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or other nations would lead us to misjudge the policies of each.

It is also necessary that our own conception of security should be understood. This conception is, moreover, applicable to the whole of what may be called the danger zones, since we are geographically placed in the immediate vicinity of one of the most dangerous.

Our expressed determination to procure the necessary guaranties for our eastern frontier, the conclusion by the French Government of a treaty of alliance with the Soviet Government, our declared intention to conclude similar treaties with other powers as occasion arises, and finally our wholehearted adherence to the principles of collective security--all these elements are not only compatible but they complete each other. Each contributes its share to the construction of an efficient security system. They might be compared to three ramparts of a fortress. Never would anyone in ancient times have thought of requiring the dismantling of one rampart on the pretext that it weakened the other two. On the contrary, if the inhabitants of the inner fortress were reassured by the fact that there were three stone walls between themselves and an eventual enemy, the defenders of each of these walls were encouraged in their turn by the existence of two other lines of defense. We think that this is a question of common sense, and that the International Organization of tomorrow will be aided and not hampered if those countries which are most threatened do their utmost to protect themselves by their own means, and if those which feel threatened by the same perils come to an agreement to protect themselves against those perils.

We are speaking here as people who know to their cost that, to discourage any future attempt at aggression, we must bridge the gap between the lightning rapidity of aggression and the inevitable slowness of consultation. Such is the purport of one of the amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks plan suggested by us.

That being said, we are ready, for the good of a new world, to make such sacrifices of sovereignty as may be agreed to in common and mutually recognized as necessary to collective security. We are prepared to go as far along this road as our partners in the general Organization.

But, I repeat, nothing could be more deadly than to build in uncertainty a castle of texts which did not correspond to reality.

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We must see to it that the peoples' expectations are not in vain. Millions of men, women, and children have perished because the formulas of security in which the world put its trust failed in their object.

We have not the right to hold their sacrifices so cheap, either by turning our eyes from the summits at which they aimed or by compromising the peace of this flesh-and-blood world for which they died.

The widows and mothers of the United States--and I say the United States because we are today in their midst and because the same thought, the same sorrowful pride, the same hope unite them to our own mothers and widows at home, from the Urals to Scotland and from China to Australia--the widows and mothers of the United States expect that the salvation announced to men of good will whom we represent here will not be just a reprieve.

It has been said that this is our last chance. Perhaps not, for Providence has endless resources. But whether it be the last or not, it would be criminal not to grasp it, not to tend it carefully so that hope will blossom forth.

What would we look like, what reply could we make, if, upon returning home, processions of our heroes, martyrs, and innocents were to ask us: "What have you made of our victory, our sacrifice, our future?"

California, where the blessings of Heaven and the riches of earth combine to make it a Promised Land, inspires an act of faith and of reason.

That the great Republic of the United States has taken the lead in this discussion on world affairs from which she kept apart 25 years ago, is undoubtedly one of the most tangible, comforting, and valid reasons for hope.

On the bridges of the Rhine, the frontier of France, the men of the Revolution inscribed these words which still live today: "Here begins the Land of Liberty". We profoundly hope that throughout the universe redeemed by so much suffering and so much courage, the realm of freedom, democracy, and right will extend from now on to all lands where, with the new wind which is rising, peaceable men will seek to live.

Confident of her renewed strength, confident in the promises of the future, sure of herself to the point of being the first nation to restore the normal play of democratic institutions by free and orderly elections so soon after such trials, France will wholeheartedly devote herself to the great task of guaranteeing to the world the security of all and the rights of each.

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