

goes on, we shall increasingly think of Article 2, not as a separate little treaty within the North Atlantic Treaty, to be "implemented" by a particular branch of NATO, but as an attitude of mind enlightening and enlivening the work of the whole of our alliance and of other international bodies as well.

Here, I come back to what I said a while ago. NATO is not the North Atlantic community, neither is the North Atlantic community NATO. It seems to me that, with this distinction made, many things become clearer and many contradictions are resolved. We fourteen countries who presently make up NATO may be the beginning of the Atlantic community, we are certainly not the end of it.

So much for my reflections on the nature of our alliance and our community.

To many of you this must have seemed a pretty bleak summer for NATO. Speculation and public comment have given the impression that NATO was not fulfilling and would not fulfil its primary task of building up the force which could prevent a third world war. Now we all know that, from time to time, we may fall short of the levels that we set ourselves. There are bound to be ups and downs in the progress of our partnership toward peace and security. But we cannot contemplate failure.

For this reason we, the peoples of our fourteen nations, have need to be steadfast on our course. And, being free peoples, we can only be steadfast if we know and accept the objectives we are asked to strive for. We must, as well, be able to understand the means. For, unlike those under Communist discipline, we will best endure and surmount the discomforts and burdens and deprivations of the long pull when our leaders take us into their confidence. Such gatherings as this can do incalculable service in bringing to those who have to pay the price of peace as well as war the reasonable basis for their steadfastness.

Let us remind ourselves, and remind ourselves often, of what manner of community we have set about to build. Especially, let us recall the things which bind us together. First of all, there is the past. For two thousand years and more different members of our community have spun rich threads that are now woven into all our lives. Some have spun the thread of religion, others of art and others of adventure over the seas that surround and unite us. Some have carried our commerce to far corners of the world, while others have married science to industry for the greater comfort and enrichment of our lives. Some, in the face of established authority, have proclaimed new freedoms, while others have devised new systems of law and government. And all of us have put down with a firm hand the tyrants that have arisen from time to time within or beyond our borders. So, as the centuries have passed and the shuttle has flashed back and forth on the loom — and despite the breaks in the threads and the blots in the colours — the tapestry has unrolled with two themes, simple and majestic: the dignity of man's mind and the sanctity of his spirit.

Within our community, as in others, some are close familiar neighbours; others live a little farther away. Between some of us there are special bonds of race and culture, but this will not ruffle nor disturb our relations with the rest. The fabric of our community stretches out sturdily to include all.

Most of us belong to families of nations, and some members of our families live a long way off. Nevertheless, we like to think of them as being part of our own community. Surely we are not going to build any sort of fence about our special Atlantic group or ask of any of our members that they should cut themselves off in any way from any part of their own families.

Our North Atlantic association, like the community of all free men, must always look outwards as well as inwards. If we have knowledge, we are glad to share it with others all over the world, as we would wish them to share theirs with us. If we have lifted from the backs of men and women in our own countries some of the load of