

But that kind of participation did not have much effect on Mr. Stalin. It must have appeared to him that everything which concerned the Western Allies was in the hands of Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt; that Mr. Chiang Kai-Shek or his representative, spoke for the East and that everyone was and should be content, as well after war as while it was at its worst, to leave the fate of the world in the hands of himself and these three other great national leaders.

We must not forget that the totalitarian concept of democracy by no means implies government of the people by the people, though it does pretend to be government of the people for the people, or, perhaps more accurately, for the State in which the people are merged to the extent that all individuality disappears and a person is of importance only as one grain of sand is important among the millions that are required for any substantial concrete structure.

It so happened then that when, following upon the publication of the Atlantic Charter and the great moral uplift it gave the fighting Allied Democracies, Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill proposed to Mr. Stalin that there be created, after the war, an organization of the United Nations to bring a new order into the world, Mr. Stalin evidently had grave misgivings about the wisdom of associating the representatives of smaller nations in the determination of international problems. He stipulated, as an indispensable condition, that all problems arising out of the war and the terms of the peace to be imposed upon the vanquished enemies would be settled by the Foreign Ministers of the Big Four with whom France might become associated, or by such of them as were specially concerned as to any particular enemy and that this World Organization would act only through a Security Council of which the Big Powers would be Permanent members, and which would have primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security after it had, in its own opinion, become organized and provided with sufficient armed forces to begin to exercise that responsibility. Until that came about, the Big Four, with France, if she chose to be associated with them, would take such joint action on behalf of the Organization as they themselves might consider necessary for this maintenance of international peace and security.

Of course any such action would have to be the result of unanimous decisions of the Big Powers, and Mr. Stalin further stipulated that even after the Security Council took over, it would make no decision, except on procedural matters, without the unanimous consent of these Great Powers.

These stipulations were incorporated in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals and we were all invited to San Francisco to consider them and to give final form to a charter for a World Organization based upon them.

There are many who believe that, even with all those restrictions, Mr. Stalin would not have agreed to any World Organization at all, had it not been that he did place some limited degree of confidence in the peaceful intentions for the future of the American people, under the leadership of Mr. Roosevelt. But just before the time fixed for the San Francisco meeting, Mr. Roosevelt died and it may well be that with his passing there passed also such little confidence as Mr. Stalin may have had in the good faith of his Western wartime allies.

In any event, it soon became apparent at San Francisco that our Russian friends were very worried lest the Organization be set up in such a way as would enable it to be used at any time and in any manner contrary to Russian interests.

Notwithstanding the apparent mistrust, we all felt at San Francisco that it was worth while making once again the attempt to set up a World Organization in the hope that it might make international wars as archaic and inhibited as became, long ago, those private wars which the great and mighty within States used to wage against each other to settle their private disputes.