ADDRESS BY GENERAL CHARLES DE GAULLE

PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

BROADCAST OVER FRENCH RADIO AND TELEVISION

ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1965

Women and men of France,

Twenty-five years ago, when France was rolling toward the abyss, I believed it was my duty to assume the burden of governing until France was liberated, victorious and mistress of herself.

Seven years ago I believed it was my duty to return to her head in order to save her from civil war, to spare her from financial and monetary bankruptcy and to build with her institutions meeting the requirements of the times and the modern world.

Since that time I have believed it was my duty to exercise the powers of Head of State so that France might, on behalf of all her children, make an unprecedented stride forward in her internal development, restore complete peace and acquire, throughout the world, a political and moral position worthy of her.

Today, I believe it is my duty to hold myself in readiness to continue my task, weighing, with full knowledge of the facts, the effort involved, but convinced that at this time it is best in order to serve France.

For in this way, our country is offered the best means of confirming, through its vote, the effective and stable system of government that we have instituted together. Should the massive and open support of the citizens pledge me to remain in office, the future of the new Republic will be decidedly assured. If not, no one can doubt that it will collapse immediately, and that France will have to suffer—but this time with no possible recourse—confusion in the State even more disastrous than that she experienced in the past.
Women and men of France, what I am saying is that, depending on your choice, our country will, or will not, be able to continue the great task of renovation in which it is engaged. Whether it concerns its unity, its prosperity, its social progress, its financial situation, the value of its currency, its means of defense, the education given its youth, or the housing, security and health of its people, the advance it has made in the past seven years is striking. To be sure, there is still, there will always be much to do. But how can it be accomplished if the State, surrendered to the parties, falls once again into impotency? On the contrary, what new vigor will seize our Republic when he who has the honor of being at its head has received your approval of his national mandate?

At the same time, there is at stake: France's position and action in a world over which incalculable dangers are hovering; the independence regained without repudiating our friendships; the cooperation practiced with countries in which our colonization had become anachronistic and, often, blood-stained; the union of Western Europe pursued such that Europe is organized under fair and reasonable conditions, such that France remains herself therein and such that, at the earliest, our entire continent might agree on moving together toward peace and progress; the revived and growing influence of our culture; the consideration and heed of other peoples, deservedly won by us by upholding everywhere the cause of freedom, of development and of mutual assistance on which the fate of the human community henceforth depends. And so, the entire world is looking to you to discover whether you, by your vote, are going to ratify or to obliterate what we have achieved on the outside, to support or to impede the progress that we are making.

Thus in one month a great national responsibility will fall to each man and women among you. This, moreover, is the reason for the existence of a constitutional law which will be applied for the first time, and under which the French people as a whole will designate the Head of State, the guarantee of the nation's destiny. In electing the President of the Republic, you will have to determine, obeying your conscience, regardless of the appeal of partisan movements, outside influences and special interests, the road that France is going to follow. To me—whom you know so well after all that we have done together in war and in peace—each man and women among you will have the opportunity to show his esteem and his confidence.

Thus, before all peoples, the historic vote of December 5, 1965 will mark the success or the renunciation of France with respect to herself. Women and men of France, I hope, I believe, I know that, thanks to you, she will prevail.

Vive la République!

Vive la France!