

Vana - Vana

January 6, 1947

Dear Senator Vandenberg:

I have been thinking over your proposal that there should not be on the United States delegation in the future, bi-partisan representation from Congress.

I can quite well see why you and Senator Connolly feel it is not only a burden, but an impossibility to carry out the tasks you have at home as well as abroad. However the only reason we have carried as much weight as we have in the United Nations is because people feel that since we had bi-partisan representation, we really were speaking with some authority. Otherwise the United States delegation would always labor under the difficulty of having other nations feel it might agree to something which would never get through Congress, and the influence and ability to accomplish things would be very small. I do not want to see the United States placed in this position. Now that we have a Republican controlled Congress, I feel it more important than ever that there be bi-partisan representation on the delegations and at the meetings with the Secretary of State or whoever goes to represent him.

The forthcoming meeting in Moscow in March will be important. Would it not be possible for you and Senator Connolly to designate some one on the Foreign Affairs Committee, and the same in the House? These people could keep in close touch with you so that the nations dealing with us will feel that our representatives really speak for the whole government and not for just one branch of the government.

I hate to see you and Senator Connolly not continue your services because I feel very strongly that part of the value of continuous service lies in the fact that personal relationships can be built up between individuals and even if opinions have to differ, they can create a better feeling among the nations especially in these early stages.

I wanted to drop in to see you while I was in Washington but I felt you were too busy to be bothered at the present time. I am deeply grateful to the Senate for its acquiescence in my nomination as a delegate to the General Assembly because I consider it a great privilege to be allowed to work with all of you. I want to thank you personally for your kindness and consideration and I hope that you will allow me to come to see you from time to time since your advice on many things will be much needed.

My congratulations and best wishes on your new responsibilities which you are now undertaking.

Very cordially yours,

Many thanks for your  
~~my~~ good letter &  
deeply apiece your taking  
the time to write me so  
nicely. I shall look forward

to seeing you before  
too long



I have had to participate in these enterprises. I think perhaps it was indispensable in the initial stages of this great adventure. I am not so sure that it is anything like "indispensable" when the new system of international peace and security starts to mature. On the other hand, I am increasingly impressed with the difficulties confronted by "Congressional" representatives because of their dual capacity. Of course it will always be true that a man cannot serve two masters. Yet that is precisely what I undertake to do - for example - when I, as a Senator, sit in the General Assembly as a delegate. I am helping to make decisions for the United Nations which must pass in review before the American Congress. Having participated in the United Nations in helping to make the decisions, I am not a "free agent" when I return to the Senate to function in my "Congressional" capacity. Indeed, it could be a most embarrassing and difficult situation in the event that I did not approve of some decision made by the United Nations. I should dislike to oppose in Congress anything to which I had given my consent (if only by reluctant acquiescence) in the United Nations.

This immediately raises the collateral question that we delegates - for example - in the General Assembly are not "free agents". Indeed, our recent commissions explicitly instructed us that we were to vote as directed by the President. I do not complain of this arrangement. It is contemplated by the basic law under which we are appointed. Nevertheless, it adds to the complications which have me puzzled. I may act under instructions (with which I do not agree) in the General Assembly; and then I return to Congress under what seems to me to be a moral obligation to support, as a Senator, something which I did not and do not approve. In other words, I think there is a question involved here that goes to the typical "checks and balances" which are the real genius of our American institutions.

Ordinarily the General Assembly of the United Nations will be meeting at a time when Congress will be in recess. Ordinarily, therefore, there will be no conflict. But this has not been true of the Council of Foreign Ministers. Therefore, another question arises as to the extent to which an elected Senator (who has taken an oath of fidelity to his Senatorial function) is entitled to absent himself from the Senate to perform other duties. During the last fifteen months I think I have missed at least six months of Senate sessions. Under the British Parliament system this would be perfectly appropriate. But I think its propriety can be fairly questioned under the American system which deliberately separates and divides the functions of government.

All of these considerations would of course apply not only to Senator Connally and to me, but also to any other members of the Senate whom we might designate to share this "itinerancy". Furthermore, I think continuity of service all important. Indeed, I am not sure but what I shall be ultimately driven to the idea that our delegates to the

Mrs. E.R. Cont'd

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General Assembly should hold full-time jobs the year round so that we can adequately prepare for the participation of the United States in the work of the General Assembly. I was deeply impressed - particularly at the recent session in New York - with the fact that the United States was not contributing an adequate measure of moral leadership because our program was essentially one of negation (except in one or two important instances with which you were particularly associated).

I suppose my feeling about the matter is accentuated by the fact that I was attempting the impossible at the recent New York meetings. I was trying to sit both in the General Assembly and in the Council of Foreign Ministers and meanwhile I was pursued by my long distance Senatorial responsibilities. Of course that is an accumulation of responsibilities which is more than any man can adequately carry or to which any man would long be physically equal.

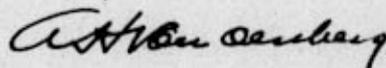
Now against all of this argument I agree you can powerfully contend for the viewpoint which you have expressed in your good letter. All I can say is that I am irrevocably committed to the achievement of peace and security and justice. It is my paramount and final interest in life. At best I have only a few more years of service (or of life) and I have no wish other than to dedicate them to this objective. So I am prepared to do whatever circumstances may seem to require; and if they seem to require my continued intimate participation in the work of either the United Nations or the Council of Foreign Ministers, I am quite ready and willing to subordinate all other considerations. But I do not want to take these necessities for granted. I think they must be demonstrated to outweigh the other considerations to which I have heretofore adverted. Meanwhile, of course, we may be discussing a purely academic problem because any such continuing participation on my part is primarily dependent upon Presidential invitations.

Whenever you are in Washington I shall be delighted to see you. I shall always have the most pleasant recollections of our contacts in this great work. I congratulate you again upon the thoroughly fine and constructive and courageous contributions which you have made in connection with these labors.

Happy New Year and good luck!

With warm personal regards and best wishes,

Cordially and faithfully,



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NSA 9 NL PD=BATONROUGE LA 30

1947 JAN 31 AM 1 15

MRS. FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT=

29 WASH SQUARE NYK=

DEAREST MRS ROOSEVELT ON THIS DAY OF DAYS MAY THE MEMORY

OF HIS GREAT COURAGE AND SINCERITY GUIDE US ON=

NEIL VANDERBILT.

*Cornelius*

*Thank you Paul*

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*✓*  
*Thank you Paul*

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