Admiral and General Pratt on my right, distinguished guests, friends in San Francisco, some two or more months/ago while I was with Admiral Halsey, a Navy message came conveying an invitation from your Chairman, Mr. Grady, to speak to you on this particular noon. I must confess that San Francisco and the Golden Gate always has a very keen appeal to anyone in the Navy out in the Pacific, and so with that warm background, we sent a message that come noon down here, I could accept, and little did I realize at that time that when the noon actually arrived, I would be engaged in the manner I have been through the morning and through the noon hour. I must applogize to you for it, but we were in the Trusteeship Committee in the Veteran's Building, and just adjourned in time to drive over here and appear now. So I trust you will pardon my delay in appearing so late, while I will pardon my own weakness in accepting so long ago a very attractive invitation.

It is a pleasure to have an opportunity to meet with you here in this great Gateway, both to the United States of America on the one hand, and that great Pacific area, on the other. Of course, as you are fully aware, not only through your great accomplishments in the war effort itself, and ship building, and in all of the related war activities, you have made such a distinguished record in,

but now even through an increasing demand as the focus of the world, so far as the war turns toward the Pacific, San Francisco stands in such a key and Gateway role, and at the same time, the focus of the world is upon it in this effort that is here being made to draft a Charter that would represent the best hope of mankind of finding the way to prevent a recurrence of the tragedy of war, and to have the twin objective opening the way with the slow steady advance of the progress of mankind, and the solution of its social, economic and humanitarian problems. So in the very opening of my remarks today, I want to say to you, I salute San Francisco.

It is a little difficult for me to know for certain what aspects of the problems that we have been considering and what issues that are before the world you would most prefer that I talk upon, because obviously the extent of the area that can be covered in one address is very limited. I will touch upon some of those things that I believe might be of greatest interest to you, which perhaps lead to some future occasion for further discussion. It appears clearly that your particular interests are actually first of all in making some general observations. We were all kappy with the news that the war in Europe had ended and Nazi aggression had been thoroughly and completely defeated, that our armies and those of our Allies

had been completely victorious, but at the same time, we must redognize that in the wake of the completion of that war in Europe, there have arisen incredible problems related to the devestation and destruction and disease and misery and suffering that comes in the wake of a war that has been as complete and tragic and long-lasting as has that war. Then we recognize full well that even so far as the war itself is concerned, only one half of the job has been completed, and that we must not rest. There must be the continuing determination to follow through until an equally complete fictory crowns our efforts against Japan. (Applause.)

I know I need not refer in this audience to the great problems of supply and of distance, to the tenacity of the foe, to its suicide attacks, to the great advantage that he initially secured by striking out so treacherously and rapidly in areas that were not prepared to resist. I know you fully recognize, great as has been the accomplishment of the heroic men of the armed forced of the United States, and our Allies in the Pacific, that if we are required to press on through, by the decision of the enemy, much remains of fighting in the Pacific. And so looking at the remainder of the war, looking at the problems that come in the wake of peace in Europe, and then having here right in our midst the manifold problems that are coming

to focus in endeavoring to draw up a Charter which will represent an area of accord with the United Nations on the basis on which they will go forward, we realize the magnitude of the problems that are before us.

First of all, we must make clear this decision: These problems that remain, the problems of the peace in Europe, the problems of the completion of the war against Japan to ultimate and final and unequivocal victory, the problems of building for an enduring peace, the problems of opening the way for advancement in social and economic problems throughout the world; these are not problems that we can Flough off or turn our back to, they are the problems of the United States of America as well as the problems of any other part of the world. I think this can and must be said, the people of the United States of America have raised their sights to the world level in these past few years, and they will never lower them again. (Applause.) And if that is true, then these great problems that I have just touched upon are the problems of the United States of American, and there are two things that we could do about them, and each would be equally tragic. We could say they are so/great and so insoluble that we could become excited, lose our balance and our perspective, and make many sad mistakes in the policies with which we approach these problems; or on the other hand, we could look about

us within our own communities, and while werbally recognizing that these problems are our problems, not see their immediate impact within our neighborhood and sink back to a certain complacency. So I would like to emphasize that if we sink down to complacency, or if we rise to the effervescent area of excitement in the face of these problems, either approach would be a mistake for our country to make. Instead, we need the very best of attention and thought that you men and women, and the men and women throughout America like you, can give to these problems that practical thought in can project, approaching the thing in the light of actual experience, in making things, in running factories, in conducting businesses, in managing affairs, and in the background of that practical experience, face the task of the world, face the task of the United States of America, and one of the most encouraging things that I have observed in these last few weeks, after my absence from the country, has been an increasing awareness on the part of the business men of America not only of the existence of the problems, but of the need of searching out new answers, answers in keeping with the realities of the developments of science, in keeping with the realities of the world as it is and who is in it, and what their conditions are. That is one of the great challenges before business im America in these weeks and months and years

ahead.

A word of great commendation must be spoken on the accomplishment and production of the means to carry this war to successful conclusion. This productive system of ours, built up on individual enterprise, built up on private capital, has proved itself in the most sictorious kind of a test to have potentialities beyond what even its most enthusiastic advocates claim for it in days gone by. Now we must think through how that demonstrated capacity might not only carry through to the completion successfully of the war in Japan, but also begin to play its part in the advancement of the standards of living throughout the world, and in the repair of the devestation of war in other parts of the world. And let me make very clear at the outset of this portion of my comment that I am not proposing a Santa Clause role for the United States of America. (Applause.) But/new-waen-I-proposing that we can follow a narrow selfish, self interest role for America in the years ahead. The future welfare of the peoples of the world is intertwined together, and if we in the United States seek temporary advantages without regard to their effects economically on the rest of the world, we will find that the disastrous effect elsewhere in the world will come back and meet us in a few years. Then there will be the impact on our own economy which will be tragic to its future potency,

tragic to its preservation, as we have known it to be, and to its economy, free enterprise, individual initiative, and private capital. Everyone recognizes that this free economy of ours functions the best in the face of competition and in the face of a challenge, but the greater the need of accomplishing something, the greater accomplishment comes out of the American system of free enterprise. And I ask you this noon, what greater challenge can be placed before this economy of ours than the challenge to make a maximum contribution on a further basis to the slow, steady advancement of the standards of living of men, women and children throughout this world. (Applause.)

each particular policy and problem that comes along, analyze it, and reach that sound approach, reach the point at which you are not following narrow, selfish national interests, or narrow, selfish business interests. We must go beyond that, and also see that we do not go to the point where we are just materially throwing away our substance in a manner that will not build up the self respect of people elsewhere in the world, and on a continuing basis build up their standards of living. That area must be thought through with reference to each of the successful sodial and economic problems that come before the country, and I am very encouraged in the indications of its being done.

I do not doubt but what within the last two weeks everyone who is gathered at these tables this noon has in the course of some luncheon conversation, or some social conversation at home indulged in the discussion of some of the particular problems pertaining to this Conference and exchanged views, and searched out perhaps questions with someone else . It is going on in all walks of life. It is going on in the Conference and I believe there will come forth exconomic solutions for the future, and we are, all of us, searching for those policies. The ravages that follow war and the consequences of war must be met quickly, otherwise the dangers and the difficulties and the inherent weaknesses multiply as time goes by. Then, on this/EREMY problem we are gathered in San Francisco. I urge that you do not expect either too much or too little to come from the San Francisco Conference. Constant discussions in the press indicate some searching as to whether every possible problem is going to be solved during this Conference. Questions in press conferences will bring out just about every open issue that exists in the world, and we must constantly focus down to the task that we are gathered here to do, because that itself is a great task, and as everyone recognizes, and as I know, and as the distinguished General and Admiral who are here would also emphasize, you cannot do everything at one time, that unless you work out

your particular objectives and move forward on them, you lose the entire program.

What we are seeking to do in San Francisco is to draft the basic Charter that would represent at this time the maximum area of agreement between the five major Powers in the world and the maximum number of other United Nations. The completed result will not represent what any one nation would like to see exactly in the Charter, or what any one delegate would like to see, but if we have, and I have, great confidence at this stage of the Conference, because of the successful number of difficult problems that have been resolved, if we can draft a Charter what will be successfully ratified by two thirds of the United States Senate, and will be accepted by an overwhelming majority of the American people, will be ratified by the other four major Powers and by almost all of the other United Nations, if we can draft a basic document that will have life breathed into it on that basis, and then begin to work under it and live under it and study it, and use it as a mechanism by which varying viewpoints can be brought together and recognized without flashing out into conflict, then truly this Conference will have been worthwhile. As you know, we are also seeking to make it possible that in future years, after the peace has been gained, and after millions of men who are now in the service and have not had the opportunity to

participate in the discussion of this document, then after a few years it will be possible to have these men work in conjunction with us to consider what has been accomplished and consider methods by which to improve it is a very impor tant basic matter. But looking at the problem as a whole, the necessity of reaching an agreement. I report to you that it has been a thrilling experience to work with each one of the United States delegation. You know each one of them. Well, frequently we begin a particular meeting with seven different viewpoints, and those viewpoints will be different viewpoints that exist in the United States of America, and then we seek to/reconcile those views and find a place where we can have a united position. I believe that the democratic action that has been taken is a good omen for the future of the world policy of the United States of America, because we have been able to reach that agreement on a sound basis in issue after issue during these last two months, first in preparation for the Conference, and now here in the Conference. I want you to know that I have the highest respect and admiration for every member of the delegation that serves with me, and I feel that we are all together and that we are a compact representation of the various viewpoknts of America brought to bear upon this very crucial problem. The final result of this will be shown when we have completed our work and with the action point of the United States delegates, who will thoroughly discuss it before the people of America and before the United States Senate.

I believe at this stage there is every indication that as we have resolved those problems, we have carried with us the almost unanimous opinion of the people of the United States as they have understood the issues, but there have been times when it is necessary that some of the backgound, some of the various elements that come into play need to be explained and interpreted, and some studies made before the full partent of it takes place, but as text becomes known and discussions are taking place on it through America the same way as in the delegation, then country I seem to sense coming up from the mixer that same area of agreement that has occurred within the rooms.

You recognize, of course, that in coming to you and reporting these things this noon right from these intensive sessions of the committee, my remarks have to move from one phase of the problem to another. I have toughed upon some of the things that I thought you would most like to hear about. I wish it were possible to carry on this conference and all of its duties and at the same time be in constant and frequent contact directly with bodies of America like such as are gathered here this noon, and

cover questions and make comments. That, obviously, is not possible. We must seek to sense in more indirect ways the opinion of America as we go about our task. But let me say to you at this stage that each move that is made in our approach to the final document is on the basis of advancing what we conceive to be the very basis desire of almost all of the people of the country; that because our future peace and security must be carefully preserved, the people shall fully participate in world affairs from here on, and that their they are definitely interested in the maintenance of peace throughout the world and in the slow, steady advance on a sound basis of the human rights, of the standards of living, of the individual liberties, and the recognition of the interdependence of men, women, and children throughout the world that have been brought together by modern, scientific developments. I thank you. (Applause.)

FROM THE OFFICE OF REPUBLICAN COUNTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF SAN FRANCISCO 210 POST ST., SAN FRANCISCO

### LUNCHEON MAY 17, 1945

Held under the joint auspices of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce and the San Francisco Commercial Club.

CHAIRMAN - Henry F. Grady, President of Chamber of Commerce, President of American President Lines.

Suggest that the following persons be recognized by name in your opening remarks:

Chairman Henry F. Grady, President San Francisco Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Marsden S. Blois (pronounced Bloyse) President San Francisco Commercial Club.

Major General H. C. Pratt, commanding general Western Defense

Rear Admiral Carlton H. Wright, Commandant Twelfth Maval District. (Governor Earl Warren)(IF PRESENT) and distinguished guests.

PROGRAM - Those seated at the speakers' table will be introduced by Chairman Henry F. Grady. Lt. Coart Meyer, Jr., will be asked to take a bow. Chairman Grady will call on General Pratt who will speak for five minutes off the record on the subject of Japanese Balloons.

Chairman Grady will thereupon introduce Commander Harold E. Stassen.

NOTE: Henry F. Grady comes of pioneer California stock. His father before him was Grand President of the Native Sons of the Golden West and held public office in San Francisco's municipal government. Chief Administrative Officer, Tom Brooks of the City and County of San Francisco will be at the speakers' table and could be recognized by you. He is first in command after Mayor Lapham and in the Mayor's absence will be the City's representative.

Further information from Executive Secretary of Chamber of Commerce, Miss Hogan, Exbrook 4511.

#### FACTS ABOUT SAN FRANCISCO AND THE BAY AREA

The San Francisco Bay Area, strategically centered on the Pacific Coast, is the heart of the great productive Central Empire of California - the richest, most diversified, and most significant market in the West, and one of the foremost in the nation. More than half of California's production and wealth emanate from this rich empire of 86,000 square miles, one and one-half times the size of New York State and more than all New England.

The San Francisco Bay Area is an economic unit which contains a wide range of living conditions, climate and diversified opportunities and ranked eighth in population among the metropolitan areas of the nation in 1940. In 1943 with an estimated civilian population of 2,127,117 or 409,883 more than in 1940, this area ranks top among other areas of the nation in numerical gain for this period. The income per capita in this area in 1943 was \$1,699 compared to \$1,558 in California and \$1,054 in the nation.

San Francisco Bay is now the foremost shipbuilding center in the nation's war production program. The San Francisco Bay Area ranked first on the Pacific Coast in peace-time water-borne commerce with a 12,000,000-ton lead over any other Pacific Coast port. imxkmaxmaxiam. Following the outbreak of the war, this area cleared more military cargo than any other port in the nation.

San Francisco, gateway to the Pacific and key to the Western Empire is outstanding on the Pacific Coast, ranking - FIRST in water-borne commerce; FIRST as a financial center and security market; FIRST as

a market and distribution center; FIRST in wholesale trade; FIRST in economy of distribution costs to Western market; FIRST in per capita development; FIRST in annual business volume, based on corporation income taxes; and FIRST in effective buying power per capita.

San Francisco as a national contender among large cities has also a splendid record, ranking - FOREMOST as a shipbuilding center for the war program; HIGH in percentage of persons in labor force; FOREMOST Fleet V-Mail station; HIGHEST telephone density; LOWEST percentage of mortgage debt in relation to property value; LOWEST average annual city and county tax rate; LOWEST percentage of tax delinquency; and LOWEST combined charges for gas, electricity, and telephone service for average family.

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### THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

#### FINAL DRAFT

THREE MINUTE BROADCAST ON MARCH OF TIME 7:30 PM MAY 24 BLUE NETWORK RADIO STATION, TAYLOR AND O'FARRELL STREETS

By Harold E. Stassen

Rapid and significant strides of progress have been made in the last few days in the preparation of that Charter for peace that the world has been expecting from San Francisco.

There have not been quite the spectacular clashes that featured some of the earlier weeks of the Conference, but the technical committees have been reaching decisions on many sections of the Charter, sections which I believe will have an important bearing on future peace between the nations and on the developments of the liberties and the raising of the standards of living of mankind.

The Committee on Peaceful Settlements has practically completed its work and is now awaiting the report of its drafting committee. It is my hope that the peaceful settlement section of the Charter will prove to be one of its most frequently used and most successful sections, for it is under this part that the early action of the Security Council and the alert attention of the Assembly can settle disputes before they break out into conflict, and, even more important, may establish a higher moral code for world relationships.

The very difficult and very important problem of future trusteeships of territories not able to stand by themselves is moving toward solution. I believe that it will be a solution which will keep bright the objective of the advancement of the peoples concerned adm do it without weakening the future security and stability that is so essential to progress. One of the things that I believe will be definitely clarified before we complete our works is that the progressive development of self-government will, in proper circumstances, include the

## THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

attainment of independence to the degree that is possible for anyone to be independent consistent with the interdependence of all peoples in this modern one world.

The Committee on the World Court is well on its way in the preparation of a new statute based upon a revision of the old statute and providing that all of the members of the United Nations Organization automatically become associated with the new World Court.

There remains before the convention the very important question of the interpretation of the veto clause in addition the need of temporary interim machinery to fill the gap on urgent questions that arise between the adjournment of this Conference and the definite establishment of the new organization remains to be met.

There will be, of necessity, a considerable number of days of rather technical and careful work in the conclusion of these tasks, but it can be said with assurance that there is every indication that we are accomplishing more at San Francisco than many hoped could be accomplished. It is well also to sound the note of caution, to remember that San Francisco cannot automatically solve the future problems of the world. But Pray God it will make it easier to meet those problems in the years ahead by methods of prace and justice and Pulsa, and make less likely the outbreak again of war and anarchy and chaos.

1919-1945 Speech makerial

# They Gave Their Lives for the Freedom of Mankind

Memorial day address by Woodrow Wilson at Suresnes cemetery, near Paris, May 30, 1919.

NO ONE with a heart in his breast, no American, no lover of humanity, can stand in the presence of these graves without the most profound emotion. These men who lie here are men of a unique breed. Their like has not been seen since the far days of the Crusades. Never before have men crossed the seas to a foreign land to fight for a cause which they did not pretend was peculiarly their own, but knew was the cause of humanity and of mankind. And when they came, they found fit comrades for their courage and their devotion.

They found armies of liberty already in the field—men who, though they had gone through three years of fiery trial, seemed only to be just discovering, not for a moment losing, the high temper of the great affair, men seasoned in the bloody service of liberty. Joining hands with these, the men of America gave that greatest of all gifts, the gift of life and the gift of spirit.

It will always be a treasured memory on the part of those who knew and loved these men that the testimony of everybody who saw them in the field of action was of their unflinching courage, their ardor to the point of audacity, their full consciousness of the high cause they had come to serve, and their constant vision of the issue.

It is delightful to learn from those who saw these men fight and saw them waiting in the trenches for the summons to the fight that they had a touch of the high spirit of religion, that they knew they were exhibiting a spirit as well as a physical might, and those of us who know and love America know that they were discovering to the whole world the true spirit and devotion of their motherland. It was America who came in the person of these men and who will forever be grateful that she was so represented.

### We Must Take Heart

And it is the more delightful to entertain these thoughts because we know that these men, though buried in a foreign, are not buried in an alien soil. They are at home, sleeping with the spirits of those who thought the same thoughts and entertained the same aspirations. The noble women of Suresnes have given evidence of the loving sense with which they received these dead as their own, for they have cared for their graves, they have made it their interest, their loving interest, to see that there was no hour of neglect, and that constantly through all the months that have gone by, the mothers at home should know that there were mothers here who remembered and honored their dead.

It would be no profit to us to eulogize these illustrious dead if we did not take to heart the esson which they have taught us. They are lead; they have done their utmost to show their levotion to a great cause, and they have left us to see to it that that cause shall not be betrayed, whether in war or in peace. It is our privilege and our high duty to consecrate ourselves afresh on a day like this to the objects for which they fought.

These men did not come across the sea merely to defeat Germany and her associated powers in the war. They came to defeat forever the things for which the Central powers stood, the sort of power they meant to assert in the world, the arrogant, selfish dominance which they meant to establish; and they came, moreover, to see to it that there should never be a war like this again.

It is for us, particularly for us who are civilians, to use our proper weapons of counsel and agreement to see to it that there never is such a war again. The nation that should now fling out of this common concord of counsel would betray the human race.

So it is our duty to take and maintain the safeguards which will see to it that the mothers of America and the mothers of France and England and Italy and Belgium and all the other suffering nations should never be called upon for this sacrifice again. This can be done. It must be done. And it will be done.

\* \* \*

The thing that these men left us, though they did not in their counsels conceive it, is the great instrument which we have just erected in the League of Nations. The League of Nations is the covenant of governments that these men shall not have died in vain. I like to think that the dust of those sons of America who were privileged to be buried in their mother country will mingle with the dust of the men who fought for the preservation of the Union, and that as those men gave their lives in order that America might be united, these men have given their lives in order that the world might be united.

### Airs of an Older Day

Those men gave their lives in order to secure the freedom of a nation. These men have given theirs in order to secure the freedom of mankind; and I look forward to an age when it will be just as impossible to regret the results of their labor as it is now impossible to regret the result of the labor of those who fought for the union of the states. I look for the time when every man who now puts his counsel against the united service of mankind under the League of Nations will be just as ashamed of it as if he now regretted the union of the states.

You are aware, as I am aware, that the airs of an older day are beginning to stir again, that the standards of an old order are trying to assert themselves again. There is here and there an at-

tempt to insert into the counsel of statesmen the old reckonings of selfishness and bargaining and national advantage which were the roots of this war, and any man who counsels these things advocates the renewal of the sacrifice which these men have made; for if this is not the final battle for right, there will be another that will be final.

Let these gentlemen not suppose that it is possible for them to accomplish this return to an order of which we are ashamed and that we are ready to forget. They cannot accomplish it. The peoples of the world are awake and the peoples of the world are in the saddle. Private counsels of statesmen cannot now and cannot hereafter determine the destinies of nations.

If we are not the servants of the opinion of mankind, we are of all men the littlest, the most contemptible, the least gifted with vision. If we do not know our age, we cannot accomplish our purpose, and this age is an age which looks forward, not backward; which rejects the standards of national selfishness that once governed the counsels of nations and demands that they shall give way to a new order of things in which the only questions will be, "Is it right?" "Is it just?" "Is it in the interest of mankind?"

This is a challenge that no previous generation ever dared to give ear to. So many things have happened, and they have happened so fast, in the last four years, that I do not think many of us realize what it is that has happened. Think how impossible it would have been to get a body of responsible statesmen seriously to entertain the idea of the organization or a League of Nations four years ago! And think of the change that has taken place!

\* \*

I was told before I came to France that there would be confusion of counsel about this thing, and I found unity of counsel. I was told that there would be opposition, and I found union of action. I found the statesmen with whom I was about to deal united in the idea that we must have a League of Nations, that we could not merely make a peace settlement and then leave it to make itself effectual, but that we must conceive some common organization by which we should give our common faith that this peace would be maintained and the conclusions at which we had arrived should be made as secure as the united counsels of all the great nations that fought against Germany could make them.

We have listened to the challenge, and that is the proof that there shall never be a war like this again.

Their Spirits Live

We all believe, I hope, that the spirits of these men are not buried with their bodies. Their spirits live. I hope—I believe—that their spirits are present with us at this hour. I hope that I feel the compulsion of their presence. I hope that I realize the significance of their presence. Think, soldiers, of those comrades of yours who are gone. If they were here, what would they say? They would not remember what you are talking about today. They would remember America which they left with their high hope and purpose.

They would remember the terrible field of battle. They would remember what they constantly recalled in times of danger, what they had come found how worth while it was to give

their lives for it. And they would say:

"Forget all the little circumstances of the day.
Be ashamed of the jealousies that divide you. We command you in the name of those who, like ourselves, have died to bring the counsels of men together, and we remind you what America said

she was born for. She was born, she said, t show mankind the way to liberty. She was bor to make this great gift a common gift.

"She was born to show men the way of experence by which they might realize this gift an maintain it, and we adjure you in the name of a the great traditions of America to make you selves soldiers now once for all in this commo cause, where we need wear no uniform except the uniform of the heart, clothing ourselves with the principles of right and saying to men every where, 'You are our brothers and we invite you into the comradeship of liberty and of peace.'

\* \* \*

Let us go away hearing these unspoken mandates of our dead comrades.

If I may speak a personal word, I beg you trealize the compulsion that I myself feel that am under. By the constitution of our great country I was the commander-in-chief of thes men. I advised the congress to declare that state of war existed. I sent these lads over her to die.

Shall I—can I—ever speak a word of counse which is inconsistent with the assurances I gave them when they came over? It is inconceivable. There is something better, if possible, that a macan give than his life, and that is his living spir to a service that is not easy, to resist counse that are hard to resist, to stand against purpose that are difficult to stand against, and to say "Here stand I, consecrated in spirit to the me who were once my comrades and who are not gone, and who have left me under eternal bond of fidelity."



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