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arrived at the crisis of its fate, the fate of its future as a civilized world. Even military victory, measureless victory, now crowning our war effort in Europe, is not enough. It must be only the prelude to the greater peace effort before us, which must complete and finalize the present struggle for a free world.

That is what we are aiming at here. This is the inner significance of this great San Francisco Conference.

For a generation now history has been working up to a veritable climax of war, of destructive violence, which now threatens the very foundations of our human future. Two world wars have been fought with ever-increasing destructiveness, until now the ancient homelands and continent of our western civilization are a desolation and a ruin unparalleled in history. Science--the inventive genius of our race--is putting ever new and greater and more terrible resources at the disposal of war.

A third world war may well prove beyond the limits of what civilized society can endure, perhaps even beyond the limits of our continued existence as a human world. It is for us to prevent this monstrous possibility and to make it a moral impossibility. That is the high purpose for which we are gathered here. We the peacemakers, we the peace-builders, dare not disappoint the hopes and prayers of a whole suffering world, centered on us here. Both the past and the future appeal to us. We dare not fail after what the valor of our millions of heroes has achieved. Let us see to it that their devotion and sacrifices and those of many more millions of the civilian populations, are not once more in vain.

Let us see to it that so far as in us lies, we shall call a halt to this pilgrimage of death, this march to suicide of our race--a march in which the innocent suffer far more than the guilty.

I speak here today, Mr. President, as one of the few still surviving from the last Peace Conference at Paris 26 years ago. My mind goes even further back, to the poignant memories of the South African war 46 years ago when, as a young man, I first learnt to know what war means for a small people and all it holds dear. From all this experience sprang my deep interest in the League of Nations and in the Covenant which we made at Paris for keeping the peace in future among the nations great and small.

It was a great and noble effort, much in advance of anything that had been done or even attempted before.

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Today it is the fashion to belittle or even sneer at the League of Nations. But in its day it registered a real and great advance, and those who either in this country or elsewhere labored in that noble cause have nothing to regret or apologize for.

Alas, the Covenant proved only a milestone. This new Charter of the United Nations may also prove to be no more than a milestone. We pray that it may have a greater significance, but it may be that we shall in due course travel even beyond this milestone and have to erect further beacons on the road toward world peace, until ultimately the distant frontiers are reached of that new, that newer world, where war among the nations will be only a dim far-off memory of the race.

The League did prove a striking success in all its varied humanitarian activities, and much of what it did in that fruitful field of human service is of permanent value and can only be followed up and carried further forward by this new organization.

It failed, and failed badly only in one respect, but that the most important of all. It did not prevent war; it did not prevent lawless aggression, which has finally reached its climax in this most terrible of world wars. It is therefore here that our new task begins. And it may be useful if from this point of view we compare for a moment the differences in fundamental structure between the Covenant of the League and the Charter prepared at Dumbarton Oaks.

Of course the two documents emerge from two different worlds. A far-reaching revolution has been taking place since 1919, and it is still going on. No one foresaw or could have foreseen, at the last Peace Conference, the great political changes which have come over the world and world affairs in the years since. We planned for the world we knew, and as we saw it, and we planned in a justifiable spirit of optimism. Nobody, for instance, expected that the United States would refuse to enter the League of Nations and allow it to drift on the rocks in the dangerous post-war seas, as in the absence of the United States it was bound to do.

Nobody foresaw the rise of the vast ideologies which have since rocked our world on its foundations. Nobody realized the vast dangers of the future, even of the near future. We lived and thought in a political world and did not foresee the economic and social upheavals which were to

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