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# Stettinius Outlines the Task Ahead

Here is the text, in part, of Secretary of State Stettinius's speech at the first plenary session of the United Nations Conference in San Francisco yesterday:

Three years ago the forces of tyranny and aggression seemed on the very point of conquering the world. Today, on every front, they are face to face with defeat—utter and complete defeat.

Our enemies could conquer only by keeping us divided. Instead we confronted them with a free and voluntary association of nations united in purpose and without equal in human and material resources. This unity neither force nor subterfuge has broken.

## Real Unity

It is a unity achieved in spite of differences of language and custom, of cultural tradition and of economic structure. It is a unity which proves that no differences of race, color, creed, history or geography can divide peoples united in a higher community of interest and purpose.

Because of our common understanding that economic security goes hand in hand with security from war, United Nations conferences were held in Atlantic City, Hot Springs, and Bretton Woods on co-operative measures for relief, to meet common problems in food and agriculture and to prepare the financial basis for economic reconstruction and an expanding world economy in the postwar world.

At Mexico City the Inter-American Conference on problems of war and peace strengthened the ties between the republics of the Western Hemisphere and prepared the way for a close integration of the inter-American system with the world organization.

Here at San Francisco we have come to the decisive point in these preparations. The purpose of this conference is to prepare the charter of an international organization to maintain peace with justice in a free world of free men.

I believe that it was a wise, indeed a necessary, decision to limit the work of this conference to that great task . . . because writing the constitution of a world organization to maintain peace in the future is a task wholly separate from the punishment of the inter-

national gangsters who started this war.

It was a necessary decision because establishment of the world organization must be kept above and apart from the peace settlements if the organization is to be able to deal freely and justly with future threats to the peace that may arise from any cause.

## Only the First

Preparations of the charter . . . should not be entangled with the many and complex political and economic issues involved in the defeat of Germany and Japan. And the imminent collapse of organized German resistance makes it all the more important that the world organization be established at the earliest possible moment.

To deal with these other issues, there will have to be many other conferences, and many other decisions, both national and international. We have no time to lose.

Success at this conference will not of itself assure enduring peace. The whole structure will take years to build. But without agreement on a charter, the structure of peace cannot be built at all.

At this conference we have, therefore, undertaken a responsibility on which all else depends. We have undertaken to draw up the charter of an international organization strong enough to prevent war and flexible enough to allow for peaceful development and change.

## Dumbarton Oaks

The outlines of such a charter are contained in the proposals formulated at Dumbarton Oaks last Fall . . . after years of preliminary study. They represent in their essentials the highest common denominator of thought among the four sponsoring nations. They are being presented to this conference as affording the basis of the charter.

Since then many constructive suggestions have been made toward their improvement. Some of these suggestions—and others which may emerge here—will undoubtedly be reflected in the final draft of the charter, and the charter itself should be open to whatever later amendment experience may dictate as wise.

We must always bear in mind that there are at least two conditions essential to the establishment of a world organization which can successfully maintain peace.

One of these conditions is that those peace-loving nations which have the military and industrial strength required to prevent or suppress aggression must agree and act together against aggression. If they do not agree and act together, aggression cannot be prevented or suppressed without a major war. This fact has certainly been spelled out by our experience in this war.

That is why . . . provision was made for this essential agreement and unity of action by the major nations.

The second essential is the voluntary cooperation of all peaceful nations, large and small, acting with full respect for the equal sovereignty of each, to promote justice among nations, to foster respect for basic human rights and to solve these common problems upon which the security and the

economic and social advancement of their peoples so largely depend. There can be no end to the tyranny of fear and want unless the proposed world organization commands the allegiance of both the mind and the conscience of mankind.

The International Court, the Assembly, and the Economic and Social Council and its related agencies are the institutions proposed at Dumbarton Oaks which would have the major responsibility in these fields. They are of the utmost importance. Widespread economic insecurity and poverty, ignorance and oppression, breed conflict and give aggressors their chance. Measures for security against aggression, no matter how effectively contrived, will not alone provide the assurance of lasting peace. We have also to work effectively in close cooperation together toward rising standards of living and greater freedom, and opportunity for all peoples, of every race and creed and color.

## Realities

In the preparations for this conference we have sought from the beginning to build with vision and with justice, but to build always upon the realities and upon hard-won experience.

To build upon a millennial idealism, however fine in theory, would be to build upon quicksand. To build only on the collaboration and interests of the major nations would be to deny the community of interests of all nations.