

be recognized as a useful precedent for an effective universal system. Meanwhile, pending agreement on such a universal and therefore a better system, an essential step in maintaining peace lies in building and in maintaining controlled and defensive strength in the free world to deter aggression. That, I suggest, is the second area in which we must move forward.

The third area in which progress is essential, and this area is the most fundamental of all, lies in improving relations between states; in removing the causes of war and in the development of the international community, which involves fostering wherever we can an effective sense of co-operation and unity amongst the free peoples. We cannot do very much to promote this idea amongst the unfree. It involves patient efforts to heal national rivalries, to heal the causes and tensions of war, and to bind the peoples together. Yet we cannot afford to be naive or unrealistic; so while we must do everything we can to make war impossible, through trying to resolve issues that divide, and promote co-operation through the United Nations and elsewhere and through seeking effective disarmament, we must, as I have just said, consolidate our deterrent strength and by removing the greatest temptation of all to aggression which, in the present circumstances, is weakness, strengthen the chances of peace.

I believe that our activities in the development of the North Atlantic community are a vitally important contribution to this specific purpose. For the time being at least, in this tense and dangerous world, the unity and strength of the North Atlantic nations unquestionably provide the most important and immediate existing guarantee of peace. But the North Atlantic community -- this has been said many times before -- is potentially far more than a military alliance. These other non-military aspects of the development of NATO will, I think, grow more important as the military danger recedes, as we must hope it will in the course of time. The attitudes and agencies of co-operation among these free nations which NATO fosters can then remain to chart the way to a better state of society long after the present danger of military aggression has passed into the limbo into which history eventually tosses all tyrannies.

So I am asking the House today to approve the adherence of the Federal German Republic, not only to the North Atlantic defensive alliance but also to this North Atlantic community which we are seeking to develop, and to which the free and democratic Germany of today has the right to belong. The Soviet government and its satellite governments are seeking to prevent this development by an unparalleled campaign of intimidation, of cajolery and distortion, by the exertion of every kind of pressure through the lure of promises and the threat of punishment. In our own country the communists are doing all they can, of course, to further this campaign, by a propaganda barrage