

#### ROLE OF NATO

We ask ourselves why has NATO not realized more fully these hopes and these aspirations. Well, I might mention one or two reasons – there are many – for this. NATO concentrated on the single, if vitally important task, of collective military defence. It was not able to take effective measures for collective political action. National decisions were rarely subordinated to collective decisions, or national policy to collective policy. The United States, whose power dominated the alliance, largely determined the strategy and policy on which collective defence was based. The other members, it should be added, would probably not have acted differently if they had had the same super-power.

France, in due course, repudiated the whole ideal of collective security, falling back on the old and, as I believe, discredited doctrine of national defence by national action – co-ordinated, if you like, in a military alliance but with national sovereignty unimpaired. There are governments that still think that nationalism is not only sacred, which it is, but is sufficient which it is not, and that national problems can be solved within purely national terms of reference. The lessons of history are depressing because they are usually learned too late, even by those who have suffered most from the failure so to learn.

There are other reasons for NATO's inability to realize its full collective potential. One of these, paradoxically, is its success in helping to lessen the fear of an attack on Western Europe. This reduction of tension and fear is not only a tribute to NATO, it's a danger for NATO. After all, fear was the father of the North Atlantic Treaty. And now, with the European member states, stronger and more confident, with the Eastern European members of the Warsaw Pact more independent, the Soviet supremacy in the Communist world challenged by a bitterly hostile Peking, collective security, though essential as ever, has lost some of its immediate urgency. Fear of attack has lessened so we may feel that it is safe to relax.

The European – indeed, the whole world – situation has become fluid. The polarization of all power between the U.S.S.R., determining the policy of the Communist world, and the U.S.A., dominating that of the democracies, has been altered on the Communist side by Peking and on the Atlantic side by Paris, which hoped to develop a strong and independent European third force of which it would be the leader.

In short, the political and military realities on which NATO was originally founded have changed. The threat to Western Europe was, if not superseded, at least supplemented by tensions and conflicts in other parts of the world, in the Middle East, in Africa, and above all, in Southeast Asia, where these tensions exploded into bloody and confused war in Vietnam. There was no Atlantic solidarity in policy for these areas and, to this extent, NATO ceased to meet the vital requirements of some of its members.

NATO, ...having accomplished its original strategic purpose, as it did (and thank God that it did), has not yet been able to adapt itself adequately to changing conditions both strategic and politi-

cal. But the need for such adaptation is recognized and is now being faced. If any changes are to be effective, they must take into account the fact that Western Europe has emerged from the postwar condition of political and economic weakness into a position of strength and confidence, grateful for the American support and assistance which has done so much to bring this about but with the desire for a greater share in the control of the alliance and its policies.

Undoubtedly, a greater immediate menace to NATO is the threatened conflict between two of NATO's members, Greece and Turkey, over Cyprus, which is a member of the Commonwealth. It is to be hoped that this conflict, senseless as it would be, can be averted. I think it can, on terms honourable and acceptable to the three governments concerned. We have more hope than we had a day or so ago that this can be done. If it were not averted then armed conflict between two NATO members using military equipment provided by other members for other collective defence purposes could have a fatal effect on the NATO alliance.

One other point. If arrangements are agreed on to avert conflict, which call for a stronger United Nations force – and both our countries are serving in that force now – to supervise their carrying out and to maintain security on the island during that period, then these arrangements must also provide that this United Nations force has the necessary authority and support to discharge its mandate. We must not again have the United Nations force called on to discharge a new responsibility without adequate means for that purpose – political, juridical and military.

#### EUROPEAN UNITY

I have been talking about NATO and a changing Europe, and a changing world. These changes are not only a challenge for NATO. They are, as I see it, also a challenge for progress toward a European unity which would include Britain – a Europe with a political, economic and defence role of its own, but one which should remain closely associated with the United States and Canada in a European North American partnership.

The idea of a strong and united Europe is surely a wise one, but only if it can be worked out without isolation from North America. That is why, as I see it, Britain should be a central and integral part of the new Europe, politically and economically. I see this as something which need not weaken ties across the Atlantic or with the rest of the Commonwealth. I see it rather as something which would help prevent Europe from becoming an isolated third force. If you like, I see Britain in the role of a link between Europe and America, the position which has so often been given to Canada in relations between this country and the United States. Maybe we can give you some advice on how to perform that role! Feeling this way, I naturally think it is wrong and unwise for any European country to oppose or put unnecessary obstacles in the way of Britain playing a full and constructive part, as I am sure it would be, in the evolution of a united Europe....