File speeches made by statesmen re NATO

UNITED STATES

(1) ....if we really want peace we will have to work for it.

In a word, the Atlantic pact is an agreement among free nations who earnestly desire peace and who plan through united action to safeguard their common heritage of freedom by exercising their inherent right of self-defense against armed attack.

The only alternative (to the Atlantic Pact).....not a practical or acceptable one, is uncertainty, indecision, and lack of unity on the part of the free nations of the world. This would be an open invitation to aggression....

The treaty is not directed against the Soviet Union, nor its satellite states. What a splendid thing it would be if the millions of people behind the Iron Curtain had the same opportunity as the people of the free world to read the committee report on the Atlantic Pact. They would see that the pact is not aimed at them or at any other group of states; it is aimed only against aggression and war.

If the Atlantic Pact is an alliance, then it is an alliance only against war itself.

Mr. President, I am completely convinced that if the Kaiser had known in 1914 that his ruthless attack upon Belgium and France would have led Great Britain and the United States to hurl their armed might against him, he never would have crossed the Belgian frontier.

I am completely convinced, too, that if Hitler had known in 1939 that the United States and the other United Nations would have stood together against his marching millions, he never would have launched World War II.

The unwillingness on the part of the free nations of the world to make clear in advance their determination effectively to oppose aggression was in large measure responsible for the two great wars of our time.

(Excerpts from statement by Senator Tom Connally, made before the Senate of the United States on July 5, 1949, and printed from the Congressional Record of July 5, 1949, p. 8984)

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(2) "If we can make it sufficiently clear in advance that any armed attack affecting our national security would be met with overwhelming force, the armed attack might never occur.

The main objective of the North Atlantic Treaty is to erase any possible doubt and uncertainty that may be lurking in the minds of potential aggressors. We must provide unmistakable proof this time that the free nations will stand together to resist armed attack from any quarter. History must not be allowed to repeat itself. War is not inevitable.

The greatest obstacle that stands in the way of complete (European) recovery is the pervading and paralyzing sense of insecurity. The Treaty is a powerful antidote to this poison. It will go far in dispelling the fear that has plagued Europe since the war."

(President Truman - inaugural address, January, 1950)

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(3) "In my view its (The Atlantic Pact's) invincible power for peace is the awesome fact that any aggressor from the North Atlantic Community knows in advance that from the very moment he launches his conquest he will forthwith face whatever cumulative opposition these united allies deem necessary to beat him to his knees and to restore peace and security.

This pact is a fraternity of peace. It involves us in no obligation not already implicit in our signature to the United Nations Charter. It simply makes the obligation plain and dependable for us and others. It binds potential and indispensable allies to us as well as us to them. It spells it out. This candor can be as powerful as an atomic bomb. This is its terrific authority for peace. It spells out, beyond any shadow of doubt, the conclusive warning that 300,000,000 people, united in competent self-defense, will never allow an armed aggressor to divide and conquer them pursuant to the pattern of the rapes of yesterday. It spells out the conclusive warning that independent freedom is not an orphan in this western world, and that no armed aggression will have a chance to win.

Thus we crystallize the most practical deterrent and discouragement to war which the wit of man has yet devised."

(Excerpts from statement by Senator H. Vandenberg, made before the Senate of the U.S. on 6 July, 1949, and printed from the Congressional Record of 6 July, 1949, p. 9065)

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(4) "I am convinced that the Soviets, although exasperatingly difficult to deal with, do not want to risk war and will modify their aggressive policies when confronted with firm resistance, backed by recognizable force. This opinion was not hastily arrived at, but is based in large part on my experience as ambassador to Moscow."

(Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, as reported in Dep't. of State Bulletin, July 4, 1949)

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(5) "Not only does it unite free nations whose common interests and common frontiers are imperilled by aggression, but it frees us and our partners from the fear that a nation which would bravely resist aggression might find itself fighting friendless and alone. The North Atlantic Pact would deny to any aggressor the deadly opportunity to pick off single nations one by one."

(General Omar Bradley on the North Atlantic Pact, April 5, 1949, N. Y. Times, April 6, 1949)

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(6) "The essential purpose of the North Atlantic Treaty is to prevent war through the creation of conditions under which resort to war is clearly disadvantageous. Its basic principle is that an armed attack made on any one of the members is to be considered an attack on all. This is a powerful deterrent to potential aggressors.

"In final analysis, Western Europe can only be saved by Western Europeans. But to save themselves they must have the will and the means to resist. This will to resist is developed

...partly

partly by possession of the means, and partly by the assurance that they would be adequately helped in sufficient time. Without these means and without these specific assurances of aid, any nation of Western Europe if threatened by aggression might fall victim to despair. And that despair is worth a hundred divisions to an aggressor on the march. The North Atlantic Pact and some military assistance will provide both an assurance of aid and the means to resist. Together they can produce a will resolute enough to fight and firm enough to forewarn aggressors."

(General Omar Bradley, Dept. of State publication 3563, Speech of April 5, 1949)

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(7) "Wherever free men and their governments have been determined to preserve their freedom and their independence and where assistance from the United States could help them to do so, we have given our help."...."Our goal has not changed."

(Secretary Acheson, before the Harvard Alumni Assn. Cambridge, Mass., June 22, 1950 - Dept. of State Bul. dtd 3 July, 1950 - page 16, col. 1.)

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(8) "The Free nations of Europe and America must work out our common destiny together."

(Ambassador Milton Katz, before the 3rd meeting of the ERP Trade Union Advisory Conference - Rome, April 18, 1950, ECA Mission to Italy release 18 April 1950 - page 4.)

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(9) (Address by Harry S. Truman, President of the United States of America, given at the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty in Washington, D.C., on April 4, 1949.)

"On this historic occasion I am happy to welcome the Foreign Ministers of the countries, which, together with the United States, form the North Atlantic community of nations.

"The purpose of this meeting is to take the first step toward putting into effect an international agreement to safeguard the peace and prosperity of this community of nations.

"It is altogether appropriate that nations so deeply conscious of their common interests should join in expressing their determination to preserve their present peaceful situation and to protect it in the future.

"What we are about to do here is a neighborly act. We are like a group of householders, living in the same locality, who decide to express their community of interests by entering into a formal association for their mutual self-protection.

"This treaty is a simple document. The nations which sign it agree to abide by the peaceful principles of the United Nations, to maintain friendly relations and economic cooperation with one another, to consult together whenever the territory or independence of any one of them is threatened, and to come to the aid of any one of them which may be attacked.

"It is a simple document, but if it had existed in 1914 and in 1939, supported by the nations which are represented here today, I believe it would have prevented the acts of aggression which led to two world wars.

"The nations represented here have known the tragedy of those two wars. As a result, many of us took part in the founding of the United Nations. Each Member of the United Nations is under a solemn obligation to maintain international peace and security. Each is bound to settle international disputes by peaceful means, to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territory or independence of any country, and to support the United Nations in any action it takes to preserve the peace.

"That solemn pledge--that abiding obligation--we reaffirm here today.

"We rededicate ourselves to that obligation and propose this North Atlantic Treaty as one of the means to carry it out.

"Through this treaty we undertake to conduct our international affairs in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter. We undertake to exercise our right of collective or individual self-defense against armed attack, in accordance with article 51 of the Charter, and subject to such measures as the Security Council may take to maintain and restore international peace and security.

"Within the United Nations, this country and other countries have hoped to establish an international force for the use of the United Nations in preserving peace throughout the world. Our efforts to establish this force, however,

(9) have been blocked by one of the major powers.

"This lack of unanimous agreement in the Security Council does not mean that we must abandon our attempts to make peace secure.

"Even without that agreement, which we still hope for, we shall do as much as we can. And every bit that we do will add to the strength of the fabric of peace throughout the world.

"In this treaty we seek to establish freedom from aggression and from the use of force in the North Atlantic community. This is the area which has been at the heart of the last two world conflicts. To protect this area against war will be a long step toward permanent peace in the whole world.

"There are those who claim that this treaty is an aggressive act on the part of the nations which ring the North Atlantic.

"This is absolutely untrue.

"The pact will be a positive, not a negative, influence for peace, and its influence will be felt not only in the area it specifically covers but throughout the world. Its conclusion does not mean a narrowing of the interests of its members. Under my authority and instructions, the Secretary of State has recently made it abundantly clear that the adherence of the United States to this pact does not signify a lessening of American concern for the security and welfare of other areas, such as the Near East. The step we are taking today should serve to reassure peace-loving peoples everywhere and pave the way for the world-wide stability and peaceful development which we all seek.

"Twice in recent years nations have felt the sickening blow of unprovoked aggression. Our peoples, to whom our Governments are responsible, demand that these things shall not happen again.

"We are determined that they shall not happen again.

"In taking steps to prevent aggression against our own peoples, we have no purpose of aggression against others. To suggest the contrary is to slander our institutions and defame our ideals and our aspirations.

"The nations represented here are bound together by ties of long standing. We are joined by a common heritage of democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law. These are the ties of a peaceful way of life. In this pact we merely give them formal recognition.

"With our common traditions we face common problems. We are, to a large degree, industrial nations, and we face the problem of mastering the forces of modern technology in the public interest.

"To meet this problem successfully, we must have a world in which we can exchange the products of our labor not only among ourselves but with other nations. We have come together in a great cooperative economic effort to establish this kind of world.

"We are determined to work together to provide better

(9) lives for our people without sacrificing our common ideals of justice and human worth.

"But we cannot succeed if our people are haunted by the constant fear of aggression and burdened by the cost of preparing their nations individually against attack.

"In this pact we hope to create a shield against aggression and the fear of aggression--a bulwark which will permit us to get on with the real business of government and society, the business of achieving a fuller and happier life for our citizens.

"We shall, no doubt, go about this business in different ways. There are different kinds of governmental and economic systems, just as there are different languages and different cultures. But these differences present no real obstacle to the voluntary association of free nations devoted to the common cause of peace.

"We believe that it is possible for nations to achieve unity on the great principles of human freedom and justice and at the same time to permit, in other respects, the greatest diversity of which the human mind is capable.

"Our faith in this kind of unity is borne out by our experience here in the United States in creating one nation out of the variety of our continental resources and the peoples of many lands.

"This method of organizing diverse peoples and cultures is in direct contrast to the method of the police state, which attempts to achieve unity by imposing the same beliefs and the same rule of force on everyone.

"We believe that our method of achieving international unity through the voluntary association of different countries dedicated to a common cause is an effective step toward bringing order to our troubled world.

"For us, war is not inevitable. We do not believe that there are blind tides of history which sweep men one way or the other. In our own time we have seen brave men overcome obstacles that seemed insurmountable and forces that seemed overwhelming. Men with courage and vision can still determine their own destiny. They can choose slavery or freedom--war or peace.

"I have no doubt which they will choose. The treaty we are signing here today is evidence of the path they will follow.

"If there is anything certain today, if there is anything inevitable in the future, it is the will of the people of the world for freedom and peace."

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(10) ..."The fundamental purpose of these meetings was the same as the constant purpose of our foreign policy. This purpose is the preservation of peace; not the fragile temporary peace which comes from appeasement; not the hopeless peace of submission; but the peace which free peoples, sure of the rightness of their purpose, win and maintain by developing their economic and military strength through the processes of voluntary and continuing co-operation. It is from this strength that our confidence derives, from this co-operation that peace becomes secure.

"We have long hoped that all nations would co-operate for peace in the United Nations. The attitude of the Soviet Union has delayed the fulfilment of that hope, but it has not caused us, on our part, to slacken our efforts. It has made it necessary for us, in harmony with the Charter, to use means supplementary but not rival to the United Nations. The North Atlantic Treaty, like the Rio pact, is one of these means. . .

"As we saw it, in the years since the war, the 18 Western European countries had made great economic progress. This had played an essential part in strengthening their social and political structures and preventing the subversion of their free institutions. While this had been going forward, the Soviet Union had been devoting so much of its resources to military purposes that a dangerous situation was developing...

"It was made unmistakably clear in all our discussions that our common purpose in preparing our common defences is a peaceful one. We hope never to need them. But so long as any dictator builds powerful armed forces, so long must democracies, if they are to be left in peace, evidence their determination to defend themselves by maintaining adequate forces in being and an adequate state of preparedness.....

"At the conclusion of our Council meeting, we made a statement of our principles, our determination, and our faith. That statement has been published, but I wish in closing to cite a part of it because I believe it expresses well the purpose that guides us:

> 'We are determined that freedom, which is the common basis of our institutions, shall be defended against every threat of aggression or subversion, direct or indirect. Freedom means the independence of nations, the respect for spiritual values, and the dignity of man. Only a free society can guarantee to the individual the benefits of economic and social betterment...To the immense resources of the free world, and its industrial and scientific development, the peoples of the North Atlantic community bring the spiritual strength that comes from freedom.'

..."This road is the road to peace. The concept of the free community is one which can bring peace and prosperity to the world. Individually, no one of these countries, including the United States, has the strength, even if it had the desire, to determine the course of the future. Together, this community has the human and material resources, the skills, the initiative, the tradition and the devotion of free men, and a dynamic idea which can give us confidence that the future belongs to freedom. In our unity there is strength. And in our strength is the foundation of peace."

("New York Times", June 1, 1950.
Excerpts from Secretary Acheson's address before an informal joint session of Congress, Washington, May 31, 1950)

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(11) ..."We must develop the treaty to its full effectiveness as a positive influence for peace. Those efforts, combined with our efforts in other areas, are a necessary supplement to our fundamental policy of full support of the United Nations in its efforts to achieve international peace and security"....

("New York Times", April 5, 1950.
Secretary of State Dean Acheson in a statement marking the 1st anniversary of the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty, April 4)