

joint exercises, a suggested procedure for the preparation of correlated production programmes, or, perhaps, the budget of the Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Powers in Europe (SHAPE).

As Secretary-General, Mr. Spaak directs the international staff in the NATO Secretariat. This staff is made up of a number of divisions dealing with the various aspects—production questions, economic and financial questions, political questions—of the Organization's work on the civilian side. It assists in the work of the various committees of the Council and provides a body of experts which can undertake special studies as required.

### NATO and Peace\*

Men being what they are, there are not innumerable ways of ensuring their peaceful coexistence. Fundamentally there are only two. The first involves the renunciation of violence and, as its necessary corollary, submission to arbitration. The second, far less desirable, seeks through a balance of forces to discourage violence, and where necessary, to ensure that violence does not go unpunished.

Between these two methods there is all the distance separating a civilized community from a barbarian society. In the former, right prevails over might; in the latter, might maintains what is claimed to be the right. Now these two methods, although contradictory, are, in our modern world, applied simultaneously by the same men, the first to govern relations between citizens of individual states, the second to govern relations between states. Such is the paradox of our time that we can, at one and the same time, be civilized at home and barbarous abroad. I must say however, in defence of our statesmen, that their barbarism is forced on them since it is limited to opposing the deliberate barbarism of others.

It is useless to deplore it. There was a time when such barbarism governed relations between individuals. That time is now long past. The world has improved in that respect. There is no reason why progress should not continue. And it is continuing. Before the war we had the League of Nations. Since the war we have had the United Nations. However disappointing these efforts towards establishing a universal rule of law may be, they do constitute steps along a road that is still long, no doubt, but that leads inevitably to the renunciation of violence and submission to arbitration.

We have not yet reached that point and one is always wrong to be "right" too soon. We must live with our time. We must be realistic, and reality demands to-day that we forget for the moment our dream of a world ordered like a state, in which reliance is placed on the wisdom of the courts for the settlement of disputes and on the existence of a police force for the enforcement of laws.

We must continue to be strong to live at peace, and to be strong we must unite. That is what the NATO countries have understood and done. They have taken up arms again in order to be strong. Now they are striving to unite, more and more each day, in order to add spiritual strength to the strength of arms. Peace reigns because of that. Without it, it would reign no longer. This will still be true, I fear, for some time to come.

—Paul-Henri Spaak.

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