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Texts of Addresses at Opening of United Nations Conference in San Francisco

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By The Associated Press.

SAN FRANCISCO, April 25—Following are the prepared addresses of President Truman and Secretary Stettinius at the opening session of the United Nations Conference:

President Truman

The world has experienced a revival of an old faith in the everlasting moral force of justice. At no time in history has there been a more important conference, nor a more necessary meeting, than this one in San Francisco, which you are opening today.

On behalf of the American people I extend to you a most hearty welcome.

President Roosevelt appointed an able delegation to represent the United States. I have complete confidence in its chairman, Secretary of State Stettinius, and in his distinguished colleagues, former Secretary Cordell Hull, Senator Connally, Senator Vandenberg, Representative Bloom and Representative Eaton, Governor Stassen and Dean Gildersleeve.

They have my confidence. They have my support.

In the name of a great humanitarian—one who surely is with us today in spirit—I earnestly appeal to each and every one of you to rise above personal interests and adhere to those lofty principles which benefit all mankind.

Franklin D. Roosevelt gave his life while trying to perpetuate these high ideals. This conference owes its existence, in a large part, to the vision and foresight and determination of Franklin Roosevelt.

Each of you can remember other courageous champions, who also made the supreme sacrifice, serving under your flag. They gave their lives, so that others might live in security. They died to insure justice. We must work and live to guarantee justice—for all.

Architects of the Better World

You members of this conference are to be the architects of the better world. In your hands rests our future. By your labors at this conference we shall know if suffering humanity is to achieve a just and lasting peace.

Let us labor to achieve a peace which is really worthy of their great sacrifice. We must make certain, by your work here, that another war will be impossible.

We, who have lived through the torture and the tragedy of two world conflicts, must realize the magnitude of the problem before us. We do not need far-sighted vision to understand the trend in recent history. Its significance is all too clear.

With ever increasing brutality and destruction, modern warfare, if unchecked, would ultimately crush all civilization. We still have a choice between the alternatives: the continuation of international chaos—or the establishment of a world organization for the enforcement of peace.

It is not the purpose of this conference to draft a treaty of peace in the old sense of that term. It is not our assignment to settle specific questions of territories, boundaries, citizenship and reparations.

This conference will devote its energies and its labor exclusively to the single problem of setting up the essential organization to keep the peace. You are to write the fundamental charter.

Our sole objective at this decisive gathering is to create the structure. We must provide the machinery which will make future peace not only possible but certain.

The construction of this delicate machine is far more complicated than drawing boundary lines on a map, or estimating fair reparations, or placing reasonable limits upon armaments. Your task must be completed first.

We represent the overwhelming majority of all mankind. We speak for people who have endured the most savage and devastating war ever inflicted upon innocent men, women and children.

We hold a powerful mandate from our people. They believe we will fulfill this obligation. We must prevent, if human mind, heart and hope can prevent it, the repetition of the disaster from which the entire world will suffer for years to come.

If we should pay merely lip service to inspiring ideals and later do violence to simple justice, we would draw down upon us the bitter wrath of generations yet unborn.

We must not continue to sacrifice the flower of our youth merely to check madmen, those who in every age plan world domination. The sacrifices of our youth today must lead, through your efforts, to the building for tomorrow of a mighty combination of nations founded upon justice for peace.

"Justice the Greatest Power"

Justice remains the greatest power on earth.

To that tremendous power alone will we submit.

Nine days ago I told the Congress of the United States, and I now repeat it to you:

"Nothing is more essential to the future peace of the world than continued cooperation of the nations which had to muster the force necessary to defeat the conspiracy of the Axis powers to dominate the world.

"While these great states have a special responsibility to enforce the peace, their responsibility is based upon the obligations resting upon all states, large and small, not to use force in international relations except in the defense of law. The responsibility of the great states is to serve and not dominate the peoples of the world."

None of us doubt that, with Divine guidance, friendly cooperation and hard work, we shall find an adequate answer to the problem history has put before us.

Realizing the scope of our task and the imperative need for success, we proceed with humility and determination.

By harmonious cooperation the United Nations repelled the onslaught of the greatest aggregation of military force that was ever assembled in the long history of aggression. Every nation now fighting for freedom is giving according to its ability and opportunity.

We fully realize today that victory in war requires a mighty united effort. Certainly victory in peace calls for, and must receive, an equal effort.

Must Be Good Neighbors

Man has learned long ago that it is impossible to live unto himself. This same basic principle applies today to nations. We were not isolated during the wars, we dare not become isolated in peace.

All will concede that in order to have good neighbors we must also be good neighbors. That applies in every field of human endeavor.

For lasting security men of good-will must unite and organize. Moreover, if our friendly policies should ever be considered by belligerent leaders as merely evidence of weakness, the organization we establish must be adequately prepared to meet any challenge.

Differences between men and between nations will always remain. In fact, if held within reasonable limits, such disagreements are actually wholesome. All progress begins with differences of opinion and moves onward as the differences are adjusted through reason and mutual understanding.

In recent years our enemies have clearly demonstrated the disaster which follows when freedom of thought is no longer tolerated. Honest minds cannot long be regimented without protest.

The essence of our problem here is to provide sensible machinery for the settlement of disputes among nations. Without this peace cannot exist. We can no longer permit any nation, or group of nations, to attempt to settle their arguments with bombs and bayonets.

'Words Are Not Enough'

If we continue to abide by such decisions, we will be forced to accept the fundamental philosophy of our enemies, namely, that "might makes right." To deny this premise, and we most certainly do, we are obliged to provide the necessary means to refute it. Words are not enough.

We must, once and for all, reverse the order and prove by our acts conclusively that right has might.

If we do not want to die together in war, we must learn to live together in peace.

With firm faith in our hearts to sustain us along the hard road to victory we will find our way to a secure peace for the ultimate benefit of all humanity.

We must build a new world—a far better world—one in which the eternal dignity of man is respected.

As we are about to undertake our heavy duties we beseech Almighty God to guide us in building a permanent monument to those who gave their lives that this moment might come.

May He lead our steps in his own righteous path of peace.

Secretary Stettinius

Fellow delegates of the United Nations Conference on International Organization:

President Truman has spoken of the grievous loss which came to America and to the world less than two weeks ago. This conference of United Nations to prepare the charter of a world organization owes much to the vision and the courage of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Many of his last hours were spent in preparations for this moment—for a moment which—in the wisdom of God—he could not live to see.

We are met here at the time and at the place which he proposed. We have met to carry forward the great purpose for which he spent his strength—to build the structure of a lasting peace after victory in this war. We have lost a wise and valiant leader, but the purpose lives on. In this purpose the United States is more resolute than ever.

All America spoke through Franklin D. Roosevelt when he said:

"The structure of world peace cannot be the work of one man, or one party, or one nation. It cannot be an American peace, or a British, a Russian, a French, or a Chinese peace. It must be a peace which rests on the cooperative effort of the whole world. . . . There can be no middle ground here. We shall have to take the responsibility for world collaboration, or we shall have to bear the responsibility for another world conflict."

All America also spoke through President Truman just now, when he said:

"With ever increasing brutality and destruction, modern warfare, if unchecked, would ultimately crush all civilization. We still have the choice between the alternatives: the continuation of international chaos—or the establishment of a world organization for the enforcement of peace."

In their purpose to build an enduring structure of world peace the people of the United States believe they are firmly united with all the other United Nations. They are united with the large countries which, of necessity, have had to bear the main burden of winning victory over our common enemies. They are united with the smaller countries, so many of which have suffered the agony and destruction of conquest—all because of the failure of peace-loving peoples to unite in time against aggression before this war.

The vital national interests of each of the United Nations require that all of the United Nations work together to make peace and freedom secure. No one of the large nations, no one of the small nations, can afford anything less than success in this endeavor. Each of them knows too well what the consequences of failure would be.

It is, therefore, with this strong bond of compelling mutual interest that this conference of United Nations begins. It is with this clear understanding of what the realities demand of us that we fortify our high vision of a permanent structure of organized peace.

Hull's "Faith" Emphasized

A great American, Cordell Hull, who devoted many years of his life to the task before us, expressed to me only last Sunday his "profound faith that, whatever the difficulties, the labors of this conference will be crowned with success." We all hope that Cordell Hull's improving health will permit him to take part in the conference later on.

To us, who are Americans, it is a hopeful symbol that this conference has met in San Francisco. In our history the West has always meant the future. San Francisco is a place toward which many generations of Americans have turned their eyes.

With faith, American pioneers opened a new path westward across a wilderness. With courage they met and conquered every danger along the way until they reached the promised land they sought. Since then Americans have always thought of California, of San Francisco, as a place where hopes come true, where all purposes can be accomplished.

Now, the deepest hope and highest purpose of all mankind—enduring peace—is here committed to our hands. We, too, are pioneers on a new road. There will be many obstacles and many dangers. We, too, must call upon the courage and the faith of those who came to California before us—across a wilderness to the shores of this great ocean named for peace.

We approach our task humbly, but with united resolution.

The prayers of the people of the world are with us. They are spoken in many tongues and in the words of many creeds. But they are as one voice, rising from the tragedy and suffering of war, in prayer for lasting peace.

Thus fortified, and with the guidance of Almighty God, we must and shall fulfill the purpose for which we have come together.

A Historic Meeting: Americans and Russians Join Forces

Texts of Big Three Statements on Link

President Truman

WASHINGTON, April 27 (AP)—President Truman's statement on the joining of the American and Russian armies:

The Anglo-American armies under the command of General Eisenhower have met the Soviet forces where they intended to meet—in the heart of Nazi Germany. The enemy has been cut in two.

This is not the hour of final victory in Europe, but the hour draws near, the hour for which all the American people, all the British peoples, and all the Soviet people have toiled and prayed so long.

The union of our arms in the heart of Germany has a meaning for the world which the world will not miss. It means, first, that the last faint, desperate hope of Hitler and his gangster government has been extinguished. The common front and the common cause of the powers allied in this war against tyranny and inhumanity have been demonstrated in fact as they have long been demonstrated in determination. Nothing can divide or weaken the common purpose of our veteran armies to pursue their victorious purpose to its final Allied triumph in Germany.

Second, the junction of our forces at this moment signalizes to ourselves and to the world that the collaboration of our nations in the cause of peace and freedom is an effective collaboration which can surmount the greatest difficulties of the most extensive campaign in military history and succeed. Nations which can plan and fight together shoulder to shoulder in the face of such obstacles of distance and of language and of communications as we have overcome, can live together and can work together in the common labor of the organization of the world for peace.

Finally, this great triumph of Allied arms and Allied strategy is such a tribute to the courage and determination of Franklin Roosevelt as no words could ever speak, and that could be accomplished only by the persistence and the courage of the fighting soldiers and sailors of the Allied nations.

But, until our enemies are finally subdued in Europe and in the Pacific there must be no relaxation of effort on the home front in support of our heroic soldiers and sailors as we all know there will be no pause on the battle fronts.

Marshal Stalin

Marshal Stalin's order of the day, as broadcast from Moscow and reported by the Federal Communications Commission:

Order of the Supreme Commander in Chief to troops of the army in the field:

The troops of the First Ukrainian Front and our allies, the Anglo-American troops, by a blow from the east and west, cut in two the front of the German troops and on April 25 at 1330 linked up in the center of Germany in the area of the town of Torgau. Thus the German troops in northern Germany have been cut off from the German troops in the southern parts of Germany.

To mark the victory achieved and in honor of this historic event, today, April 27, at 1900, the capital of our motherland, Moscow, on behalf of the motherland, salutes the gallant troops of the First Ukrainian Front and our allies, the Anglo-American troops, with twenty-four artillery salvos from 324 guns.

Long live the victory of the freedom-loving nations over Germany!

The Supreme Commander in Chief, Marshal of the Soviet Union, Stalin.

April 27, 1945.

Marshal Stalin's supplement to his order of the day, as recorded by The Associated Press:

In the name of the Soviet Government, I address you, commanders and men of the Red Army and of the armies of our allies.

The victorious armies of the Allied powers, waging a war of liberation in Europe, have routed the German troops and linked up on the territory of Germany.

Our task and our duty are to complete the destruction of the enemy, to force him to lay down his arms and surrender unconditionally.

The Red Army will fulfill to the end this task and this duty to our

I greet the valorous troops of our allies who are now standing on the territory of Germany shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet troops and who are full of determination to carry out their duty to the end.

British Statements

LONDON, April 27 (UP)—The announcement from 10 Downing Street:

A message from Prime Minister Churchill to Marshal Stalin and President Truman:

After long journeys, toils and victories across land and oceans, across so many battlefields, the armies of the great Allies have traversed Germany and have joined hands together.

Now their task will be the destruction of all remnants of German military resistance, the rooting out of Nazi power and the subjugation of Hitler's Reich.

For these purposes, Anglo-American [illegible] we march in true and victorious comradeship and with an inflexible resolve to fulfill our purpose and our duty. [illegible] foe.

ORIGINAL RETIRED FOR PRESERVATION