

sovereign rights in the interest of their own greater security, which may mean, indeed will mean, the security of others. In the old days - and I mean the days before 1939 - this would have been a hard doctrine to accept. Those were the days of fire-proof houses, of communities safe in their isolation; when oceans gave immunity, and skies concealed no terror; when "atom" meant a football war cry and not a prelude to annihilation. Those were the days when we on this continent felt that we were being asked to produce the security which others would consume.

Well, the situation has changed and we have, I hope, changed with it. We know that Europe is the strategic frontier of America, and that America may be the path of attack against Europe. There is only one way to meet this menace, by accepting the doctrine that the security of one member of the group, is the security of all. Any Manchurian, Ethiopian or Belgian or Pole can prove the validity of that doctrine by his own experience to any citizen of Omaha or Galveston or Medicine Hat. It follows, then, that any attack on one member of the group is an attack on all and should be treated as such.

The United Nations Charter shows how this can be done, under Article 51, which recognizes the right of collective self-defence. Well, let's collect, and let's defend ourselves. Under this Article we can form an association of strong and free democracies which, inspired only by love of peace, will act as the best deterrent to war.

The Rio Inter-American pact already marks one such association. The Brussels Pact of Britain, France, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg is another. But a wider and more powerful association than these is required to stop the aggressor. The resources of the new world must be added to the defensive determination of the old. But this should be done not merely by supplying arms and by giving guarantees. That smacks too much of an old-fashioned military alliance. It is not enough and it is too much. What is required is an association of Western European and Atlantic democracies under Article 51 of the Charter, every member of which will take on equal and reciprocal obligations for collective defence and mutual aid in war, and work together for freedom and prosperity in peace. By doing so we will confront reactionary and aggressive communism with the inescapable fact that our democratic system is not only better than theirs in peace, but stronger than theirs for war.

By building up this kind of association, for purposes sanctioned by the Charter of the United Nations, we can ensure a decisive superiority of power, physical, moral and economic power, on the side of those who do not believe in power, but are resolute in their determination to use it against those who would prevent peaceful progress.

The Canadian Government has already stated through its Prime Minister and its Secretary of State for External Affairs, its acceptance of this doctrine and given assurances of its will to co-operate with the United States in its translation into action. There are of course, difficulties in the way of doing this, difficulties which only the United States can overcome. It would not be appropriate for an outsider to tell you how this can be done - even if he knew. I have confidence, however, that it can and will be done. Yours is the major responsibility, because yours is the power, but you can count, I feel sure, on the support of your northern neighbour for any steady and consistent, firm and unprovocative policy to this great end.

It is not, however, merely in war and in the search for political security that co-operation between the United States and Canada is important. What about less dramatic things like trade?