

In all our policies and in all our planning we must keep very much in mind the grim reality of the universal destruction of nuclear war. Therefore, our decision in the military field for the prevention of war through adequate deterrence must be coupled along with the removal of the fears of the political causes that today make such armed deterrence necessary.

I acknowledge with gratitude what has been done in both these fields but I register no cause for complacency. The threat we set out to meet when NATO was born, and the wider world purposes we have agreed to serve, have taken a formidable subtlety and difficulty since our early days. Both the peril and the promise of 1949 remain. We have kept the one in check but without realizing the other as much as we would like.

I do not and you do not believe in miracles. Fundamental changes in the angry disbeliefs and the festering animosities of the cold war will not take place overnight, or without stubborn and unremitting perseverance on our part. It is folly to expect the awful dangers of the nuclear age to go away while we merely sit back, answer jet with superjet, missile with anti-missile, charge with countercharge. Rather, in dealing with the Communist world, the NATO partners must keep on trying to solve political problems, one by one, stage by stage, if not now on the basis of confidence and co-operation, at least on that of mutual toleration based on a common interest in survival.

We must direct the best of our talents towards uncovering, exploiting and building upon every conceivable point of common interest between East and West. There is no alternative to utilizing all the genius of our statecraft to wed the power of our collective strength to reasoned and forward-looking policies, and thus to give our diplomacy its best chance of reducing tensions and fostering international understanding.

We must of course maintain the strength, the power, required to deter any fatal adventures by those who might otherwise misjudge our resolve to seek peace and preserve freedom.

Nevertheless, to think that we can guarantee this peace by collective action, even collective action based on power alone, is a delusion. To think that we can protect ourselves by individual action based on national power alone, is an absurdity. In 1961, President Kennedy, on a visit to Canada, spoke with eloquence of the nakedness, in today's world, of a single country seeking to stand alone. "It is clear", he said, "that no free nation can stand alone to meet the relentless threat of those who make themselves our adversaries." I am sure all agree completely with that. In 1963, "Each nation for itself and God for us all", is not only silly; it could be suicidal. So the Atlantic nations must come together, in one Atlantic Community. The West cannot afford two such Communities, a European one and a North American one, each controlling its own policies and each perhaps moving away from the other as a common menace recedes.