform them of Conference developments. The NEA correspondent continued:

Dean Virginia Gildersleeve got this reaction at first, then John Foster Dulles. But the delegates were not impressed and decided not to make a fight for these principles.

At a subsequent meeting of the consultants Secretary Stettinius appeared. Dr. Nolde, an eloquent preacher, led off with a demand for better safeguards of human

rights. He was followed by Judge Proskauer who made a profound legal presentation of the case. Others among the consultants voiced their approval in no uncertain terms. Their position was that while they did not expect the American delegates to win every point, they did expect their delegates to get in there and

fight for what they considered right.

Secretary Stettinius was impressed and said so. Leaving the meeting of the consultants, he went directly to a meeting with other American delegates and their official, technical advisors who were considering other amendments. Stettinius immediately

made the proposal that the question of amendments incorporating the principles of President Roosevelt's Four Freedoms and the protection of human rights for all people, regardless of race, language, religion or sex, be considered.

This action was taken and the American delegation went on record in support of the four human rights amendments — a statement of principles in the preamble, giving the general assembly the

power to assist in attainment of these freedoms, and the creation of a commission to promote their world wide acceptance. Securing the approval of the other powers to these amendments was a relatively easy matter.

May 19th:

In recognition of the part he played in rallying the American delegation behind the "human rights" declaration, Judge Proskauer was invited to be one of the participants on the weekly NBC University of the Air broadcasts from San Francisco presented every Saturday night by the National Broadcasting Company in cooperation with the U. S. State Department. Heard on the program with Judge Proskauer were Assistant Secretary of State Archibald MacLeish, Hamilton Fish Armstrong, advisor to the Secretary of State, John Dickey, Director of the Office of Public Affairs of the State Department, and Sterling Fisher, Director of the NBC University of the Air.

Judge Proskauer was introduced by Mr. Fisher as "one of the men who led in advocating the action taken on human rights." The Judge, after paying tribute to the role played by Secretary Stettinius for "the heroic and idealistic, yet practical, handling of this difficult problem," said:

"One of my fellow consultants observed that the dead international lawyers will turn in their graves at this new departure in international law. My comment was, 'What's the harm in that?' In the past the whole concept of international law was that it should deal only with the relations between nations. The conscience of the world, and of America, demands a fundamental change in this viewpoint. It demands a world

based on the concept of the dignity and inviolability of the person of every human being. Hitlerism has demonstrated that bigotry and persecution by a barbarous nation necessarily throws peace-loving nations into the awful holocaust of war. It has demonstrated it is a matter of international concern to stamp out infractions of basic fundamental human rights.

"The amendments which have been approved by the

four sponsoring powers don't represent the millenium. It will still remain for the proposed Commission on Human Rights to write an International Bill of Rights and devise the machinery for its implementation. But a start — a great start — has been made. Once the United Nations organization has been set up it can legislate into the law and life of the world the ancient precept: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.'"

In opening the radio broadcast, Mr. MacLeish called "Mr. Stettinius' statement on the human rights amendments the most important statement of the week." The Assistant Secretary of State, one of America's great liberals, said of the human rights declaration:

"When the history of our time is written, the recognition of universal human rights contained in the Charter of San Francisco will make that Charter rank in the great series of documents which record the struggle for human liberty — documents like those which now stand in the Library of Congress in Washington — the Magna Charta, the American Bill of Rights.

"Here, for the first time in the history of the world, is an effort to extend to mankind everywhere the fundamental rights so painfully won and painfully defended by the peoples who have inherited

from Greece and Rome, from England and France, and not least, from the founders of this Republic, the great tradition of human dignity and individual freedom.

"Many individual nations have adopted during recent centuries declarations of human rights. None of these declarations is, perhaps, perfect. Certainly none of them in any country has been realized in full detail and in universal application. Nevertheless, they have existed as a theoretical, and often practical, safeguard of the rights of individual men and women.

"Now for the first time at the Conference in San Francisco

an effort has been made to establish the basic proposition applicable in all lands and for all peoples that human beings possess, by virtue of the fact that they are human beings, certain rights — as Jefferson would have put it — certain inalienable rights.

"The language of the proposed declaration may not be perfect. It may not be as full and complete as many would wish to see it. It is nevertheless, like the Charter to which it belongs, a great beginning, a beginning of which Jefferson and Lincoln and the other heroes of the endless struggle for human liberty would have mightily approved."

May 20th: The correspondent of the *Jewish Daily Forward*, in its issue of May 20th, tells the behind-the-scenes story that finally resulted in the inclusion of a commission on human rights in the charter drawn up by the international conference in San Francisco. Writing from a Jewish point of view, he said:

... The most important subject taken up at the San Francisco conference that is of direct concern to Jews was the recommendation sponsored by the United States, Great Britain, Russia and China that calls for the establishment of a Commission for Human Rights designed to protect the civil rights of every man, woman and child, regardless of race and religion. All the Jewish and many non-Jewish organizations represented in San Francisco were interested in the creation of such a commission, but if such a commission should become a reality, a great deal of the credit belongs to Judge Joseph M.

Proskauer and Jacob Blaustein, two leaders of the American Jewish Committee. They were the ones who presented this demand with unusual energy and carried it through in the face of the opposition of some of the governments.

The struggle for the establishment of such a commission was carried on mainly at the joint conference of the members of the U.S. delegation and the consultants of the private organizations. There were members of the American delegation who were opposed to the establishment of such a commission, perhaps out of fear that it would in-

volve the Negro problem. Whatever the cause may have been, the fact is that there was a danger that the conference would not establish a Commission on Human Rights and would ignore entirely the problem of the rights of Jews and other oppressed peoples. This danger was particularly acute in the period before the Big Four powers were ready to submit their joint recommendations on the aims and purposes of the New World Organization.

During those hours, I was present in the room of the consultants and thus in a position to observe what was taking place behind the scenes.

I witnessed Judge Proskauer mobilizing the non-Jewish consultants in a fight against those members of the U.S. delegation who were eager to ignore this problem. I saw him personally pressing this point with Secretary of State

Stettinius. I observed the determination which he displayed in fighting those opposed to a Commission for Human Rights and I must say that the eventual breakdown of the opposition was, to a large extent, due to the im-

pressive speech which Proskauer delivered at the conference Stettinius held later that day with the consultants, and also to the personal influence exerted by Mr. Blaustein on certain members of the American delegation.

May 24th: On the daily Mary Margaret McBride women's program broadcast over the entire network of the National Broadcasting Company on May 24th, Stella Karn, in her preliminary remarks before interviewing Judge Proskauer in San Francisco, introduced him as the man "more or less responsible for the Declaration of Human Rights which has been presented by the consultants."

In the course of the interview, Judge Proskauer explained the relationship of the consultants to the American delegation and said that the consultants were used "as a kind of sounding board to find out what is going on in the minds and hearts of America. The result has been," the Judge continued, "that for the first time that anybody here can remember, in the creation of a great international conference, there have been drawn in the resources of the people of America. That represents a great many democratic contributions."

How the consultants managed to make the voice of the American people heard at the conference was described by Judge Proskauer when he told Miss Karn:

"One morning we were informed, we the consultants, that there was a grave danger that the project, the Commission on Human Rights, would fail. What would we do? What did we do? This is where democracy spoke and human beings spoke and people talked. We drew up a memorandum. We got it circulated among the consultants. We had a deadline; it had to get in by five o'clock that day. We got the signatures of twenty-five of the consultants. We

had a meeting with Secretary Stettinius and all the consultants. This document was presented to the Secretary by Dr. Nolde, who represented the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and, of course, every lawyer feels he has to make an argument, and I am a lawyer, and I made an argument for it. It lasted a very few minutes. It was all over in a half hour. But when we got through, the Secretary of

State said: 'This is the voice of America. I have heard it. I will present your petition to the American delegation, and I know they will get behind me in putting this thing through.' That was a heart-warming performance. It really showed that the people count, and it also showed that we have a State Department that was willingly responsive to the will of the people as it was voiced by this representative group of consultants."

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS PROVISIONS

From the address of President Harry S. Truman at the final plenary session of the United Nations Conference on International Organization, June 26, 1945:

"Under this document we have good reason to expect the framing of an International Bill of Rights, acceptable to all the nations involved. That Bill of Rights will be as much a part of international life as our own Bill of Rights is a part of our Constitution. The Charter is dedicated to the achievement and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Unless we can obtain those objectives for all men and women everywhere — without regard to race, language or religion — we cannot have permanent peace and security."

Letter of Edward R. Stettinius, then Secretary of State and now U. S. Representative on the Council of the World Organization, to Judge Joseph M. Proskauer:

"I am delighted that you were able to be present in San Francisco as a consultant to the United States Delegation. The meetings with you and the other consultants have been a source of great satisfaction to me personally and have substantially aided the work of the Delegation.

"I want you to know how much I appreciate the contribution which you have made toward the end which we all so earnestly seek — the establishment of an international organization to maintain peace and security."

Statement by Archibald MacLeish, Assistant Secretary of State:

"The presence of the human rights provisions in the charter is largely due to the efforts of the consultants to the American delegation. None of us will forget Judge Proskauer's eloquent statement on behalf of the consultants.

"The presence of these provisions in the charter constitutes a recognition by the great majority of mankind of the universality of the principles to which those who love liberty and those who believe in the fundamental human dignity of the human being are attached and for which they have struggled over so many generations."

Statement by David A. Simmons, President of the American Bar Association:

"The concept of human rights and the provision of a commission to study and recommend a standard of rights to the nations of the world may well prove to be the most important contribution of the San Francisco charter to the future of mankind. This beacon of hope, if faithfully tended will ultimately light up the dark caverns of ignorance and hate throughout the world. If wisdom and understanding attend this effort, progress can be made. In my opinion, the means employed should be education and cooperation, not legislative compulsion; consent, not force, marks the road to understanding.

"The consultants who petitioned the United States delegation to include the human rights provision in the charter performed a high and responsible function. Judge Proskauer as their spokesman on that occasion is entitled to the greatest credit. It may well prove to be the most important act of his distinguished career."

Statement by Phillip Murray, President of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and consultant for that organization to the American delegation:

Reaffirmation of faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and value of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations, large and small, has been accorded its proper place in the charter of the new world organization being drafted at San Francisco. It is preceded in importance only by the express determination to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. The Economic and Social Council, now a main organ of the new organization, is charged specifically with guaranteeing fundamental human rights. This is as it should be. The nations would have been wasting time in drafting a world constitution along the old lines of power politics which always counts human beings as economic pawns and gives only lip service to the innate right of each individual human being. It is the wronging of the rights and not the rightings of wrongs that breed wars. The labor consultants, the American delegation and all the other forty-one consultive groups were united in their demands for recognition of human rights in the charter. It was one of the many benefits which all true Americans unanimously agree should be made accessible to every human being on the face of the earth with no differentiation whatsoever.

TEXT OF HUMAN RIGHTS PROVISIONS IN UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

We, the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and

To reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small . . .

CHAPTER I PURPOSES

Article 1

3. To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for the fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion . . .

CHAPTER IV THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Article 13

1. The General Assembly shall initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of:
(b) Promoting international cooperation in the economic, social, cultural, educational and health fields and assisting in the realization of human rights and basic freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

CHAPTER IX INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COOPERATION

Article 55

With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote:

(C) Universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

Article 56

All members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in cooperation with the organization for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55.

Article 60

Responsibility for the discharge of the organization's functions set forth in this chapter shall be vested in the General Assembly and, under the authority of the General Assembly, in the Economic and Social Council, which shall have for this purpose the powers set forth in Chapter X.

CHAPTER X ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL FUNCTIONS AND POWERS

Article 62

2. It (the Economic and Social Council) may make recommendations for the purpose of promoting respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.

PROCEDURE

Article 68

The Economic and Social Council shall set up commissions in economic and social fields and for the promotion of human rights, and such other commissions as may be required for the performance of its functions.

Article 71

The Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence. Such arrangements may be made with international organizations, and, where appropriate, with national organizations after consultation with the member of the United Nations concerned.

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