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we are to set up constitutes a real defense of peace.

To conciliate the demands of this ideal with the possibilities of reality is the first principle by which we want to abide.

We therefore mean to examine the proposed solutions with a rigor and an insistence in conformity with the trials we have undergone and the risks we have run.

With the destruction of Nazi might, we likewise mean to put an end to the practice of unilateral interpretation of treaties, and insist on respect for international law which must be observed now more than ever, following this period of mental confusion when right was flouted every day.

Justice is another word we must reinstate in all its loftiness--justice in keeping with international democracy, that is to say, justice which gives full recognition to the rights of all countries, including those which do not come under the generally recognized term of great powers--a point I would particularly stress.

I am not convinced that every possible consideration has been given to the nations called the small powers--I do not know why they are called small, for it may happen that they are not, either by their past or by their population, or by the ideal they mean to serve. In any case, it is a fact that the proposals made at the Conference allow for a dominant share to be granted to the great powers, of which, I again repeat, France is one.

This privilege was decided upon in our absence. What was called the veto of the great powers is certainly not in keeping with the legal ideal which, we do not despair, will some day be established by common accord between peoples.

But we know what the world of today is, we know that apart from outside appearances, there is the question of what means a given state could bring to bear on the battlefield if and when all other resources have failed.

That is why the French Government will not initiate anything which might result in complicating action decided in common by the great powers concerned.

For the moment we shall raise no definite objection to this point in the Dumbarton Oaks plan.

Indeed, we believe it is indispensable that good understanding between the five great powers should be maintained and developed in continued and close friendship between all

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the nations assembled here. The material means of serving peace are largely in their hands. What public opinion in all countries, great or small, is confidently awaiting, is the assurance of their agreement on all world problems.

If this agreement between the great powers is ever broken off, then may God have pity on us all! I say this with the sharpened perceptions of the representative of a people rising from the abyss, with an instinct which makes up for lack of information--for we have been kept outside so many arrangements contemplated by this or that country.

It seems to me, Gentlemen--and I almost feel like apologizing for this recommendation, but we know what is at stake--it seems to me that it is the duty of each one of us to help with all our strength in this understanding between the big Allied Powers, not only because it will constitute the fortifications able to protect peace but because we shall have to build a world in which the germs of future conflict will be eliminated--a world protected by these fortifications.

What must obviously be achieved is an economic charter regulating in particular the distribution of raw materials, a social organization in which labor questions on an international basis, with a view to reaching the best solutions, would benefit by very much greater and wider opportunities than those offered in most cases within a national framework.

Failing this, a perpetually armed world would have to keep endless vigil in perpetual torment--an exhausting watch which finally leads the sentry to shoot at his own shadow.

In addition to the economic and social keystones, the international edifice needs another support. We were pleased to see that the question of intellectual cooperation, which France was the first to put forward, has been taken up by China and many of the Latin American and Mediterranean states. Faithful to her mission and to her traditional support of the predominance of the mind, France will advance suggestions to the Conference with a view to maintaining and reorganizing the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation.

First of all we must provide for essentials, and reduce the problems to their simplest terms.

Above all, nations must feel confident and, to that end it is essential that we should clearly understand what constitutes for each country the conditions of its own security. Not to have a correct appreciation of the security needs of the United States, the Soviet Union, the British Empire,

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