"The danger is, of course, not new. It was inherent in the fact that the free democracies of the west disarmed and dissolved their forces after the war, while the dictatorship of the Kremlin maintained gigantic armies and laboured by every means to re-equip them."

"The system of defense in the west will alone give the best chance of a final settlement by negotiations with the Soviet on the basis of strength and not of our weakness, but there is not a day to be lost or a scrap of available strength to be denied."

(Winston Churchill, excerpts from speech at Council of Europe Consultative Assembly, Aug. 11, as reported in "The Times" of Aug. 12)

"The second world war could have been avoided by a policy equal to events. But Europe has learned from her sufferings."

(Winston Churchill - "The Times", 12 Aug. 1950)

"The Free Man can never be vanquished by the slave."

(Ernest Bevin - "New York Times", 19 May, 1950.)

"In appending my signature to this pact today, I am doing so on behalf of a free parliamentary nation, and I am satisfied that the step we are taking has the almost unanimous approval of the British people.

"Like other signatories, my country has had forced upon it the great task of fighting two world wars against aggression within a period of a quarter of a century.

"The cost in human life and treasure was appalling. Succeeding generations in the period following each struggle over a wide area of the world were thrown into a state of uncertainty and harassed by wars of nerves and civil wars.

"The common people (who only want to live in peace) have been unable to follow their peaceful pursuits or to sleep safely in their beds.

"They have seen their constitutions crushed—constitutions in which they thought they had made their liberty secure.

"We have witnessed a period in which, while the countries represented here have been striving to rehabilitate the world and to restore it to prosperity and sanity, they have been constantly frustrated in their efforts.

"We have all tried with a genuine desire and firm purpose"
to build an effective United Nations. We have endeavoured to make its machinery work and to create such confidence in this great world organization as will enable it to estab-

lish security for all the peoples of the world.

"But so far our hopes have not been fully realized.

"What course, then, was open to us?

"We had to get together and build with such material as was available to us, and this material was happily at hand in this great Atlantic community, with a common outlook and desire for peace.

"Countries whose representatives are signing this great pact today are composed of peace-loving peoples with spiritual affinities, but who also have great pride in their skill and their production, and in their achievements in mastering the forces of nature and harnessing the great resources of the world for the benefit of mankind.

"Our peoples do not glorify war, but they will not shrink from it if aggression is threatened.

"This pact is a concrete proof of the determination of a group of like-minded nations never to fight one another. These nations are, in addition, linked with many other peoples who equally will never indulge in aggression. All these peoples are united in a common line of thought and desire.

"Today is not only the day of the signature of this pact; it is also a day of solemn thought—and, may I say, of con-

secration for peace and resistance to aggression.

"Speaking for the British people, I can assure you that they have agreed to make their contribution to the pool for peace.

"Although this pact is called the Atlantic Pact and is defined as covering the Atlantic area, I must repeat what I stated recently in the British House of Commons, that it does not minimize either our interest in or determination to support others not included in this pact, with whom we have had long years of friendship and alliances.

"We are in the process of enthroning and making paramount the use of reason as against force. The day may come when all the world will accept that view.

"Today will bring a great feeling of relief to millions of people. At last democracy is no longer a series of isolated units. It has become a cohesive organism, determined to fulfil its great purpose.

"But it is not the final end.

"We shall pursue with every endeavour the building up of a truly universal United Nations, to which this group of countries will be no mean contributor.

"In the solemnity of this moment, I put my signature to this pact in the name of a people who join with other signatories for the preservation of the great freedoms, and in giving an assurance to mankind of our determination to assist all the peoples of the world to live in understanding and good-neighbourliness."
..."Every step that we have made towards closer European unity has encountered the vehement hostility of the Communist party in every country, and the more we have progressed the more bitter has become the Communist campaign of vilification. This is certainly no surprise.

"The tyranny upon which Communism is founded, the hatred from which it draws its strength, and the poverty on which it thrives would all of them be directly threatened by the establishment of a united, peaceful and prosperous Europe.

"The tide of Communism in Europe, which only three years ago engulfed Czechoslovakia, has for the moment been halted, and its parliamentary strength has been greatly reduced by the good sense of the electors in all our countries. This is due to a large extent to the economic integration of the peoples of Europe, which has been so powerfully aided and encouraged by the United States of America.

"There is no doubt that Communism as an ideology is losing ground in all countries where free speech is allowed and parliamentary institutions thrive. But behind the sub-human chitter of Communist doctrinaires stands the armed might of the Kremlin oligarchy, which, while frothing words of peace, has since the war maintained larger armed forces, trained and organized more than almost all the countries in the world put together.

"For some time now, western Europe has been living under the stress and pressure of the Communist "cold war". But it is in the Far East and not in Europe that the first blow in the hot war has fallen. It may be that the growing unity and solidarity of the nations of the west has influenced the Soviet aggressors.

"The free peoples of Europe have certainly not added to their dangers, however great they may be, by proclaiming, as they have through the Council of Europe and through the Atlantic Pact, their resolve to fight together, and, if need be, to die together, in defence of the freedom which is their joint treasure.

"They have not added to their danger, nor has what has happened out in Korea made things worse. My feeling is that it has made things better -- my feeling is that the manifestation which has been given of the willingness of the free world to unite, combine to act, to defend itself, wherever it may be attacked, is a guarantee and assurance which should inspire every man in every country. States are not to be brushed aside because they are small. We all stand together.

"Those who are best informed among us will not be those who underrate our dangers. They are grave. If they have not broken upon us, it is only because our adversaries are content to let them grow. We should certainly not ward them off or reduce them by showing any failure in unity, conviction, or will-power. It is the exact opposite which is true. Once again the path of duty is the path alike of safety and honour."

(The Times, October 12, 1950.
Winston Churchill's speech in Copenhagen, October 11, 1950)
"We have been engaged in the creation of a great Atlantic brotherhood.

"This work was begun to a very large extent with the Treaty with France, was developed with the Brussels Treaty, and now it has grown into this great organism of the Atlantic Pact. I think this association has three main characteristics.

"First, it is a peaceful association. In the past we have had military alliances either born of war or directed to war. Our object now is to fortify peace, not merely prepare for war. The very foundation and purpose of the Atlantic Pact is to bring its freedom-loving peoples together in such a way that they can prevent another war.

"Secondly, it is an equal association. These twelve nations, the smallest equal with the greatest, all contribute equally according to their means to the common effort.

"Thirdly, it is a free association. Pessimists sometimes say that free democracies are doomed because by their very nature they can never compete in efficiency and singleness of purpose with the totalitarianism. The last war disproved that, and we representatives of the twelve free democracies say most emphatically that that is not so.

"At the same time we recognize the need of a well co-ordinated and vigorous action, and the new organization that has been set up emphasizes that need.

"But the system that we are creating will not, like the systems of totalitarian States, rest on coercion and force. It is freely chosen; it will maintain the liberal of the people. And it is in this freedom of choice that lies our greatest strength and our greatest hope, for we firmly believe that in the end the free man can never be vanquished by the slave."


"In the Atlantic Pact we have a great instrument making for world peace.....

"We must not forget the gravity of our position or indeed that of the whole world. Soviet Russia -- the immensely powerful band of men gathered together in the Kremlin -- has ranged itself against the Western democracies.

"They have added to their dominion the satellite States of Europe, the Baltic States, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania, an empire in itself, Tito of Yugoslavia has broken away. Greece has been rescued by the United States carrying on the task which we began."....