in its upward struggle toward the light. Let us affirm this faith of ours, not only as our high cause and guiding spirit in this war but also as our objective for the future. The peace we are striving for, and are taking such pains to safeguard, is a peace of justice and honor and fair-dealing as between man and man, as between nation and nation. No other peace would be worth the sacrifices we have made and are prepared to make again and the heavy responsibilities we are prepared to take under this Charter.

We shall persevere in that faith until it is established for all mankind beyond any doubt of peradventure. Let us proclaim that faith in this great historic Charter.

MR. STETTINIUS: Ladies and Gentlemen, we will now resume the alphabetical order in calling upon the following speakers, representing the various delegations. The Chairman of the Delegation of Ethiopia has designated the Minister of Ethiopia to Washington, to speak on behalf of that Delegation.

The Chair now recognizes His Excellency, the Ethiopian Minister to the United States.

MR. TEWELDE MEDHEN: Mr. Chairman, Fellow Delegates:

It is with profound emotion that I, as representative of Ethiopia, address this historic gathering of nations convened to establish a new and effective organization for the preservation of collective security and world peace.

Today, I stand before you, representing an Ethiopia which has triumphed over the cruel hardships inflicted at the hands of a powerful adversary, an Ethiopia risen by the unflinching courage of its patriots, by the blood of its sons, and by the heroic sacrifices, never to be forgotten, of the British people who have so generously poured out their lifeblood for the liberation of our Empire.

Today, Ethiopia stands before the world as the first of the United Nations to be liberated; now, fortunately, joined by a host of nations who, likewise through the steadfast courage of their patriots and the prodigal sacrifices of the liberating armies of the great powers, now resume their place in the Council of Nations.

Ethiopia, and all the recently liberated countries of Europe, owe a lasting debt to the four great powers without
whose sacrifices and unstinted assistance it would be impossible for us today to participate in the construction of a new world order.

The small nations of the world are especially grateful to the four great powers who, notwithstanding the tremendous burden of the war, have placed before all else the establishment of an organization for the preservation of the peace now shortly to be won.

At this moment, on the eve of victory, the thoughts of Ethiopia turn with those of the other United Nations in homage to the memory of him who lived and died for the defense and preservation of world peace, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

We, the smaller nations of the world, have been called upon to participate in the present Conference, not only because of the identity of ideals which binds us to the great powers in the present struggle and of our particular interest in the assurance of a lasting peace but also because it is upon the guaranty of the free and independent existence of the small nations of the world that any future world organization must be based.

The past 150 years have known many conflicts and wars between world powers, yet it is my suggestion that the clear majority of them will be found to have been first occasioned, if not caused, by disputes with or concerning smaller nations. It is consequently in the devising of an effective organization of collective security that the experience and the contributions of the smaller nations are of particular significance.

It is doubtful whether any nation is more fully qualified to voice the cautious warnings of experience than is Ethiopia, for rarely in history have the issues in all their majestic simplicity been so clearly posed or have received so clear a response.

It is neither necessary nor appropriate at this time to advert to the details of an epoch which brought an end to the League of Nations and to the verge of destruction an innocent member of the family of nations. It is enough to state that the aggression was clear and unprovoked and was acknowledged by the concert of nations and that the reliance upon the forces of collective security as against a facile, timely, and profitable concession to the forces of aggression was deliberate and made with full knowledge of the costs and risks involved. It is clear that such
reliance was acknowledged and accepted by the League of Nations and that the League of Nations had sought to fulfil its responsibility by the application of sanctions against the aggressor. It was, however, equally certain that the sanctions chosen were decided upon and applied too late and were inadequate to meet the clear necessities of the situation. Notwithstanding the increasing gravity of events, the League, by refined subterfuges of procedures, eluded the application of the measures clearly essential to aid my country in its struggle against the aggressor. Moreover, the members of the League, in imposing an embargo on the export of arms to Ethiopia, in effect facilitated the task of the aggressor.

It is, finally, a matter of history that after the failure of repeated demands of the League of Nations to bring to a halt the decimation of an entire people by poison gas, following a campaign against overwhelming odds, His Imperial Majesty, my August Sovereign, addressed an ultimate call and admonition to the forces of law and order to join in suppressing aggressions against innocent states. That call went unheeded, and the League, in preferring the abandonment and death of one of its members, chose instead for itself defeat and dissolution. Had it not been for the courageous and unremitting resistance of our patriots and the overwhelming support of our British Allies, it is probable that the fate of Ethiopia would have been determined forever.

Ethiopia would then be unfaithful to herself, to those here gathered, and to the ideals for which brave men go down today to death were she not to state but briefly the warnings and hopes born of experience and searching reflection.

In evolving a new organization for the preservation of peace, we have no choice but to bear in mind the organization of the former League of Nations in order, by an examination of its defects and failures, to avoid similar errors in the task that lies before us.

Public opinion of the peoples of the world, however enlightened and insistent, cannot of itself suffice to remedy the faults of a defective organization. My country was fortunate and honored in having had solidly behind it the sympathy and support of peoples throughout the world in its struggle against a callous aggressor. However, such sympathy and support could not prevail against appalling delays made possible by a defective Covenant and exploited to the full by an unscrupulous
foe. They could not vanquish the fear of responsibility on the part of the League or overcome its predilection for ad hoc organs created both within and without the League to absorb and stifle the urgent demands of a desperately wounded victim of aggression. Ethiopia was thus overwhelmed by a vastly superior foe and abandoned by the League of Nations, notwithstanding the insistent voice of a unanimous world public opinion.

No longer will victims of aggression find support or solace in resolutions of condemnation or of sympathy, nor should it now be possible by procedures adapted to a requirement of unanimity, to escape the responsibility for decision and for action that must be faced by all states desirous of maintaining collective peace and security. All nations here represented must insure that the future Organization and, in particular, the Security Council, be enabled and be compelled to vote not resolutions or recommendations but decisions, decisions not only of principle but decisions for immediate action for insuring the maintenance of peace pending solution of the problems to be faced. The Security Council should be enabled to vote its decisions promptly without possibility of obstruction and delays on the part of those whose interest it may be to gain by time what cannot be achieved by consent.

The peace-loving nations of the world must not be called upon again as was Ethiopia to submit to what has been rightly called a "spoliation by procedure".

The great powers at Dumbarton Oaks have chosen to confer on the new Organization--and, in particular, on the Security Council--the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and to provide that in carrying out these duties under this responsibility it should act in behalf of all the members. However, in conferring so heavy a responsibility on their behalf, the member nations must have the positive assurance not only that the Council can effectively reach and implement decisions with regard to both parties to the dispute but also that once seised of a dispute the Council will retain the direct and continuous responsibility of assuring a prompt solution.

It cannot again be tolerated that during a period of actual aggression, the Council should relegate the determination of vital problems to subordinate or extraneous commissions of investigation or conciliation, or that the orderly procedure of the security organization be
interrupted and the application of sanctions suspended in order to call such additional and extraneous procedures or organs into existence.

The responsibility for the maintenance of world peace must, moreover, remain indivisible and universal. It cannot be denied that the absence of certain states from the former League of Nations rendered inefficacious the temperate sanctions placed into operation by that organization. The task and the responsibility of insuring collective security cannot be that of Europe, or America, or Asia, or of Africa. It cannot, moreover, be that of any region, or of any particular group of powers.

In supporting the proposals of Dumbarton Oaks, Ethiopia finds it necessary to express the considered conviction that the direct responsibility imposed upon the Security Council to act in behalf of all members should at no instant be in any way diminished or relaxed, nor should its effective intervention be in any wise retarded or impeded by the operation of regional agreements. The Security Council should not be compelled, as was the Council of the League of Nations, to stay its hand until the machinery for the regional solution of conflicts should have proved to have failed in its functions. We ought not to agree to a Charter which would again give rise to the spoliation by procedure of the victims of aggression.

Finally, the Ethiopian Delegation is profoundly convinced that no organization and no desire for peace, however firm, can prevail unless the nations of the world share the conviction that there can be no world peace except there be a peace founded upon the principles of justice.

The past ten years have proved to the world's infinite cost in terms of shattered lives and countries the prophetic words of His Imperial Majesty, my August Sovereign, when under tragic circumstances before the nations assembled at Geneva he proclaimed that those nations who seek peace without justice will ultimately find neither peace nor justice.

Ethiopia has been too intimately identified with the ideal of collective security and has suffered too deeply in its defense to waiver for one instant in her unquestioning support of such organization as will meet the agreement of the nations here represented. She feels, however, entitled to bring to this historic Conference her views
and considerations shaped through long and tragic years. She is hopeful that her experience may assist in establishing an Organization which can turn to profit the errors of the past and devise a lasting monument to the heroic sacrifices of the present generation. To that end she pledges her every effort and to that hope her undying allegiance.

MR. STETTINIUS: Ladies and Gentlemen, the Chair recognizes the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Chairman of the Delegation of France.

MR. BIDAULT (speaking in French; translation follows): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: On this day of victory when, for the first time, I have the honor and privilege of speaking to you on behalf of France, I shall not try to hide my feelings of deep emotion.

The collapse of Hitlerite Germany which we are now witnessing is for the United Nations as a whole—and especially for my country, which this power of prey has laid waste three times during the past 75 years—an event at once so long awaited and so profoundly dramatic that our minds are struck by the incredible force of such a lesson given to the spirit of violence and aggression.

As a man who only a few months ago was still being hounded down in his own country, then entirely occupied and savagely oppressed by a foe who today stands at bay, may I be allowed to include in one whole-hearted tribute all those who, humble or glorious, have worked for our common salvation: the heroic Soviet Army, whose standards bear so many resounding victories, from Stalingrad to Berlin; the valorous divisions of Great Britain and the Dominions, old and gallant comrades in our struggles; the magnificent American troops whose blood has been shed on our soil, so far from their own towns and countryside, for a cause which knows no distance, thus endearing to us still further the soil that received it and making more sacred still the harvest it has raised, and which is called freedom.

These armies, uniting their efforts, mingling their sacrifices, have taken the largest share of the common fight on the battlefields of Europe, after the tremendous initial shock of the assailant had, for the moment, knocked France out, while their American, British, and Chinese brothers-in-arms in other parts of the world were carry-