

your charter - Perfect mail to

NOTES ON GENERAL SPEECH

As a natural development Harold E. Stassen has been cast in the role in the public mind of a spokesman for servicemen. It is believed that it would be proper to assume this role in the speech, using perhaps the figure of speech used before to the effect that if the radio receiving sets could be turned into sending sets the word would come in from the planes, the fleets of ships, the foxholes and turrets of tanks saying, "We want a world union which will recognize and guarantee the human rights of men everywhere." *"We ask only a patient, honest, common sense plan supported by the nations of the world to guarantee peace and human dignity."*

It might then be said that this fundamental aspiration applies to the fighting men of Britian, the Polish Under-^{not}ground, the French Maquis, the Dutch, Russians, etc. *are they asking too much?* They ^{boys and girls of our armies and our allies} have been fighting a common enemy for a common purpose - defeat of brutal Axis powers. - *forces of world injustice to man.*

Part of the common purpose was removed while the San Francisco Conference took place - Germany was defeated.

Age-old problems then raised their heads, problems such as that of Poland, Yugoslavia, regional pacts, mandates *x hard* colonial peoples.

We should not be surprised, ^{disheartened} that these problems arose again when the welding ^{force} ~~course~~ of a common enemy was removed.

Centuries of nationalism, economic, racial and political strife were not wiped out merely because for a time we joined in a common purpose of liberation and victory over the common foe of mankind. It is natural that ^{age old} ~~these~~ differences in thinking, ^{in understanding} in training, and understanding should now come to the fore.

Neither should we be discouraged by the shock of finding that these differences of approach and interest still exist. *They are ugly, difficult problems.* They are not new problems.

Perhaps it is fortunate that they raise their heads at a time when they sharpen up our realization of the need of machinery for peaceful settlement and just settlement while we are in the process of building the machinery for ^{just} that purpose.

The resurgence of these problems caused us to renew our realization that the effect of centuries of world history encompassing feudalism, ^{isolationism} monarchy, revolution and differences of ideology cannot be erased by one conference or series of conferences.

We make no claim that these differences inherent in the world for centuries were solved in San Francisco. It was not intended that they should be.

We met here to establish the machinery, the forum and the rules under which gradual eventual understanding can patiently be achieved. ^{We have made a substantial beginning toward that end. There are gaps in the framework. To close our eyes would be to blindly trust} Such solutions will be arrived at only by sincere, ^{honest} tolerant patient compromise. Injustices are certain to occur while we make this slow and tedious progress. We make no claim that the injustices of the world were remedied at San Francisco.

Such solution will depend upon the morality, good faith, forbearance and sincerity of nations and their leaders in the years to come. ^{and it will depend upon our strengthening and filling in the spaces and gaps in the framework of world peace machinery.}

^{name goes,} Such solutions will depend upon understanding by the peoples of each nation of the viewpoint and conceptions of the peoples of other nations. From the thousands of communications received at this conference we are convinced that the American people are desperately willing to strive in deadly earnest to achieve that understanding.

^{as a first step} To accomplish such understanding freedom of information and education throughout the world is essential. No part of ^{any such part of the world will be any part of} the world can be sealed off. Every literate person in the ^{by the march of common understanding and agreement. Any such part of the world will resist the leavening influence of cooperative understanding. Any such part of the world will be the breeding ground of the vermin of war.}

world should have made available to him a transcript of the proceedings, viewpoints and debate which took place at San Francisco. ^{on the free interchange of knowledge and ideas we can have the} World opinion and world understanding require ^{structure of beneficial changes in the world.} world-wide information. It is lack of understanding that makes for disputes.

We have achieved no agreement unless that agreement is mutually understood, mutually interpreted and relied upon mutually.

We in the United States enjoy free full information. We have no fear of the peoples' knowledge. ^{We hope to see the day when every nation will have the same attitude toward its people.}

In the machinery of the United Nations we have established a peoples' forum for the world. To be an effective forum the doors of the world must be open to its debates. ^{I propose? Full circulation of info.}

Rights and interest of nations were prominent in discussions here at San Francisco. Fundamentally, however, we must not allow the rights of nations to interfere or conflict with the rights of men.

(Here quote charter on human rights.) ^{Ref. to commission} If this understanding of human rights can become universal in the world we have torn down the first perimeter defense of world injustice to men and nations.

Specific statements of where it falls short,

Incompatibility of complete sovereignty and world order. ⁷
not met head on at S. F.

But too must avoid gradual development

Ten year review?

Look for weighted votes
Veto power

The United States must take its place as a leading force in the slow march to world order and understanding. Often we may be required to act in the role of the mediator. If such becomes our duty, we cannot shirk. *our position interests lack of imperialism cost us in that role.*

We will be firm in the assertion of our own legitimate national interests. We have not reached the millenium. We will not play Santa Claus to the world.

embolden
We are ~~not~~ giving away any of the bases necessary to our security which were won by our boys with their sacrifice and blood. We are not pulling down the flag that Corporal _____ and Private _____ planted on Mt. Suribachi on the hard won Iwo Jima. Some of us know better than the editorial lampooners and the cartoon-drawing artists the stark tragic cost of those bases. We shall be firm in protecting the legitimate interests of the stars and stripes, ~~but~~ *But* we shall balance that firmness with understanding that the causes of war are not contained within the boundaries of any nation. In exercising our legitimate national rights and authority we will not trample upon the principles of international cooperation and justice. *Keep our eyes lifted to the high ground or we will interest*

Life defense cannot be carried to the point of wanting destruction of opposition.
It is easy to fan the flames of international bickering and misunderstanding.

It is dreadfully hard to seek out and find the areas of agreement between nations on which to lay the foundation stones of permanent peace but the American people with their innate sense of sportsmanship and goodwill have set their sights on the hard road to world understanding and they are resolved to lead the march to that shining goal.

We cannot forget that the alternative to a repetition of this war is the development of a world peace machine which will harness world opinion, world morality and world might to achieve just, peaceful world decisions.

Our national self interest must never overlook that fact. 3-1/2 Unthinkable
We must never capitulate either to domestic demand or to foreign encroachment or insistence on essential principles essential to human dignity and just amity and peace between nations. Bretton Woods - Tariffs and customs barriers

The people of the country will probably want a simple outline of the machinery as agreed upon, depending upon how the termination of the Conference develops and how well explained the decisions arrived at are. A simple statement on the following might be desirable:

1. Number of votes.

(a) Assembly;

(b) Council.

*sum up - I'm overruling over
who should -*

2. Delegates from each country.

(a) Assembly;

(b) Council;

*I'm overruling over Pres. and
how of state
should*

(c) How selected.

3. When and where the council and assembly will meet.

4. Revisionary conference or convention.

*we should lead at
that conference in
the world*

5. How ratified and placed in effect.

*we should without
delay rather*

6. Relationship of charter to the peace conference.

7. Veto.

(a) By whom;

(b) Of what.

*we should?
we should?*

*we should at
peace table lay the
basis
who should sit there
who in assembly
council*

8. Effect of trusteeship.

(a) Answer to claim that we are giving away our bases;

(b) Answer denial of independence to colonial peoples.

we should!

9. Monroe Doctrine argument.

10. A statement along the line that agreements arrived

at in Yalta could not be changed here. This, of course, is touchy and is merely listed here as an item to which thought might be given.

11. Mexico City, Dumbarton Oaks and Bretton Woods might

come in a somewhat similar category.



Fairmont Hotel
Nob Hill
San Francisco

How much longer

That depends on the length of time spent on
the various issues. It is difficult
to anticipate. But I believe that about
two weeks should conclude our work. It is
important to emphasize however that we have
already accomplished more at San Fran
in the drafting of the charter than you
hope possible before the conf opened.
In fact if we adjourn tomorrow &
left a drafting committee to plan in
final form. The results I could discuss
then for - it would have a
good chance.

Agade



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San Francisco

✓

Man on street

He knows ^{much} of the machine
we are seeking

Older knows much alone not
enough - must rest on the
good faith of the nations. But
if the psychology of the mind do want
peace - and I believe they do -
the mind - then ~~unconsciously~~
this method of making down -
will make that desired more effective



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Nob Hill
San Francisco

3

How will it compare to
League

We will be in it.

League all unanimous

Here only 5 major powers

Others - 7 out of 11

or $\frac{2}{3}$

Police Force

Social & Economic

~~Disputes~~ System



Fairmont Hotel
NOR HILL
San Francisco

4

Wood Count



New Based on old



Will not affect our our constitution

Will be satisfied to accendence
with the constitution



Proposal for future change

Backed by people
when we return from service

Continuing interest of people
Their objections unsubstantiated

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION OF SUNDAY,
JUNE 10th AS TO SPEECH THOUGHTS

The disappointment of the American people at the trend of the Conference is traceable fundamentally to the failure of any nation to surrender any sovereignty and the effort of some nations to do the opposite and improve their international situation in this conference. Failure of the United States to take the lead is partly responsible for this trend. The Yalta voting agreement, the vetoing, is the crux of this situation.

Perhaps the answer is to point out the defects which must be remedied in the revisionary convention and lay out the lines for United States policy in working toward and in that convention.

Suggested starting points that might be accomplished pending a revisionary foundation are such things as: (a) an international aeronautics commission; (b) AN INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL FOR DIPLOMATS, INCLUDING AN INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE OR GROUP OF LANGUAGES OR SOMETHING OF THAT KIND.

Avoid use of terms commonly employed in the Conference which are not generally understood. Move the "No Santa Claus" section early in the speech to bring in the doubters early and devote the latter part to bringing them around to the conclusion that you get no benefits without giving something.

Loans to foreign countries after the last war were a racket for American bankers and foreign politicians. In mentioning the part which business must play in world development it might be pointed out that we must avoid a recurrence of that experience and establish a sound basis for foreign American investments.

Yalta was supported in many respects at San Francisco

not ideologically but because it tied the hands of people here.

*This is Cord's speech which I think
you ought to look over - I have
undebated ~~the~~ read annotated*

SPEECH FOR JUNE 7TH

*What about Cord writing and talking
along this line*

Introduction:

I have been asked to make a few remarks on the progress of the Conference and I will do that briefly. The opinions expressed here are my own and I do not pretend that they are anything but one individual's reaction to the confusing events of the last month. In this speech, I will try to make clear the general picture as I see it. If you have questions after the speeches are over, I will answer them as specifically as possible.

Perhaps the best way to begin is by dispelling a persistent illusion as to what this Conference was intended to do.

In the first place, it is not a Peace Conference where specific territorial claims are settled and new boundaries drawn between one state and another. The single, clear-cut purpose of this Conference is to construct with the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals as a base the machinery and framework for a functioning International Organization. Only when the Charter is finished, the members of the Security Council and Assembly in session, and the military commitments agreed upon will the New Organization be able to deal with actual events in the world and disputes between nations. Up to that time, Trieste, Syria, and such episodes have to be dealt with by the nations separately as they have been in the past. If you compare the construction of the new International Organization to the building of a great dam, our work is comparable to the work ~~of the mathematicians~~

20th century the
engineers
~~and drafting agencies~~ who draw up the plans and formulas that

can check and control the forces of war, the hates, the brutality, the starvation and destruction of war?

*You can point
out flaws in
for revision
construction*

make the later construction of the dam itself possible. Whether or not the dam is built and functions successfully, depends upon the energy, knowledge and belief of the men who carry the plans into effect and make of a possibility the final, working reality. When we have finished the Charter here, when it has been ratified by the member states, we will still have done nothing but create the possibility for future international security. The determination of this country and the other nations to see to it that this machinery does work and their willingness to abide by the decisions of the new International Organization will determine whether or not it can meet successfully the conflicts that will necessarily arise in the future. At the optimistic best, we have no guarantee of peace here, no cure for the world's ills, no new ~~100~~ millenium. What we do have is the framework for an organization that if believed in, if worked for with consistent determination may prove to be a way out of the desperate cycle of recurring and increasingly destructive nationalistic wars.

Briefly I would like to analyze what are the root causes of war in our time and just exactly what the Charter proposes to do about it.

The basic and fundamental resources for two catastrophic world wars within a generation are these. As long as the world is organized into separate, sovereign, independent states able to make war when and if they please, as long as they are subject to no superior law or authority, as long as military power is the price of survival and a nation must be prepared at any time to defend itself against the attacks of its neighbors, so long

will international society continue to be international anarchy and so long will war continue to be not only possible but inevitable.

If this is the situation that the nations face today and I believe it is, what are the alternatives?

There are actually only two alternatives, a continuation of the present anarchistic form of international society where each state is a law unto itself and war is inevitable or the creation of an international law superior to the ~~United States~~ ^{separate nations}. I do not need to elaborate the point. We are here at this Conference as one of the Delegates, put it, simply to save our lives. You have seen enough of this war to guess what the next one will be like. Neither isolationism nor balance of power policies hold forth any hope of lasting peace in the face of modern conditions.

There is one answer to our dilemma and it lies in the direction of mutual cooperation and compromise. The final objective is an international law to which all the national states are subject with a world governing body with the authority to administer and adopt the law and the power to enforce it. Within the framework of that law and order, man will be able to construct the peaceful world and the equitable society that alone can lend meaning and significance ^{to} ~~for~~ our present misfortunes.

But you will say a child can see that the present Charter does not create such an international government. The general Assembly in which each nation has a single representative is ^{no more than} a public forum for discussion and its sole ^{real} power is the ability to recommend questions to the

all very similar to my slant

Security Council. The Security Council composed of the five permanent members and six of the small nations can only take real action in dealing with a dispute if all the permanent members are agreed to it. The world Court can only sit in judgment on a case if both parties to the dispute agree to allow it to do so by signing the optional clause. The Trusteeship Council can only take surveillance over a territory if the nations now in Control wishes to allow it to do so. The Social and Economic Council has only the power to make general recommendations that are not binding on any of the nations concerned. The world police force will not be a separate army at the disposal of the Security Council and larger than any of the national armies but merely consists of an agreement ~~on~~ the part of the separate nations to supply part of their armed forces to enforce and order if the Security Council and the large nations reserve the right to veto such an order if they see fit.

You will make all these criticisms and you will be right. ?

no more
The charter as it stands does ~~not more~~ than create the machinery through which the separate nations can cooperate if they wish to. It was obvious from the moment this Conference began that none of the governments of the large nations, including our own, were willing to surrender any of their sovereign independence of action. With this fact thoroughly understood, it is obvious that the delegates here could not have drawn up a charter for the creation of a strong world government able to govern and if necessary to coerce any state. If they had, it would never have been ratified by the large nations and therefore would not have been worth the paper it was written on.

This does make the Trusteeship business look like an abstract formula never to be put in practical

Obvious from Yalta

I believe when finished this Charter will represent the maximum of what could have been accomplished at the present. It is by no means all that you or I or could have wished. It is however, all we have got.

? not exactly true

Because it is not everything that we have wished and hoped for, we cannot afford to reject it, for the only possible alternative at the present is a complete return to the power alliances that set the stage for war.

Let us do this then. Let us accept the Charter as it is drawn here as representing the limit of what can be accomplished today, as the largest area of agreement that can be obtained between then fifty nations present. But we cannot accept it with any complacency.

good thought - not about charter but generally, U.S. can never again afford to be complacent

The first step is the ratification of the Charter by this country and the others. That will be only the barest beginning. After that, not only must the Charter be implemented by the active cooperation of the member states but the Charter itself must be improved and allowed to grow through amendments and constitutional conventions. At the conventions which can be called by a 2/3 vote of any seven in the Council, essential changes must be made if the Charter is to survive and function.

u? The veto power of the large nations must gradually be softened or they come to realize that they do not need to retain that excessive power. The authority of the World Court must be strengthened and the scope of international law steadily expended. The world police force must gradually take over the place of national armies until the world organization reserves to itself the right to use armed force. Only through their slow evolution

will the hope for peace that is in the hearts of all men today come to be anything more than a hope.

There is this to add. Only the vital interests and the pressure of the informed opinion of the people in this country and elsewhere will make this evolution possible. We who have seen something of the war, who know the extent of the price that has been paid to provide this opportunity, can ~~provide~~ ^{give} the strongest support for this new organization. The Charter is as incomplete and imperfect as the beginning of any human adventure must be. But worked with, believed in, improved through the passage of time by patience and determination, this Charter for all its imperfections will become I believe the best hope men have ^{ever} had. The fate of all of us here, of our country and of the world is more ^{completely} ~~inextricably~~ one with the success of this charter and the Organization it proposes than perhaps any of us realize.

This is a
handwritten
personal
statement
which
looks like
a review
and which
perhaps you
could use

7th War Loan Speech

June 17
NBC

Here In San Francisco, as the delegates of fifty nations prepare a Charter ^{of Peace} for the United Nations Organization, we are keenly aware that we meet at a gate-way to the Pacific. And out in the Western Pacific our forces on land and sea ^{for this} and air are pressing onward in the Drive toward complete victory in the war against Japan.

You have heard from ^{my ship} the hard won out-posts that have successively marked the progress of that Pacific war. Each one of them ^{at a price} had to be taken no matter what the ^{cost} ~~course~~, if we were ever to win a position from which to ^{launch the final} attack for complete victory. The work in the fields and factories and ~~the War Bond purchases~~ ^{could} have resulted in the essential military supplies that rightly used ^{and of the fleet} to do the job. The ^{men of the} assault forces have supplied the skill, the endurance, and the willingness to risk death time and ~~time~~ again that alone could make victory possible on those fanatically defended beaches. ^{unmatched} By this combination of hard work and war products ⁱⁿ and War Bond buying at home with skill and courage overseas, ^{have been finally overcome and we} we have finally overcome the enemy's outer defenses and are in a position to fight the major battles that must be won if eventual victory is to be ours.

of your movable Third Fleet and your

These battles will not be easy. We cannot count on either surrender or a quick victory. But the men overseas are ready to see the job through to its end. They ~~are~~ willing to do it, because they know that only through the complete defeat of the Japanese can the peaceful future which we are seeking to construct here at San Francisco be made possible.

~~Their courage and your War Bonds are both essential.~~
I know that we can count on the men in the Army, ^{and Forces} Navy, ~~Marine Corps and Coast Guard~~ for the bravery and endurance that the coming battles will demand. Now that you know the need for larger War Bond ^{purchase} contributions, I am sure that they in turn can rely on you.

1.20

7 The War ~~League~~ ^{to put this} over the top.

7th War Loan Speech

In San Francisco, as the delegates of fifty nations prepare a Charter for the United Nations Organization, we are keenly aware that we meet at a gate-way to the Pacific. And out in the Western Pacific our forces on land and sea and air are pressing onward in the Drive toward complete victory in the war against Japan.

You have heard from the hard won out-posts that have successively marked the progress of that Pacific war. Each one of them had to be taken no matter what the ^{cost} course, if we were ever to win a position from which to attack for complete victory. The work in the fields and factories and the War Bond purchases have resulted in the essential military supplies that rightly used to do the job. The assault forces have supplied the skill, the endurance, and the willingness to risk death time and ~~time~~ again that alone could make victory possible on those fanatically defended beaches. By this combination of hard work and war products and War Bond buying at home with skill and courage overseas, we have finally overcome the enemies outer defenses and are in a position to fight the major battles that must be won if eventual victory is to be ours.

These battles will not be easy. We cannot count on either surrender or a quick victory. But the men overseas are ready to see the job through to its end. They are willing to do it, because they know that only through the complete defeat of the Japanese can the peaceful future which we are seeking to construct here at San Francisco be made possible.

Their courage and your War Bonds are both essential. I know that we can count on the men in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps and Coast Guard for the bravery and endurance that the coming battles will demand. Now that you know the need for larger War Bond contributions, I am sure that they in turn can rely on you.

Greatest Speech Yet Made at Conference Delivered by Stassen

Commander's Address, Climaxing Hours Of Oratory, Gives Clear Picture of What Parley Has Done and What It Means

By Michael Bradshaw
Post-Gazette Associate Editor

San Francisco, June 21—At midnight after the longest, busiest, hardest day of this two-month session Commander Harold E. Stassen last night delivered the greatest speech yet made at the United Nations Conference to delegates still working long after the galleries of the opera house were virtually deserted.

In 15 minutes of straight talking, with no oratorical flourishes, the former governor of Minnesota



gave a clearer picture of what the conference has done and what it means other than the words written and spoken about the proceedings at San Francisco. It's a pity so few persons heard him, so few will

Mr. Bradshaw ever know what he said. His speech was not even mimeographed, as are most of the others, because Commander Stassen isn't seeking any personal glory for his outstanding work here to which all the other speakers referred in glowing phrases.

Hours of Oratory

For three hours and a half the oratory had droned on and on as the spokesmen for a dozen nations discussed the trusteeship arrangements of the charter and their speeches were turned from French into English or from English into French.

Lord Cranborne, speaking for the British Empire, made it plain that he hadn't become his majesty's secretary of state for dominion affairs to preside over the dissolution of the empire, either. He defended Britain's colonial policies but said his country welcomed the plan of the United Nations to make the administration of dependent areas a "sacred trust" of civilization. There was merit in his remarks, though perhaps a bit of hypocrisy.

Impassioned Plea By Romulo

General Romulo of the Philippines, whose oratory sometimes seems a trifle better than his thinking, delivered an impassioned plea for freedom and independence for everybody in the world right now. There was merit in his remarks, though perhaps a little demagoguery.

Paul Emile Naggiaro of France declared the new colonial policies proclaimed by the United Nations would "vanquish the material poverty of protected peoples."

Field Marshal Smuts, whose treatment of the natives in South Africa is sometimes criticized, declared the charter of the United Nations goes much further than the Covenant of the League of Nations went in elevating the status of peoples not yet ready for self-government.

Stassen Takes Floor

After everybody else had had his say, Commander Stassen, who had done more than any other man to reconcile many different points of view, got up to say how it had been done.

He didn't indulge in any of the fulsome praise so lavishly ladled out at international gatherings. In commending the delegates of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, France, China, Belgium, Egypt, Iraq, The Netherlands, and many other countries, his colleagues in the American delegation and their aides and advisers the officers of the committee, the interpreters and secretaries, he called everybody by name and said precisely what they had done.

For almost two months, Commander Stassen said, all these men from all these countries had labored hard to devise a system whereby the more civilized nations could best assist the more primitive peoples of the world to attain the better things of modern life.

Though he conceded that different countries saw the colonial problem differently, he said all the delegates had worked sincerely toward that common goal. He said the trusteeship plan as finally drafted by the committee and approved by the commission would affect the lives of millions of peoples and should give them a larger measure of freedom, prosperity, and human dignity.

Good Faith Is Essential

But the plan, Commander Stassen warned, isn't nothing but a series of noble words. It will mean nothing unless it is carried out in good faith by the nations which have declared that the treatment of the backward peoples of the world is a sacred trust of civilization. For himself and for his fellow delegates, he indicated

they were determined to give the peoples of this earth, all of them, a new and better world.

When I got back to my hotel about 1 o'clock I found a copy of last Wednesday's Post-Gazette in my mailbox.

On the front page was a cartoon by Cy Hungerford had drawn about the conference. It showed a doughboy, labeled "Big Troop Movement," striding across the continent and giving a little figure labeled "Diplomat" a kick in the pants at San Francisco.

"We're going places! Are you?" the soldier asked the diplomat who was holding a paper in his hand which said "World Peace Plan Delays."

Not Killing Time

I'm not criticizing Cy. He has an uncanny sense of feeling what people are thinking and showing them their thoughts in pictures. If the readers of the Post-Gazette think a bunch of high-hat diplomats are killing time out here while our soldiers fight a war and our people pray for peace, I must be doing a pretty lousy reporting job.

But give these fellows a chance, will you? Our troops may be leaving Europe in a hurry now, but they weren't rushing into that second front back in 1943, were they? Our navy may be blasting at the front door of Tokyo now, but it wasn't steaming in that direction after Pearl Harbor, was it?

If it takes years to win a war, isn't it worth spending a couple of months to try to prevent one?

Some Phonies, of Course

During the two months I have spent at this conference, I haven't seen a high-hat literally and not many figuratively. There are some phonies among the delegates, of course, since they are always to be found wherever human beings get together.

But there's Commander Stassen, too and Dr. Wellington Koo and Lord Halifax and Peter Fraser and Senator Vandenberg and Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar and Field Marshal Smuts and Jan Masaryk and Georges Bidault and Secretary Stettinius and Henri Rollin and John Foster Dulles and Miss Virginia Gildersleeve and Dr. Bertha Lutz.

Yes and there's also Ambassador Gromyko and a lot of other able, honest, sincere men and women who are doing their dead level best to give the peoples of this battered world a durable peace.

If they take a couple of months to do a better job, what's wrong with that? A couple of months won't seem so long a century from now if the United Nations do succeed in putting an end to war.

All Ready for Signing Of Charter Next Monday

San Francisco, June 21—(AP)—The United Nations conference fitted into place the last details of a charter for a world-peace keeping organization today and Senators Vandenberg, Republican, Michigan, and Connally, Democrat, Texas, arranged to report to the Senate on it next Thursday and Friday.

Secretary of State Stettinius told a news conference that everything is now ready for the eight-hour signing ceremony to start late Monday.

The next day President Truman will make his formal address to the closing session. Present plans are for Mr. Truman to carry the charter back with him to Washington.

Stettinius said that the text of the charter was finally finished at 1 a. m. (Pittsburgh time) today and that he showed it for the first time to all the other delegation heads at a steering committee meeting late today.

The secretary of state also reported officially that the commission which will bridge the gap between the conference and the first meeting of the world organization will meet in London this summer. There will be 14 members of the interim commission.

The final action at the charter-working stage came today in unanimous approval by a conference commission of plans for a world forum. Delegates then settled back to wait for Tuesday.

SUMMER I
Christmas for 8
of 103 Inland
captured Decem
the Ninety-Nin
that he wanted

New Air Landin At Bori

Jap Force I

In Northern

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Manila, Friday,
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Aussies By-Pass Swa

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Balikpapan Defe

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(UP)—Joseph
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were puzzled
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proved that he
in 1939 and has

HOM



Three Major Air Units To Wage War on Japs

Eighth Under General Doolittle Expected to Operate Independently

Washington, June 21—(AP)—At least three major air forces in the Pacific, two of them using super-bombers, are to operate in the accelerated air war against Japan.

Under the general command of MacArthur is the Far Eastern Air Force of Lieutenant General George C. Kenney. That force uses a variety of planes including

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESS

Excerpts from Address of Harold E. Stassen of Minnesota to the National Governors' Conference, Mackinac Island, July 2, 1945.

Note: The address will be principally extemporaneous. It will consist in the main of a report of the San Francisco Conference and a discussion of the provisions of the United Nations Charter.

AUTHORIZED QUOTES:

"At the opening of my remarks, I wish to express my appreciation of your invitation to meet with you again. It brings back many fond memories of our association together before the war.

"I also wish to commend each of you for your outstanding cooperation as governors of the states of the union in the united drive to victory in the war. The 48 states, peopled by sons and daughters of every nation in the world, have demonstrated as never before that they are one nation, indivisible and invincible.

"In addition to reporting to you on the very successful and encouraging conclusion of the San Francisco Conference, I would like to urge your continued alert attention to two overshadowing national questions:

First of all I ask that you each do everything in your power to insure the continuing solid backing and support of the home front to the men who are fighting in the Pacific. There must be no let down in that support until the last shot is fired and complete victory is won over Japan.

Second, I urge that each of you give alert attention and study to the questions of world policy that are and will be facing our country. It is of vital importance that we in America think through our policy upon world questions, social, economic and political, and that we do not drift along, improvising from one issue to the next. All of America must participate in the formulation of these policies if we are to wage peace as successfully as we have waged war. We can no longer play the isolationist role of sitting back and waiting to see what other nations wish to do before we begin to study and form a viewpoint and a program on vital worldwide problems.

"The governors of the states can signalize and give leadership to this new broad approach to world problems by actively studying and frankly expressing themselves upon international issues.

"American world policy can no longer be one of aloofness. Neither can it be a policy of the State Department and the Senate and the President alone. It must be the policy of the people of the forty-eight states, *only in that way can it* ~~if it is to~~ be strong, clear, continuing, and effective.

"I hope the day will come when the fifty United Nations get along as well together as do our 48 United States. This does not mean that there would not be differences and competition between them, just as there are between the states of our union, But it would mean that those differences would be kept within the framework of an overall code of social, economic and political principles and that the nations would be bound together by the common hopes and aspirations of their peoples for peace, for progress, and for the recognition of basic human rights and liberties."

THURSDAY, JULY 5, 1945

New York

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Stassen's Speech

By Thomas L. Stokes

MACKINAC ISLAND, Mich., July 5.—The most impressive political personality at the annual governors' conference here was not a governor, but an ex-governor now in the service, Cmdr. Harold Stassen. He has proved his political potency in the past by being thrice elected chief executive of Minnesota.



Cmdr. Stassen performed a valuable service through his appearance here. He brought the governors up sharp against realities in the world of today and of the future other than those troubles incident to reconversion that are beginning to plague them in their

own state capitals.

He turned their attention to the war still raging in the Pacific to which he is returning shortly and he recalled San Francisco, where he participated in framing the Charter for a world security organization upon which rests hope of preventing wars in the future.

Cmdr. Stassen put his finger on a psychological situation in the country today that is reflected in the concentrated local worries of the governors and in an obvious letdown in the country.

He remarked, in his address here, that when he walked into the governors' conference he found them discussing the same problems they had been discussing three years ago when he was last present—then a governor, himself. It was just the same as if he had never been away. The inference seemed to be plain.

He appealed—and in a most effective way—for the governors to keep the attention of their people on the necessities of the war in the Pacific, so that a complete victory may be won, and for their co-operation in arousing their people on foreign policy, so that a consistent foreign policy based on the sound judgment of the people may be formulated. It would be a policy arising from the people and backed by the people.

His convincing talk had the effect of stimulating those governors who already were preparing to get declarations from this conference on the Pacific war and on the San Francisco Charter. Such declarations were adopted—strong, forthright, without equivocation, and unanimously.

There is presumably now no question of ratification of the Charter by the Senate, but this declaration of the governors certainly would seem to make it doubly sure, reflecting, as it does, the overwhelming sentiment of the people. This is reflected, too, in the crumbling away in the last few days of opposition in the Senate, so that it seems now that only a few die-hards will stand out against the Charter.

The pronouncement of the governors on the San Francisco Charter, with all that it means in stimulating discussion by the governors with their people and among the people, probably will turn out to be the most important thing done by the governors here.

Cmdr. Stassen made a deep impression upon the governors here with his clear and dispassionate exposition of the Charter and his explanation of the way in which it was drafted, the compromises necessary and why, and what it can mean for the future if properly implemented from time to time. The governors were moved by his calm and temperate manner, without dramatics, but therefore the more convincing.

Cmdr. Stassen came from the San Francisco Conference with added prestige. He won a high place among those men listed as potential Presidential nominees of the Republican party. He improved his situation here, it is believed, among men influential in party affairs by his appearance before them. His star seems definitely on the rise.

That of Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York seems to be waning, though the 1944 candidate lost no opportunity while here to keep himself in the picture. He identified himself with the strongly international element in the party in which Cmdr. Stassen long had exercised leadership.

GOVERNORS URGE SENATE RATIFY WORLD CHARTER

Support Is Unanimous; Debate Food Crisis

BY ARTHUR EVANS

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

Mackinac Island, Mich., July 4—

The governors' conference today unanimously urged approval of the San Francisco peace charter by the senate and asked that the international organization locate its headquarters somewhere in the United States.

The resolution on the allied nations charter reads:

"We indorse the united nations charter as drafted, and urge its prompt approval by the United States senate so that the United States can lead the way in this greatest of men's efforts."

The preamble was the same as published yesterday with one sentence changed to read: "We believe that the San Francisco Charter lays a firm foundation upon which continued progress towards justice and permanent peace can be made."

Debate Food Crisis

After endorsing the proposed world league, the conference went into a long debate over a resolution on the food and meat crisis, a debate which was not concluded when the conference recessed for an executive session luncheon at which off the record addresses were made by Gen. Marshall, chief of staff, and Adm. King, commander in chief of United States fleet and chief of naval operations.

Other resolutions approved unanimously in the closed final session of the conference, in digest form, are:

AVIATION—On federal aid for a national system of air ports, the conference urged congress to follow the long established pattern of channeling aid to local communities exclusively thru the state governments. Pending legislation, it says, would duplicate existing state aviation agencies and would be ineffective and uneconomical. The states are urged to perfect and expand their aviation facilities in keeping with the development of an adequate national air port system.

Coöperation on Veterans

VETERANS' AFFAIRS — The states have established effective veterans' agencies to work with the national government in assisting veterans to obtain all rights and benefits to which they are entitled. The governors urge that various federal agencies in this field be required to coöperate with state agencies, to avoid overlapping, duplication of effort and confusion on the part of the veterans themselves.

WAR—The conference urges "full speed ahead to final victory in this world-wide war until imperialistic Japan, like nazi Germany shall capitulate in unconditional surrender." The states again pledge all of their resources, facilities, and complete coöperation to this end.

NATIONAL GUARD—The conference indorses the continuation of the national policy of maintaining a strong, effective, and well trained national guard within each of the states.

Expanded Job Agencies

UNEMPLOYMENT—An increasing volume of reconversion and demobilization unemployment is occurring after the surrender of Germany, and it is imperative that state unemployment agencies be largely expanded so unemployed workers may receive their checks promptly. The conference declared that the amount of the tax equalized by the federal government in excess of the amount



O B I T

William H. Hogar

William H. Hogar, son of William Harmon Hogar, died at his home at 56 South Park. He retired after 17 years of employment with the Chicago postoffice. He was 75. He was survived by two daughters, Clara and Gertrude E. Services will be held at 10:30 a. m. Saturday at the church, Mayfield av. and

Mrs. Bernice V. Bechtel

Services for Mrs. Bernice V. Bechtel, 39, a victim of lymphoma, who died Tuesday at 2757 Fullerton av., will be held at 8 o'clock last night in the church at 2752 Diversey av. She is survived by her mother, Mrs. Marthe Bechtel, with whom she lived, and her husband, Pvt. Lester Bechtel, who is in the army.

highway deaths and accidents are alarming proportions. The governors' pledge continued and expanded programs and official support in behalf of highway traffic.

Coöperation Policy

ADMINISTRATION POLICY—Peace time plans for a constructive post-war program of coöperation between federal, state and local governments are already being made. With the end of the war against Japan, most emergency war prosecution will be abolished. The governors declared the following principles in the administration of peace time public services of federal, state, and local governments should prevail:

"Policies should be developed coöperatively; policy and overall programs should be set forth explicitly by congress, so that the parts of the program to be performed by the various governments are clearly defined.

"Immediate supervision and direction of such coöperative programs should be in the hands of the states; responsibility for local operation thereof should be given to the subordinate units of government. Necessary authority should be commensurate with responsibility and lines of direction should be scrupulously followed. This conforms to the keynote of the conference—restoration of the forms of state and local government and home rule."

VALIDITY TEST OF TRANSIT ACT IS OUTLINED

Courts to Determine Board's Powers

A move to test the validity of the Chicago metropolitan transit authority act, thru which the surface and elevated lines would be acquired and operated under public ownership, was started early this week at a conference of attorneys.

At the meeting, it was reported that the authority board of seven members, which held its initial session last Thursday, would meet again next Tuesday and probably accept a city franchise and then adopt an ordinance to bond the board.

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