

2. Association of the United States by constitutional processes with such regional and other collective arrangements as are based on continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, and as affect its national security.

3. Contributing to the maintenance of peace by making clear its determination to exercise the right of individual or collective self-defence under article 51 should any armed attack occur affecting its national security.

On July 6 the representatives of Belgium, Canada, France, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States met in Washington for the first phase of the series of noncommittal and exploratory talks on security problems of common interest in relation to the Vandenberg resolution.

These talks have now culminated in the draft text tabled in the house on March 18. The text has been prepared by the representatives of the countries which took part in the original discussions, and by the representative of Norway who joined in the deliberations on March 3. The treaty, if signed, will bring together in alliance against war the free nations of the North Atlantic community which share a common heritage, a common civilization, a common belief in the purposes and principles of the charter of the United Nations, and a common desire to live in peace with all peoples and all governments. Those are the nations which, when they put their signatures to an international document, intend that it shall be carried out.

This treaty is to be far more than an old-fashioned military alliance. It is based on the common belief of the north Atlantic nations in the values and virtues of our Christian civilization. It is based on our common determination to strengthen our free institutions and to promote conditions of stability and well-being. It is based on the belief that we have in our collective manpower, in our collective natural resources, in our collective industrial potential and industrial know-how, that which would make us a very formidable enemy for any possible aggressor to attack.

Of course it is not easy to venture forecasts, or to attempt to say what might have been in history; but one can wonder. The purpose of the treaty is to preserve the peace of the world by making it clear to any potential aggressor that, if he were so unwise as to embark on war he might very well finish up in the condition in which the kaiser found himself after the first great war. He might very well find himself in the position in which Hitler and Mussolini found themselves after the second terrible war. They were not told in advance what they would have to take on and overcome. I think it is fair, both to ourselves and to any possible aggressors, to tell them in advance that, if they attempt anything, they will have to overcome those who were great factors in preventing the realization of the hopes of the kaiser and of Hitler and Mussolini.

This is not a treaty to make war. It is intended by us, and intended by the others who participate in it, as the best possible insurance against war at the present time, in view of the inability of the United Nations to give us that insurance. I should like to put on the record a phrase or two of Secretary Acheson of the United States:

The paramount purposes of the pact are peace and security. If peace and security can be achieved in the North Atlantic area, we shall have gone a long way to assure peace and security in other areas as well.

I should like to refer also to the words of the foreign minister of Great Britain, Ernest Bevin: