

Rockefeller Proposes Immediate Convention To Declare NATO Goal Is Federal Union

THE CHAIRMAN of the Executive Committee of Federal Union, Inc., George V. Allen, former Ambassador, Assistant Secretary of State and Director of the U.S. Information Agency, resided at the association's Convocation banquet which filled to capacity the Ballroom of the Warwick Hotel in Philadelphia, Nov. 20. He first introduced those on the dais—Mrs. Nelson A. Rockefeller, Dr. and Mrs. Benjamin Baker, (a daughter of W. L. Clayton), Federal Union Chairman Roy Chiffs and Mrs. Chiffs, and its President, Clarence Streit and Mrs. Streit. He then said Mr. Streit would introduce Governor Rockefeller. We give a transcript of what followed.—Editors



MR. ALLEN: Some of you may have heard of the factory in which it was proposed that there be a group insurance policy. There was one requirement about this policy—everybody had to sign it or it wasn't in effect. And everybody signed the policy except one very stubborn old fellow who absolutely refused to sign. The foreman called him in and argued with him, and the shop steward argued with him, and the general manager argued with him. Finally the president called him in and said: "Sam, if you don't sign that I'm going to fire you."

Sam grabbed the pencil quickly and signed it, and the president said, "Well why didn't you sign it before?" And Sam said, "Well, they ain't nobody ever really explained it to me before."

I'm going to turn the microphone over right away to the president of Federal Union, Mr. Clarence Streit, to explain to you what this is about.



MR. STREIT: Mr. Chairman, Governor Rockefeller, Mrs. Rockefeller and distinguished guests, I am facing, I was about to say, a problem, but I learned not to use that word from Bishop Hiestand of Harrisburg, who had hoped to be here tonight. When I was telling him a few months ago about all of our problems he said, "Well, you know I never use that word when I'm speaking to the clergy of my diocese. I say we face this challenge." And my challenge tonight is that somewhere along the road I lost the notes of what I was going to say. *(Laughter)* So I have the formidable task of introducing without my notes a man who really doesn't need any introduction. Before I do that, let me say that I didn't think I had also to explain what this is all about.

This is the 25th Anniversary Year Convocation of the Federal Union movement which began here in Philadelphia in 1939. We are doing, we think, one of these things that take a lot of time in doing. We have passed the first quarter-century mark, and I was very gratified to learn today that when Benjamin Franklin set out on a somewhat similar enterprise of uniting the 13 colonies, it took him 35 years. So we still have 10 years left in which to do our job, which is to unite, to federate, the Atlantic community as the beginning of something even greater.

The 13 States, at the dawn of the steam-electric age, had men and women of such vision as to form our American Federal Union. Later generations of Americans had the vision to carry that Union on and on, across the Continent,

and across part of the Pacific in our time. We believe the time has come to unite the Atlantic democracies by these same federal principles, and that is what we have been working at, these 25 years.

At the very beginning of this 25-year period I had the privilege of meeting our distinguished guest here. This was up at the Rainbow Room (I think it was a fitting place—the Rainbow Room floor) of Rockefeller Center, at a luncheon. Your brother, Governor, was also there, John D. Rockefeller III. I had met him previously when I was covering the League of Nations for *The New York Times*. The League had benefited very greatly from the benefactions that your father made, particularly to the Library.

Well, I learned more about American history in Geneva, Switzerland, in the Library of the League of Nations, thanks to these benefactions, than I had ever learned in our own country. I found that I really had an appalling ignorance of the history of this country. I have since found that many Americans have gone through the same sort of thing that I have: We have a grade school education, so to speak, in American history, and then we have in high school, maybe one year of American history and that is about all. That is all I had.

We have, in short, a teenager's view of what was done 177 years ago in this city when the Federal Convention met and drafted our constitution. We have a teenager's view of all this still—most of us. And so we are missing one of the greatest things in human life. We are missing what we could be doing in our own times with these same principles. I learned much about these principles from the documents in the League Library.

[Mr. Streit then repeated in substance what he had said earlier at Congress Hall about the results of that 1939 luncheon with Governor Rockefeller; see page P.]

As I said earlier tonight at the Ceremony at Congress Hall, where we presented to him and to Will Clayton and to the Earl of Avon, former British Prime Minister Anthony Eden, our new Atlantic Union Pioneer Award—as I said there, Governor Rockefeller's thinking on this subject began 25 years ago at least—I think he had been thinking of it even before 25 years ago. I have had occasions to see since then how his thought has been developing on it.

To my great delight in 1962 I read in the papers of his lectures at Harvard University on "The Future of Federalism." He said some very great and powerful things there and they have already borne very great fruit. Since that time there has been an upsurge in his own party and in both parties towards the goal that we have been striving for.

You have had, Governor, your differences with Mr. Nixon on some things—but *not* on Atlantic unification. You have had differences with the late President Kennedy—but *not* on Atlantic unification, since those lectures. You have had your differences, I think, sometimes with General Eisenhower— but *not* on Atlantic unification. (I'm following a great orator who is another of our friends, Senator Hubert Humphrey—as you have doubtless discovered.) [*Laughter*] And you have also had differences with Senator Goldwater, I understand—but *not* on Atlantic unification.

Since the Governor's speech at Harvard there has been a consensus of opinion that has proved that he certainly was in the mainstream of Republican and Democratic thought on this subject. And so I give you Governor Rockefeller, to continue this great leadership.

GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER:

Thanks very much indeed, Clarence Streit. Mrs. Streit, Ambassador Allen, Dr. and Mrs. Baker. I think I should say—unless somebody already said it—■ that all should be sure to know that Mrs. Baker is Will Clayton's daughter. She received the award for him at Congress Hall this evening. [*Mrs. Baker rises to applause*] Mr. and Mrs. Chipps, and members and friends of the Federal Union movement.

I couldn't help thinking, when George Allen was telling that little story at the beginning, about an experience which I had during my first cam-

paign in '58 for the governorship. I was down on the lower east side with Louis Lefkowitz, who is our Attorney General. This is where he had grown up.

The custom in New York is to take questions from the sidewalk during the campaign. So I was taking questions and a lady came up and she said that she couldn't find a place to live that was within her means.

"Well," I said, "madam, I understand your problem. I am very concerned about this question." And I had boned up very carefully on the subject of housing and explained to her in some detail that there were two bond issues on the ballot for the vote—one of \$100 million for low-cost housing and urban renewal, and another hundred million for middle-income housing. And I said, "If you get your friends, madam, all

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back of these bond issues, and then the right candidate is elected . . ." And then she looked up at me and said, "I should live so long?" [*Laughter and applause*] I have a feeling this is the way Clarence Streit feels, ladies and gentlemen, about his dedication and devotion to the extension of the concept of federal structure to the Atlantic Community. While he was very generous today and gave an award to a man whom I admire tremendously, and who is a dear friend, Will Clayton, and to Sir Anthony Eden [Lord Avon] and myself—and I was honored deeply by the award and the company that I was in—still I feel somehow that all of us here present this evening should really have been the ones who were giving to him the award

because he is the man who has been doing the work. [*Applause*] And so I sort of feel as though I was receiving it on his behalf, even though he was giving it to me.

But I think that as history is recorded, that will be the case—that this is the man, who with you and your devoted support, has kept alive this concept, who has nurtured this flame and this dream of what can be and must be the future of freedom, the future structure for freedom. And I would like speak, if I may this evening, on subject. [*Applause*]

TEXT OF FORMAL ADDRESS BY GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER

WE LIVE IN A FAST-PACED world which in a few recent weeks has seen the first atomic explosion in Red China, the fall of Khrushchev, a change of government in Great Britain and our own national election.

We live in a period when—despite the lessons of a half-century in which the West has consumed itself in two great civil wars—the Free World appears to be losing its unity-common purpose, or a clear sense of direction.

We live in a time when no single nation, not even the largest or oldest, can achieve security or realize its human aspirations by itself and from within its own borders alone.

Almost three years ago, in the Godkin Lectures at Harvard University on "The Future of Federalism," I said that: ". . . The federal idea, which our Founding Fathers applied in their historic act of political creation in the 18th century, can be applied in this 20th century in the larger context of the world of free nations—if we will but match our forefathers in courage and vision." I have held these convictions, and that is why I am so pleased to be here tonight.

It is an honor indeed to join you in celebrating the 25th anniversary of your organization, which has done so much to foster the concept of Atlantic Union—and to join you in tribute to a man of unique vision, selfless dedication and inspiring faith in the power of an idea, Clarence Streit.

I would like to discuss tonight the question of whether the time has not come for this generation of Americans to get seriously to the business of applying the example of our forefathers, in

courage and political creativity, to the challenges and opportunities of today's Free World.

II.

The problems of today's free nations are not really new. With their independence, the thirteen original colonies faced a similar situation. After ten years of experience under the Articles of Confederation, the States of this infant Nation recognized that they could not achieve security or realize their aspirations until a structure involving political union was achieved.

When the immediate goal of independence from Britain was achieved and the war was successfully concluded, disunity grew among the states. State rivalries flourished. There were monetary troubles, there were tariff wars, there were even dangers of military hostilities between the states.

In the face of this, it was agreed to hold a Constitutional Convention here in Philadelphia in 1787.

At that Convention, the best interests of the individual states lay so clearly in achieving a viable political structure that

The American experience with a Federal Union has significant application to the problems confronting the Free World today.

Among the nation-states of this Free World, and especially in the Atlantic Alliance, there are problems like those of 1787. With the successful conclusion of World War II, the establishment of the North Atlantic Alliance and the economic rehabilitation of Europe, disunity has grown at a progressive and alarming rate. National rivalries are rampant. Monetary troubles are increasing, the threat of tariff wars is growing and even, again, there is the danger of military action—as we have recently seen in the Mediterranean.

Today's problems, however, are even more urgent and fateful: the tremendous surge of population together with mankind's rising expectations for a better life; the revolutions in science; the social upheavals attending industrialization and rapid urbanization; the compression of time and space by electronic communications and the jet airplane; the overhanging threat of nuclear weapons; and the commitment of world communism to the destruction of freedom.

For far too long, we have been jerry-building the house of freedom. Our conceptions have been too limited, our goals too temporary, our methods too timid.

In its early days, the Atlantic Alliance was unified importantly by a common fear of Communist military aggression. Overt Communist hostility left little scope for purely national action.

In recent years, though the fundamental objectives of the Communists to "bury" the Free World have not changed, their present tactical emphasis on coexistence has blurred the true dangers. The Sino-Soviet split has further made the world-wide thrust of Communism more confusing, though no less dangerous.

At the same time, Europe's postwar recovery has completely altered the relationship between Europe and the United States, demanding that we be prepared to have our allies share more fully in decisions which affect our common future. This is particularly acute with respect to control of nuclear weapons. We, in effect, have tried to reserve the right to decide unilaterally on questions of nuclear war and peace.

National pride, national rivalries and

especially the unfortunate split between France and the United States have greatly weakened the fabric of the Atlantic Alliance. The Alliance has fallen into disarray because the constituent nations are responding to problems on the basis of national expediency rather than on the basis of common interest. We are losing the great and positive vision

LETTERS TO EDITOR PRAISE CONVOCATION, ROCKEFELLER

Congrats on your Convocation! I thought the sessions at which I was present went off extremely well. The panel discussion Friday afternoon was most interesting.

LITHGOW OSBORNE

New York City

You can't appreciate how much my enthusiasm was stirred up all over again in Philadelphia last night. For yourself—always throw away your notes—you are terrific at extemporaneous speech.

As to Rockefeller—all I could think of was our luck in having so loud a voice urging his vast American audience to start thinking. *Glen Head, N. Y.*

EDWARD A. RUESTOW

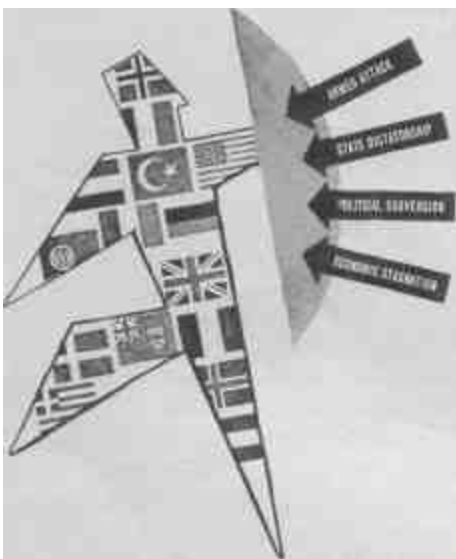
for a free association of free peoples working together in their common interest. - ;

Such an association must be capable of ultimately embracing all the free nations that wish to join it, but the nations bordering the North Atlantic can and must play the major pioneering role in its creation.

For the North Atlantic nations share common views about the nature of man and just political arrangements. They have achieved a high level of economic activity. They have the means to create a community based on respect for diversity and a shared belief in the dignity of man.

The United States, together with Western Europe, which originated the concept of the nation-state, must set an example in creating a new political structure—as respectful of diversity among nations as Western democracy is respectful of diversity among individuals—a structure capable of achieving a community consistent with national and individual dignity.

Our forefathers pioneered a political framework within which this nation conquered a continental wilderness.



within 100 working days, the delegates not only agreed on a Federal Union as their goal but worked out the way—in the Federal Constitution—to monetary, economic, military and political union.

After two years of hard-fought debate, the Constitution was ratified and this Federal Union was launched upon a course that has surmounted all obstacles and calamities for 175 years—and has made this nation a leader of the Free World.

Our generation is called on for no less a pioneering act of political creativity and economic construction—on an inter-continental scale.

III.

In my opinion, this challenge could find its greatest expression in forging a Union of the Free. The practical first step would be to form a federal political structure for the North Atlantic area that would be open to other free nations to join.

The growth and institutions of federalism have differed according to the particular challenges faced in each country, as for example in Canada, in the United States, in Switzerland. But the federal form was chosen for the same reason in each case—the desire to respect the diverse interests and the separate identity of peoples, while giving to them all the strength and protection which come from unity.

This is why I believe that the federal idea can serve as a basis for the achievement of a political structure for free nations. Divided peoples invite disaster. Free peoples united in purpose and determination can make any dream a reality. We must have the honesty and courage to admit and to face the fundamental truth that mere national policies are no longer adequate to our needs. Not only must we face up to this fact, but we must work with our allies to create a structure which enables us all jointly to share in the process of decision-making, not as advisers in American decisions but as partners in the development of common purposes.

Within our federal structure, the United States has maintained freedom, preserved diversity, encouraged initiative, expanded her economy, steadily increased living standards, fostered education, marshalled the resources to protect global freedom in two world wars, and grown in every dimension to a position of world leadership. In Europe the Common Market alone is an inspiring demonstration of what combined efforts can achieve in a larger framework—for it has wrought a revitalization, an economic renaissance in which Europe has progressed from economic stagnation and high unemployment to booming prosperity and a labor shortage.

With this perspective, we begin to get some glimpse of what a Union of

the Free, starting with a federal political structure for the North Atlantic and open to other free nations to join, would mean. In my opinion:

1. It would mean a surge of new strength for the forces of freedom and respect for human dignity.

2. *It would open unparalleled opportunity to achieve the hopes and aspirations of free peoples.*

3. *It would provide a framework within which the increased international flow of goods, money, and ideas would make possible the solution of farm problems, the problems of manpower and unemployment and the availability of equal opportunity for minority groups.*

4. It would inspire other free peoples by demonstrating that democracy is the wave of the future, encouraging other free nations to join in the Federal Union of the Free as Alaska and Hawaii have in recent years joined the Federal Union of the United States.

5. *It would inspire people behind the Iron Curtain living in oppressive, stagnant, bureaucratic societies, to look increasingly to a truly creative and dynamic West. In fact, for the first time.*



Rep. Findley congratulating Rockefeller

whole nations behind the curtain which are seeking to break from Communism could find a haven within the Union.

6. *It would provide a framework within which to solve the nuclear weapons disputes? dividing the free world, and thus insure a truly adequate shield for all free peoples.*

7. It would marshal such overwhelming strength through unity as to greatly reduce temptations and opportunities for aggression, marking the ascendancy of freedom as Communist

unity is declining and demonstrating for all that free men can indeed, in voluntary association, achieve their own full destiny.

IV.

Before this vision can be turned into reality, certain decisions must be made: first, agreement on the goal; second, agreement on a time schedule, third, agreement on the means for achieving the goal.

The time has come for us and our Atlantic allies to take the leadership by appointing a preparatory convention of delegates to work out answers to these basic questions. Let us realize that, in so doing, we will be taking the first practical step toward the ultimate union of all the free.

Let's consider each of these steps; first, the goal:

For the Nations of the North Atlantic there is much evidence that agreement could be reached as to the goal of political union within a federal system.

European doubts as to what the American people would accept seem to go back to this country's rejection of the League of Nations and the period of isolationism thereafter. This, of course, is understandable, but unrealistic today.

Both major political party platforms this year had planks favoring greater Atlantic unity and partnership. This was reflected in the unanimous opinion of majority party leaders. The Republican plank was stronger and more specific than the Democratic.

In the House of Representatives, closely attuned to public opinion, the House Republican Task Force on NATO Unity is solely concerned with uniting the Atlantic community effectively. It is highly significant that every last one of the fourteen Republican House members who make up this Task Force survived the political landslide last month. In fact, they averaged 56 per cent of the vote as a group, even as President Johnson was sweeping most of their districts, which are scattered from coast to coast.

Congressman Paul Findley, vice chairman of the Task Force and its most outspoken advocate of Atlantic Union, who is with us here tonight, was reelected this year by a majority of 20,000, double the majority he received in 1962—and his district is composed of 14 rural

counties in Illinois, some of which Abraham Lincoln represented when he was a Congressman.

On the Democratic side, the late President Kennedy, President Johnson, Vice President-elect Humphrey, the late Senator Kefauver and many others have spoken out for Atlantic unity. As Vice President, Mr. Johnson declared in a message delivered at SHAPE that "the United States is resolved to do everything in its power—and I emphasize the word *everything*—to enhance the strength and unity of the North Atlantic community."

The need for a viable political structure for the nations of the North Atlantic is no longer an issue that upsets or frightens the American people; on the contrary, its advocacy is taken by many as a measure of our ability to see beyond the immediate problems of international relations to a grand design for world peace and freedom.

As to the consensus elsewhere, I believe the very distinguished membership of the Honorary Council and Board of the International Movement for Atlantic Union is evidence in itself of the strong European and Canadian leadership available.

Europeans Working toward Union

Then there is the Common Market and all the other cooperative arrangements that have sprung up in postwar Europe, which give every indication of the trend to eventual Union on a political as well as functional basis.

Once we as peoples accept through meaningful action the goal of Federal Union, the orientation of national leaders here and abroad will change to such an extent that we will make progress toward the goal much faster than people generally think possible.

NATO MEMBER HAS NEW RULER

Picturesque Luxembourg, capital of the Atlantic Alliance's smallest member, was in flag-decked splendor Nov. 12 in tribute to its motherly ruler, the Grand Duchess Charlotte, who was abdicating in favor of her son, the Grand Duke Jean.

The 68-year-old Grand Duchess reigned for more than 45 years before handing the crown to the 43-year-old heir apparent in a short ceremony attended only by other members of the royal house, the 51 members of the nation's one-house parliament, and counselors of state. Grand Duke Jean is the first man to reign over Luxembourg since the death of his grandfather, Guillaume IV, in 1912.

As to the second question—the matter of a timetable—the objective should be immediate, the effort should be intense. Time is of the essence.

Third, as to the question of means, it is easy enough to identify the major procedural problems', whether to follow the functional, piecemeal, seriatim approach of the Europeans, or to tackle the political, military, economic and monetary elements as an inter-related whole as in the U. S. Federal Convention; and whether to solve the problems of balance between the U. S. and Europe by first



federating Europe, or by going directly to federation of NATO and adoption of the Senate-House balance in representation which has worked so well in the U. S. federal government.

But do we really have to choose? If we know that Atlantic Union within a federal structure is the goal, why not proceed on the various courses simultaneously as each proves useful? In some fields, such as the economic one, union may be advanced through the prior unity of Europe. In other areas, such as defense and foreign policy, common policy may be achieved most effectively through political unity on a NATO-wide basis.

The Federal idea permits great flexibility; it can benefit from the richness and variety of all the institutional possibilities of a pluralistic society of nations. The time has come to look at Atlantic relationships as the start of a broader Union of the Free, which is our ultimate goal.

The design of this structure for the Atlantic Union must provide for effective working relationships with an ultimate participation by the British Commonwealth, the nations of the Organization of American States, Japan, the Philippines, India, and other Asian and African nations.

The triumph of the free is not automatic. Only as we seize our opportunities can we realize our destiny. To those

who warn that the quest is futile—or the journey too long—or the destination too uncertain, we must reply that great things have not been done by the timid or the doubting.

America best fulfills herself when she is dedicated to great ideals and noble visions.

The future belongs to those who embrace it in the present.

MR. ALLEN: It remains for me, Governor Rockefeller, merely to express our very deepest appreciation of that moving and courageous address of yours. As you were told, earlier on this occasion the 25th Anniversary of the Federal Union movement has been commemorated by the award of three Atlantic Union Pioneer Awards—one to our distinguished speaker of the evening, the other to Mr. Will Clayton, former Under Secretary of State and one of the great leaders of the U.S. in the business and economic fields, whose daughter has received it on his behalf and is seated here with us, and the third award to an Englishman, the former Prime Minister of Great Britain, Sir Anthony Eden.

Sir Anthony, now Lord Avon, wanted very much to be with us here tonight. He prepared a rather lengthy statement of his views of the present world situation as it pertains to this movement, Federal Union. I read the first two paragraphs of it at the Award ceremony, and I've been asked to read now the remainder of the statement which he went to the trouble of preparing. I think if you will listen to it with some care you will appreciate the significance of the statement by the former Foreign Minister of Great Britain and one of the great elder statesmen of Europe today.

[Lord Avon's full statement will be found on page 7. It won long applause at the banquet.—Editors]

You see how close is the thinking of Lord Avon and Governor Rockefeller on this subject. It makes you wonder, if so many of the great leaders, both on the other side of the Atlantic and on this side, feel this way about this movement, why don't we just get on with it. I believe the snowball *is* beginning to catch on, Clarence, and maybe, in those 10 remaining years allowed, you may see the task done. *[Applause]*