

We do not believe in the blasphemy that a Third World War is inevitable. No war is inevitable. We shall do our best to diminish the possibility of a war breaking out.

We shall do that by pursuing unprovocatively, constructively, and obstinately in the United Nations, in the specialized agencies and elsewhere policies which seem to us best calculated to remove causes of friction between nations and to provide opportunities for fruitful co-operation between all the nations and peoples of the world.

We believe in the maintenance of the United Nations as a possible bridge between the Russian world and the Free World. We have faith in the possibility of a spiritual transformation of the Russian people based on their feelings for justice and human emancipation and the deep human and religious resources which are inherent in this great people. We believe, as the distinguished Catholic philosopher Jacques Maritain has put it, that, while "a Nazi people, aiming at world conquest and domination through war, can only be cured of racial paganism by a crushing defeat of their undertakings of aggression,... it is possible for a people now communist to be cured of materialistic atheism by some internal transformation, however hard and difficult such a process may be".

In the interests of the peoples of both worlds - the Communist and the Free - we believe that it must be made clear to the rulers of the totalitarian Communist states that if they attempt by direct or indirect aggression to extend their police states beyond their present bounds by subduing any more free nations, they will not succeed unless they can overcome us all.

The best guarantee of peace today is the creation and preservation by the nations of the Free World, under the leadership of Great Britain, the United States and France, of an overwhelming preponderance of force over any adversary or possible combination of adversaries. This force must not be only military; it must be economic; it must be moral. Just as in the last war, so also today, we are engaged in a "struggle for the control of men's minds and men's souls".

We believe that the menace to the Free World of Communist aggression makes it necessary that the Free World create and maintain a sufficient degree of military, political, economic and moral unity to ensure that its preponderance of force is so used that the Free Nations cannot be destroyed and defeated one by one. No measure less than this will do. We must avoid a fatal repetition of the history of the pre-war years when the Nazi aggressor picked off its victims one by one. Such a process would not end at the Atlantic.

I am sure that it is the desire of the people of Canada that Canada should play its full part in creating and maintaining this overwhelming preponderance of moral, economic and military force and the necessary unity for its effective use.

Victory in war is not won by caution alone. In war caution can too easily become another name for cowardice. Victory in war has to be won by a judicious mixture of caution with a willingness to run calculated risks for great objectives. Victory over war can be won only by a similar willingness on the part of the free nations and the free peoples of the world to run calculated risks for great objectives.

Victory in war requires a pooling of risks and a pooling of resources. Victory over war requires a similar pooling by the Free Nations. Such a pooling cannot take place unless we realize that the giving of aid to an ally is not charity but self-help. The western European democracies, for example, are not beggars asking for the charity