

REMARKS -- PARIS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL

APRIL 7, 1967

Mr. Chairman and members of the North Atlantic Council: This organization -- this NATO -- has been so close to the heart of my country's foreign policy for so long that it is part of our every-day vocabulary -- one of our assumptions about national commitment that almost everyone takes for granted.

∟ We look upon NATO's success as an established fact of contemporary life.

∟ Its strength is a matter of high priority in our nation's policy.

It has survived both external and internal crises and we have come to assume that this is a hardened habit.

Even when we indulge in the periodic luxury of disagreement among ourselves, our disagreements do not run to the merits of NATO, but rather to the best or more effective or most economical way to keep it in business for the long term.

Even when we are committed in other parts of the world, it simply does not occur to us that the way to pursue our purposes in ^{those} other areas is to abandon our purposes in the Atlantic and European area.

But to accept NATO as a constant in our foreign policy is not to assume that its tasks, its opportunities, and its form of organization must remain fixed from decade to decade.

This organization came into being by the historic decision of Stalin to go it alone in the post-war world and to use the threat of Soviet armed force ~~and~~ to expand Westward.

↳ NATO first blunted, then contained, that outward thrust into Europe. ↳ The threat from the East is not gone, but it has moderated. ↳ It has moderated to a large degree because we have held together. And the passage of time ... the increasing material well-being of Soviet society ... the growing flexibility of the Soviet economy ... the moderating experience of dealing with other nations are leading to modifications^{+changes} within the once-monolithic Soviet bloc.

↳ In the past 20 yrs
↳ ~~just as~~ Western Europe has changed, ~~so have the~~ ^{and so has the} Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. New conditions require a new response.

↳ We will need to find our way to a resolution of those fundamental European issues which, so long as they remain unresolved, will prevent true security and the reconciliation of East and West which we all seek.

When the Marshall Plan followed the program of defense aid to Greece and Turkey, President Truman described it as the "other half of the walnut."

My point here is that our goal in the years ahead is to ~~use President Truman's analogy to~~ add the other half of the walnut to the half

we already have -- by matching deterrence with peaceful engagement.

- yes a new walnut in a new period.

If we are to be successful, we must stand together in this new period just as firmly as we did at the height of the Cold War.

↳ We have not surmounted three crises over Berlin in an atmosphere of protracted tension to lose now, --- in a moment of relaxation, what we then dared to stand for and sustain. And despite the limitations on what we can do to encourage the tides of change in relations between East and West, much remains that we can do.

↳ We are all aware of the quickening tempo of East-West contacts.

↳ Your own compilations here show more than half a hundred significant political contacts between Eastern and Western Governments last year, ^{and} many of them involved ministers and chiefs of government.

↳ For my part, I found this two-way traffic significant enough to refer to the prospect for an Open Door between East and West when I spoke last month at Fulton, Missouri on the 21st anniversary of Winston Churchill's Iron Curtain speech.

∟ The increasing exchange of people -- official and unofficial -- is matched by an increasing exchange of goods and services, as each of our countries has tried to expand its volume of trade and tourism with the East.

∟ This, too, is hopeful.

Indeed we expect to engage more vigorously in this trade ourselves in the months and years ahead.

∟ You are aware of the various steps, ~~that~~ -- a commercial air agreement, a consular treaty, export credit guarantees to some of the countries of Eastern Europe, a proposed East-West Trade bill and other proposals -- which my government has made or hopes to make to help thaw the ice in the East.

And of course we are all expectantly aware that in recent times the Soviet leaders have been gradually more open to the idea of entering into negotiations ... ~~And then~~ more interested in talking seriously about possible agreements ... less unreasonable in formulating their positions and less dogmatic in putting them forth.

This beginning of thaw is reflected in the foreign policy, and I suppose the domestic politics, of every nation represented at this table.

But ^{must} We have a way of safeguarding and harmonizing our interests as the traffic quickens through the Open Door.

△ It is by consultation through this Council.

△ Our task around this table will be to design the other half of the walnut - by stimulating, guiding and monitoring the process of movement together.

In the words of President Johnson last October 7:

"The Alliance must become a forum for increasingly close consultations. These should cover the full range of joint concerns - from East-West relations to crisis consultation."

He meant just what he said, and our representatives in NATO are instructed to live by this policy.

△ In sum, then my government believes that: We have to maintain a credible NATO deterrent.

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↳ If we do, there will be more and more opportunities to work constructively on East-West relations - because NATO will continue to prove the futility of aggressive behavior in Europe.

↳ But as we have managed together the business of deterrence, ^{so} we must manage together the even more complex business of making a durable peace in Europe.

↳ Our presence in the midst of the Alliance bears witness to our firm commitment to act as faithful partners of our allies.

↳ And if we follow the golden rule ^{of effective Partnership -} that each of us consult as soon, as often, and as frankly as he would

wish the other to consult - the Alliance will prove to be the midwife of more helpful and peaceful times.

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Mr. Chairman, my countrymen can never lose interest in the peace and security and well-being of Europe for historical reasons that are too obvious to need recalling here.

↳ We have felt since the end of the last war that the security of Berlin, the security of Germany, the security of Europe, ~~the security of NATO's Southern flank~~ the security of the North Atlantic and Canada and of the United States itself - are all one and the same thing - a common concern, the common expression of which is NATO. And we still think so.

↳ In these years we have together prevented war and given protection against aggression.

Now, on the threshold of a new period, we must move together beyond defense to the business of peace and peaceful progress. — to peaceful engagement between east and west.

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We face, perhaps the opportunity of our century.
And, if we stand together now as in the past, we shall
have success.

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UNITED STATES DELEGATION
TO THE
NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL

OTAN-NATO
PLACE DU MARÉCHAL DE LATTRE DE TASSIGNY
PARIS XVI^E - FRANCE

CONFIDENTIAL
OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

April 10, 1967

Dear Bob:

I enclose two copies of Vice President Humphrey's statement to the North Atlantic Council, as transcribed by the International Staff from a tape which they made at the Council meeting April 7. You will note from the Executive Secretary's cover letter to the Secretary General that this statement will be treated as a statement under Item I of the Council's meetings, "Statements on Political Subjects." These statements are not "officially" recorded but copies, of course, are kept by the International Staff and, as in this case, sent to the Secretary General for his personal information.

I imagine you are glad the trip is over with. It must have been a great strain, however otherwise interesting, and I know you got little sleep for days. With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Dwight Dickinson

Encl: Vice President's
Statement to NAC (2 copies).

Dwight Dickinson
Director
Office of Political Affairs

Robert Anderson, Esquire
Country Director for France
Bureau of European Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D.C.

CONFIDENTIAL

NATO CONFIDENTIAL
RDC/67/109

To: Secretary General
cc. Deputy Secretary General
ASG for Political Affairs
Mr. Philip Farley, United States Delegation ✓
From: Executive Secretary

COUNCIL MEETING WITH VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY

You will have received a copy of the official text of Vice-President Humphrey's prepared statement to the Council at its meeting on Friday, 7th April. This text has been circulated as a Press Release, but in fact Mr. Humphrey did not make this statement but made an impromptu and lengthier one, the text of which is attached hereto.

2. The United States Delegation does not wish this circulated to delegations but prefers that it should be regarded as being in the nature of a statement made under Item I of Council's meetings, i.e. "Statements on Political Subjects", which is not recorded.

3. Accordingly I am not distributing this text to anyone except those to whom this note is copied.

10th April, 1967

Heid

COUNCIL MEETING WITH VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY
(held on Friday, 7th April, 1967, at 3.15 p.m.)

Mr. ROBERTS

Gentlemen, we are gathered together this afternoon in a special meeting of the North Atlantic Council in order to meet and to do honour to the visit of a most distinguished representative of one of our member countries, the Honorable Hubert Humphrey, Vice-President of the United States of America. Members of this Council deeply appreciate the visit of Vice-President Humphrey during the course of his extremely active tour of European capitals during these past two weeks. I feel sure that members of the Council will wish the Vice-President to know they also appreciate the tremendous effort that the United States make to keep its allies informed of the development of the many interests and responsibilities which the Government of the United States carries throughout the world. We have watched with admiration the energy with which the United States administration pursues the heavy tasks placed upon it and our good wishes, Mr. Vice-President, go to your President and his colleagues in the fulfilment of these tasks.

I understand that the Honorable Mr. Humphrey is prepared to address himself to the Council at this meeting and, without further ado, on your behalf, I invite him to do so.

Mr. Vice-President.

Mr. HUMPHREY

Thank you Mr. Chairman and members of the Council.

I have been pondering for a moment as to whether or not I should read the text that I have prepared for you or whether I should consider this on the menu that you can just have without ordering or even asking for it, and to leave it in your hands for your review at a moment of any free time - if you ever have free time. So let me just put it this way that what I had prepared and the text which is in your hands, or will be, is the policy statement that I wish to make on behalf of my Government, on behalf of my country. It represents the thoughts that I thought would be of some interest, and I hope of some reassurance to the members of the Council, and I will say for the record, so that if the members of the Press wish to comment on what the Vice-President of the United States may have said, that I stand on what is in the printed word. But because this is such a beautiful day in Paris, and because I have had such a very fine reception in this magnificent country and this great city, I should like not only to give you what is here but I would like to offer just a few observations from the heart, from the mind, in oral form, rather than just in the printed text.

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As I have travelled throughout some of the member countries, I have tried to bring to the officers of the Government with whom I have had the privilege of meeting the assurance of the Government of the United States as to the high priority that we place upon NATO, not only as a defence or a defensive alliance, but as an organization for the promotion of co-operation and unity amongst Western European countries and the United States, and of course, our good neighbour to the North, Canada.

We speak in terms of European unity when we talk with our friends in Europe and we also speak in terms of Atlantic partnership. You may recall that the late President Kennedy enunciated his concept of Atlantic partnership some years ago in Philadelphia. I believe it was the most appropriate place to speak of a new doctrine of inter-dependence amongst nations and within nations, as well as the independence among nations. In my country, Philadelphia is the home of liberty, because it was there that we declared our independence in 1776.

But those days are the days of history and the past. And great nations and great people do not think of the past; they think of the tomorrows and at least of the present and hopefully of the tomorrows. And every representative of the great nations gathered around this table does think of tomorrow - of the future - and indeed of the problems that plague us, even at this time.

So I come here to say to you that whatever can be done to promote a closer unity amongst the free nations of the world in fact, and particularly of the free nations of Europe, we not only look upon with favour but we enthusiastically support it. And I also tell you that we look upon that achievement as but a building block towards the broader concept of an Atlantic partnership, that includes every nation here represented, and indeed, hopefully even others, because the concept of partnership is a very honourable one. It does not mean that there is a dominating force; it means that they are co-operating partners. It does not mean that some one calls the signals and others march to the tune of the leaders, but rather that free men and free nations, in respect for one another and each other, work out a common programme, or a programme of goals and common purposes, and then seek to mobilize the resources to accomplish those purposes. And I want to emphasise that in the thinking of President Johnson and in his re-affirmation of the principle of Atlantic partnership, that we are talking about partnership of equals, not a partnership of a dominant force and subordinates, but a partnership of nations and peoples with common purposes and a common destiny and each, in his or its own way, making a distinct contribution to the strength of the new entity of the partnership.

Now, speaking more specifically of this Council, we know that NATO was conceived at a time when the Iron Curtain had descended over Europe. I spoke recently in Fulton, Missouri - in the Mid-West of the United States - on the Twenty-First Anniversary of Winston Churchill's now famous historic address, wherein he gave, in his most unique and historic manner, this phrase "the Iron Curtain". And, twenty-one years later, we see that curtain at least penetrated here and there and, I truly

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believe, a curtain that has been eroded and corroded by time and events and circumstances. It's a different world today than it was when NATO itself was conceived and ultimately came into being. Twenty years ago: this is the twentieth anniversary of the Marshall Plan. In the Marshall Plan, the United States and Europe worked together, in peaceful co-operation, for the rehabilitation and the reconstruction of a war-devastated area and, as I've travelled around the European countries, I stand in amazement at the tremendous growth and progress, the movement, the modernisation, the changes that have all come in this generation - one short, fleeting second of history, a twenty-year period.

So, whatever we do now, we must keep in mind that the institutions that we built twenty years ago, or eighteen years ago, those institutions have served a very, very useful and vital purpose. Yet institutions, like people and nations, are subject to change. New conditions require new responses. And it is only the foolish, it is only those who can ignore the facts of history that would insist upon maintaining that which WAS for that which IS.

So I come to you to talk a little bit about NATO, because, first of all, its historic achievement - it has saved the Peace; it has prevented aggression; it has given a shield of protection behind which free nations could develop their resources, both material and human; it has been a tremendous force for good in this world; it has never been belligerent, nor have its spokesmen ever been bellicose; it has been a work of Peace; it has been a force of deterrence; it has had to represent military power, and, at the same time, it also represents human aspirations and political co-operation.

Now, that same NATO that we joined in the late 1940s and have been a part of ever since is, today, every bit as important as it was at its birth - and, maybe, more so. And may I say, as Vice-President of the United States, that I am here to once again unqualifiedly commit the United States to every purpose of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, of what we call NATO. Without qualification. Because we believe in keeping our commitments. The first time that any free nation fails to keep its commitments, on that day, there is doubt spread through all nations as to whether ANYBODY will keep their commitments.

I said to the people of Berlin yesterday that the surest assurance, that the best testimony that I could give as to America's commitment to Free Berlin - even though we had demonstrated it three times at least, in 1958, 1948, 1961, three particular crises that you could think of - that the most valuable testimony that I could offer as to the integrity of the American commitment was the fact that we had a commitment a long ways away from our shores, even less certain than that to NATO or than that to Berlin, and yet it was a commitment under SEATO, the South East Asian Treaty Organization, a commitment, under a "mutual assistance" pact, to the Republic of South Vietnam. And we have kept that commitment, even though it has been painful, costly, dangerous and sad; and, if we are willing to keep a commitment 10,000 miles away from the mainland

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of the United States, in a land that we hardly knew, to a people that many of us have never known, surely people can believe that we would keep our commitment in Europe, from whence most of our people come, where our "blood-line", so to speak, is found, where our forebears came from.

So the integrity of this Council and the integrity of an Alliance, whether it's bilateral or multilateral, is all important in the world in which we live. Because those who would seek to gain advantage, either through ideological aggression or military aggression, first seek to spread distrust, and if doubt and distrust gain a foothold amongst partners or peoples or nations that should be partners, and have declared themselves to be partners, then the partnership is weakened and ultimately dissolved. So what we need above all is a common faith, a belief in each other, a respect for one another in recognising that each nation has its own national interest, but seeking at all times to try to find as many common interests as we can, and trying to minimise our own individual self-interests for the common purpose.

President Johnson spoke about this Council and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Alliance to which I refer on October 7th, and I have placed in the printed text this one paragraph from the President's speech. He said the Alliance must become a forum for increasingly close consultations and these should cover the whole range of joint concerns, from East-West relations to crises consultations; and it is by consultation through this Council that we will be able jointly to arrive at policies and programmes and initiatives that I believe to be very important in the days ahead, to ease the tensions between the so-called East and West. I hope it will not be necessary for free people to be faced by the spectre of disaster in order to unite for normal purposes. In other words, I trust it will not require fear of an enemy to bring us together as neighbours and partners. To put it another way, people have sometimes asked: "Can free people really live together in harmony and co-operation and dedication, in prosperity?"

In Berlin they had those three crises which I referred to, and those three crises united the people of Berlin in emotional and sentimental fervour, the likes of which most people have never known. If now we are in a period of somewhat more relaxation, I trust that we are not going to lose what we dared stand for and sustain in hour of crisis.

The real test for the NATO Council in the months and years ahead is whether we can work together in co-operation as the tensions between the East and the West are lessened. Some people even feel that if you are going to have better relationships between the East and the West to simplify the geography we are talking about, that maybe there ought not be Alliances. It is my sincere conviction that the surest way to gain progress is peaceful engagement, as President Johnson put it, the sure way to gain progress and peaceful co-existence, is for the nations in the NATO Council to stand together, to work out their policies together, and to consult with one another on

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every conceivable subject - not merely defence. We have our military that are experts in matters of tactics and strategy and deployment of forces. We have our Ministers of Defence who work with our professional soldiers, and they know about these matters. Needless to say, political decisions are also made -- and in my country we take great pride in having civilian control over what we call the military. In other words, the military is to be the servant of public policy - not to make public policy, but to serve it.

But it is my view that those who have been trained in the profession of military service in your respective countries know how to co-operate, know how to develop unified command and plans, logistics, deployments of forces - they know those things; and we must support them as best we can in the decisions that are made. But the question comes, how do we who are civilians do our work to promote other ways of strengthening our respective countries, and peaceful engagement, in the world? I happen to think that we have entered into a period of great opportunity, Gentlemen. We have a number of people that are constantly reminding us of the horrible problems that confront us, and you can literally worry yourself into sickness and weakness by concentrating upon the imponderable, the unbelievable, the incredible problems that confront mankind. It has always been thus. But the nations that really make history, or the groups of nations that unite and band together to help make history, are those who see in every problem a challenge, and in every challenge an opportunity, and I think we are living in the greatest age of opportunity that the world has even known.

Let us not forget that we have had better than twenty years in which there has been no nuclear conflict. This is significant. But let us also keep in mind, if I may say, that we live both in the most dangerous of ages as well as the most promising. This is one of the reasons that men throughout the whole world are concerned about what we call nuclear proliferation, and this Council will be discussing this matter in some detail. Nuclear weapons are not just weapons: they are an entirely new dimension of destruction. And it behooves the leaders of nations to try to harness the power that is in the atom for peaceful purposes and not for military purposes. It likewise behooves those who know the horrible destructive power of nuclear weapons to try to limit the number of fingers, so to speak, that are on the trigger and then to make sure that those fingers that are on triggers are steady, unemotional and governed by conscience and mind for the welfare of mankind rather than for the obliteration of mankind. This is a very, very serious problem.

So I guess I can summarise what I would like to say to you by pointing out that if we consult together, if we really work together, if we really sense both the danger and the opportunity of the time, that there will be more and more opportunity to work constructively on East-West relations because NATO, this Council, will continue to prove the futility of aggressive behaviour in Europe. You need a shield of strength in order to do good works, Gentlemen. As long as you understand

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that merely to stand behind the shield is not enough: you must reach out around it. As I say, the outward reach for peace of men and women who are dedicated to progress, to peace and to co-operation -- just to stand behind a wall and to raise your defences in trying to make them impregnable militarily is not enough in this day and age. Because this is the age of science and technology, it's the age of ideas, it's the age of movement, and anything that is static is in retreat. You have to be in forward movement. You cannot possibly fulfil what we hope to fulfil, or what we hope to achieve, by merely standing still. I think there ought to be a golden rule of diplomacy -- I noted this in the remarks prepared for you -- a golden rule of effective diplomacy, and that is that each of us consult as soon, as often and as frankly as he would wish others to consult. Consult with others as much as you would have them consult with you. I say that because I suppose that as an American I've heard on occasion that we didn't always consult. If that has been our sin then we repent for it. But there's another little statement that those who live in glass houses should not throw stones. And in case anyone else has any limitations or any inadequacies, let us not remind each other of them, let's just make up our minds that we can do better.

I want the Alliance, I want this Council -- speaking for my Government -- to prove to be the midwife of a more helpful and peaceful era. I believe that just as Winston Churchill said that there was an Iron Curtain in his time, that there's a beginning of an open door in our time: open door to many countries. But I am not so naive as to believe that the open door will open by itself. Nor am I so naive as to believe that when you open the door you have no guards. But I do believe that there must be communication. I do believe there must be as much determination to find ways and means of expanding contacts, and commerce, and co-operation between areas of the world that have been in hostile camps in the past. There must be as much determination to do that as there was determination, and is determination, to maintain our military strength.

And let me say quite pointedly and directly that we must maintain our military strength. I am a political man. I'm looking around this table and I see possibly only a few that have had to stand before the electorate and suffer the pain of defeat or the exhilaration of victory. And I'd like to let you in on a secret -- it's much better to win than it is to lose! And I know that there are always temptations to, well, to feel that maybe we could do a little less and everything will be alright because somebody else will pick up where we let down. If everybody does that then there will be a sum total that is less. And I would at least like to refer you to Einstein's Theory of Relativity: in the world in which we live it isn't only what you have that counts, it's what the other fellow has in relationship to what you have that counts.

I'm a great believer in disarmament. I believe one of the most colossal wastes of all mankind is the madness of war

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and the unbelievable cost of weaponry. But just as I believe wholeheartedly, deeply, in arms control and disarmament; and just as I believe that it is a terrible shame how much we have to spend on weapons, so I also believe in the folly of unilateral disarmament. You neither help yourself nor the other: yourself, you expose to attack; the other, you tempt into aggression. We have no right to tempt anybody into any evil act. And we surely have no right to weaken ourselves when we have the resources to remain strong.

So, Gentlemen, I beckon you to face the last third of the 20th century. And if we face it bravely and confidently; if we face it in the light of science and technology and communication, and what that offers; if we face it knowing that there are people on the face of this earth that want the good life, and that we have something to offer, the last half of the 20th century can be the beginning of the first third of the 21st century. But if we enter the last third of the 20th century weak, disunited, uncertain, with little or no faith in ourselves or anyone else, each going his own separate way, then the last third of the 20th century will be the last century for the cause of freedom and national independence, make no mistake about it.

I am not one who believes that the forces of totalitarianism are the way for the future. As a matter of fact, I think they're the backwash of the past - the swamps -- not the good, clean fresh water of the bays and the lakes. But I do know this: you can pollute fresh water. You can make it so that it is unfit for man or beast. And we are going to decide that. We can pollute this wholesome freshness of freedom, and unity, and cooperation by the failure to stand by it -- by our own indecision, our own weakness -- and thereby the backwaters become the tide that overwhelms the world. Or we can do what we are doing -- and I am very optimistic mainly. We can continue to build, continue to pledge our lives -- as my forebears said -- our fortunes and our sacred honour to life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Now those are not American words; those are words of mankind; those are the words of people everywhere who aspire to live a life of human dignity. But I honestly believe that you cannot achieve great goals with limited, inadequate investments. You do not achieve mighty purposes with petty actions. And you do not achieve a great nation with false dreams.

And so, as members of this great Council, may I say that the United States is proud to be in this Assembly; that we are committed to every purpose of this Council; that I speak for the President of the United States and the Congress assembled when I tell you that not only are we proud to have been a member of NATO and this NATO Council for all of the years of its life, but that we look forward to its continuity, to its new purposes. We look to it not only for the strength of the turrets against aggression, but for peaceful engagements in fields yet untouched. We see the Council not only in terms of its military aspects but, more importantly, its political and social purposes. We see it as a forum for free men to talk to one another, to reason together - sometimes I think that we ought to have at every meeting place that we gather those famous words of the prophet Isaiah: "Come, let us reason together". And if we do that before decisions are taken, then I think that the decisions that are taken will have great support and will achieve the objectives that we set ourselves.

Well, now you've got two speeches: one that was written and one that I decided to give you. It's two for the cost of one. Thank you.

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M. ROBERTS

Maintenant, Messieurs, j'invite notre doyen à répondre à M. Humphrey au nom du Conseil.

M. de STAERCKE

M. le Vice-Président, moi aussi j'avais préparé ma partition dans ce concert. Mais puisqu'elle devait être la voix commune des Quinze pays qui sont autour de cette table en y ajoutant le vôtre, je m'excuse, je vais essayer de répondre à votre improvisation par la mienne, en m'excusant encore de son insuffisance; d'abord je n'ai pas votre talent et je n'ai pas non plus l'étendue de vos responsabilités. Mais, M. le Vice-Président je voudrais faire deux choses: la première c'est de vous remercier de votre présence autour de cette table. C'est une marque de courtoisie qui nous touche infiniment et c'est un signe dont nous apprécions toute l'importance. Et qui, comme vous l'avez dit, montre l'intérêt immense que les Etats-Unis, leur Président et son peuple attachent à l'Alliance et à son Organisation. La seconde chose que je voudrais faire, M. le Vice-Président, c'est vous remercier de nous avoir donné deux discours. D'abord parce que nous pourrions lire le parfait discours que vous aviez préparé et nous pourrions méditer aussi les paroles et les préceptes et l'exhortation que vous nous avez faites, en y adhérant d'ailleurs de tout notre coeur.

Et je voudrais vous dire que les problèmes que vous avez soulignés pour l'Alliance, et bien ils ont été définis par vous très clairement, nous les sentons en nous et nous souhaitons y faire face. L'Organisation atlantique est d'ailleurs devant des problèmes très très délicats; vous les avez soulignés vous-même. Elle ne doit pas compromettre sa défense et en même temps elle doit favoriser la détente qui en est partiellement le résultat.

Aujourd'hui, M. le Vice-Président, vous avez eu le don des suggestions heureuses, mais vous avez toujours, semble-t-il, le don des suggestions heureuses, parce que pour ceux, et nous sommes tous dans ce cas, qui ont lu votre discours de Fulton et bien nous y avons vu une expression qui nous a extrêmement frappés et qui répondait au "Rideau de fer" dont M. Churchill avait parlé par l'idée de la "Porte ouverte" que vous avez suggérée. Et M. le Vice-Président, pour ne pas être en reste avec vous dans la citation de la Bible, puisque vous avez cité le prophète Isaïe, je voudrais à mon tour citer l'Ange de Philadelphie dans le Livre de l'Apocalypse, et l'Ange de Philadelphie dans le Livre de l'Apocalypse disait: "J'ai ouvert devant toi une porte que nul ne peut fermer", "I have set before thee an open door and no man can shut it". Et bien, M. le Président, ce précepte de l'Ange de Philadelphie nous voudrions le reprendre en exergue de ce troisième tiers du Vingtième siècle. Vous nous avez mis au défi de faire face pour survivre quelques centaines d'années encore, de réussir à survivre dans les trente ans qui suivent. Et bien M. le Vice-Président, avec vous, avec l'Ange de Philadelphie, nous acceptons ce défi et nous disons avec vous: "I have set before thee an open door and no man can shut it", et pour que personne ne puisse fermer cette porte entr'ouverte il faudrait que nous suivions tout ce que vous nous avez dit de faire, et notamment cette consultation que nous ne faisons pas assez et qui est en quelque sorte le péché originel de cette Alliance. Et si nous renonçons à ce péché originel, et bien, M. le Vice-Président, nous pourrions à votre suite et après tout ce que vous nous avez dit retrouver le paradis belge.

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Messieurs c'est au paradis perdu et à ce paradis retrouvé, dont M. Humphrey nous a parlé, que je vous convie à le remercier encore une fois d'avoir bien voulu visiter ce Conseil Atlantique.

MR. HUMPHREY

Merci M. de Staercke.

MR. ROBERTS

Mr. Vice-President, we thank you for your visit, for your forthright, clear and ringing words which are important to us.

The members of this Council are aware of the very abbreviated schedule which the Vice-President is following today. I must regretfully therefore adjourn this meeting with a warm invitation to Mr. Humphrey to return whenever it is possible for him to do so.

Perhaps Ambassador de Staercke would accompany me to the front door with the Vice-President. Thank you.



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