

the roof on to their building. Until they have accomplished so much, attention to what the Russians are doing is not only useless, it is a dangerous waste of time".

A third element of permanence in the treaty is to be found in the relationship which it makes possible between the larger and the smaller members of the alliance. For this reason, the Canadian Government attaches great importance to Article 9 of this treaty, under which the North Atlantic Council will be set up. In this Council, all the members of the group will be equally represented. Through it, the democratic process of reaching agreement through negotiation, discussion and compromise will be carried out. In the event of emergency, the Council will also be the instrument for deciding what policies should be recommended to the members of the group. It is one thing for a group of states to accept as we do under this treaty, common responsibilities, each taking its fair share in discharging them, and indeed, in adding or subtracting from them. It is, however, quite a different thing for one, two, or three states to assume that they can make decisions which may have far-reaching consequences for other countries and all peoples, and then, to expect these other countries to take part in solving the problems which those decisions have raised. There are times, no doubt, when the requirements for consultation and for co-operative decisions must be subordinated to the necessities of a grave emergency. But if there is to be genuine collective action, those occasions must be reduced to a minimum. This can be done by making full and effective use of the North Atlantic Council as agency for collective consultation and collective decisions. Here is an instrument through which we can demonstrate that free nations can work together for their common good, without any one of them sacrificing unilaterally its control of its own affairs, or even being subjected to any undue pressure from stronger or more strong minded members of the group.

Finally, I think the North Atlantic Treaty gives promise of making a permanent contribution to human welfare because in taking this step we are setting out squarely on the main road towards world organization. At the end of the war the people of the world demanded, in terms that could not be mistaken by any government, that in future trial by such hard ordeal should not again be necessary. As they looked back on the causes of the conflict they saw many occasions when the free nations, if they had acted in harmony and in strength, could have dissipated the dangers which beset them. War had taught at least this one lesson, that the nations must act together not only to keep the peace, but build a peaceful world. As an instrument for such collective action, they were determined that an international organization must be set up. This was the road on which we started when the United Nations was established. Unfortunately, it is now evident that we made this start in a gear that was too high. Perhaps that accounts for our bumpy and jerky progress during these early years of the United Nations; perhaps that is why the motor has shown a tendency to stall. The North Atlantic Alliance is a similar machine. We are starting it in a lower gear, but we are on the same road. I think there is a good chance that in our smaller, lower geared machine we may be able to give the United Nations a starting push, and help it to "get rolling" in the way we originally intended. In any event, we are not abandoning it, nor will we in any way impede its progress. I know that Canada will not take part in any activity under the North Atlantic Treaty which contravenes the principles or purposes of the United Nations, or which is provocative or aggressive in character. I feel sure that the other governments which have signed this treaty can give the same pledge. The aims and purposes of the North Atlantic Treaty are precisely the same as those stated in the Charter, and the effect of the proposed alliance can strengthen the United Nations by creating conditions in which it can do its best work.

There is, moreover, nothing in this treaty that should produce an exclusive or isolationist attitude. The world is too small and its parts too interdependent even for regional isolation. Because we shall have increased the measure of our own security, we shall not cease to be concerned about the welfare of states in other areas. The British Commonwealth of Nations, for