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If we inquire into the causes of the past failures we may find it difficult to determine and enumerate all of them, but perhaps there could be mentioned among the most important ones the lack of universality of the League of Nations and its reluctance to apply due sanctions to the transgressors of the principles of justice.

One of the most powerful nations of the world, the United States of America, which with its enormous prestige and its great sense of justice and morality could have given added authority to the League, never became a member thereof. Others withdrew at their convenience whenever their national policies became in conflict with the principles for which the League stood, thus weakening the power of the organization.

It might be advisable to make it obligatory for all the nations of the world to form part, at the proper time, of the new Organization that is to be born out of this convention, or at least to make its decisions clearly binding on all of the nations regardless of whether or not they actually form part of the body.

In the work of creating this new Organization there must be, of necessity, conflicts of opinion and even lack of understanding on the part of the nationals of some countries with respect to the position of others. To iron out these differences and to arrive at a common understanding is the great task we have in our hands, and for its results we are responsible to humanity and to the future generations.

Forty-two nations of the world have been summoned to this historic meeting by the four great powers that are bearing the major part in this tremendous undertaking of eradicating the evil of totalitarianism from the face of the earth. The small nations and the large, the weak and the powerful, have all been invited as equals to deliberate side by side and to express their own viewpoints in a truly democratic manner. And so it had to be, inasmuch as this attitude of consideration and respect for the rights of the smaller countries is precisely one of the characteristics that distinguish the democratic nations from the totalitarian, whose only guidance is their own selfish interest and ambition.

It is only to be expected that this same spirit will prevail in the instrument that is to be the result of this convention.

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It cannot be denied that the wholehearted cooperation of the small nations is essential to the satisfactory functioning of the World Organization, or that such small nations must be protected and secured against unjust aggression from any source whatsoever. It must be borne in mind that all nations are juridically equal and that an attack against one of the smaller ones constitutes an offense as execrable as an attack against a great power. In the same manner as in the municipal law of democratic nations all individuals are entitled to the same degree of legal protection, so in international law the principle of equality of all states should be strictly adhered to.

We cannot disregard the fact that the burden of enforcing the peace is to fall principally upon the shoulders of the great powers, but let no one think that such a responsibility constitutes a privilege or determines the division of the world into one category of legally superior states and another category of legally inferior states. Let it be a guiding principle that the greater powers are conferred and the greater privileges recognized, precisely and solely on account of the greater responsibilities assumed. And the responsibility in the maintenance of peace increases proportionally to the size, the population, and the military force of the great nations. They can wage war with more prospects of success than the smaller powers, and therefore they have a supreme responsibility in seeing that no new conflagration is precipitated by their own direct action or by the action of a smaller power backed by any of them. No nation is big enough or powerful enough to stand against the rest of the world. No group of nations can claim exclusive possession of all wisdom in the settlement or conduct of international affairs. All nations--large and small, weak and strong--have a stake in the maintenance of universal peace and all should cooperate as equals in making justice the sole, the supreme, the indestructible basis of peace.

These considerations necessarily lead us to the conclusion that some means must be devised to harmonize the interests of all nations concerned in such a manner that all may feel duly protected and may cooperate in the work of perpetuating a real peace founded upon justice. This is the one great task we have before us. Let us undertake it in good faith and with unflinching determination.

MR. MOLOTOV (speaking in Russian; English version as delivered by interpreter follows): The Chair now recognizes the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Chairman of the Delegation of Peru, Mr. Gallagher.

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