

states are trying to make it - an agency for bitter and aggressive political war-mongering. If there are those who are determined to debase the United Nations to these evil ends, well - as Mr. Vishinski said at the recent Belgrade conference - "They were free to come - they are free to go."

The United Nations is our present vehicle for universal and organized international cooperation. It embodies the hope for the solution of differences without resort to force. It would be a supreme tragedy if this hope were brutally destroyed by the actions of certain states who have suffered so terribly from war and who have so much to gain from the effective operation of an organization designed to prevent a recurrence of that suffering. We want, with all our hearts, to keep in that organization of the United Nations, all states who subscribe to the principles and purposes of its Charter. But better no United Nations at all than one permanently reduced to futility and worse, by the actions of some of its members.

If the United Nations in present conditions cannot - and we know it cannot - guarantee the security of its members, that does not mean we need sit back and wait for tyranny and aggression to attack and destroy the democracies one by one.

If co-operation to preserve the peace within the United Nations is impossible on a universal basis, it is possible for the free and peaceful democracies to organize their forces on a regional basis, to ensure collective resistance to and collective defeat of aggression, direct or indirect, from whatever quarter it comes. Such collective action, even if at the beginning only on a regional basis, is urgent and necessary. The threat of aggressive and expansionist communism, harnessed to the ambitions of a very great power, is too great, too direct, and too immediate for us to do nothing until all the freedom-loving nations reach agreement to act together.

That is why the Canadian Government has been urging at home and abroad, in public statements, and through diplomatic channels and discussions the immediate establishment of a North Atlantic Security system comprised of the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada and the free countries of Western Europe. We think such a system could create and maintain the necessary preponderance of defensive force over any possible adversary or combination of aggressive adversaries.

Now a collective arrangement of this kind has positive as well as negative values. It can make for prosperity as well as security. It has in it the ultimate hope - and the possibility - of establishing freedom, order and welfare over a wide area. Under present conditions that seems to be our best formula for peace; the concentration of an overwhelming superiority of moral, economic and physical force on the side of those who do not wish to use force, but are resolved to do so together, if the necessity is forced on them. If we can bring this about, it may then come to pass that the forces of aggression, respecting our power for war and convinced of our will for peace, will abandon their mad designs, dismiss their unjustified suspicions, and begin to co-operate with others without requiring that they become mere satellites. Any political association on other than a universal basis in this shrinking world cannot be an end in itself, but only a means to an end. The end is that set out in the Charter we have all signed, the erection of a structure of international co-operation and understanding, in which all men, of every creed and race and colour, may exist together in peace and prosperity.

Canada will, I know, play a worthy part in the achievement of that high objective.

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