

# 北大西洋公約

集體聯防及保持北大西洋  
集團之和平安全與自由

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英文標題見內頁

美國新聞處在華發行

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## 一個集體聯防的條約

一九四八年夏季，比利時、加拿大、法國、盧森堡、荷蘭、聯合王國及美國等各國政府代表在華盛頓開始談判，結果對於規定北大西洋區各國集體安全協議的一個條約的各項條件，已獲致同意。

這個公約的起源在於居住在北大西洋兩岸各種民族的共同的祖業和文明。這些民族，不但在文化的背景上有聯繫，而且對於個人的尊嚴和價值，對於民主的原則和法治，都有共同的深刻的信念。兩次世界大戰已使他們得到一種教訓：那就是他們的安全是彼此相聯而無法解開的，他們中間任何一個受到攻擊實際上就是全體受到攻擊。

自一九四五年戰事終止以來，歐洲的種種發展已顯示戰後的歐洲恢復經濟的健全和政治的安定，是一件真正重要的任務。同時這些發展，在一次復一次的緊急局勢中，顯示北大西洋集團內一切民主國家，對於這同樣的安全和經濟利益，也都有共同的關係。從戰後的直接救濟問題到一九四七年嚴冬所透示的經濟危機，從蘇聯企圖威嚇希臘和土耳其到共黨推翻捷克斯洛伐克的民主主義，每一個緊急事件都需要民主國家的實際行動。同時每一個行動已產生更密切合作的聯繫，並強調不斷密切聯防的必要。這

個聯防的目標和建議中的方法現在已北大西洋公約的本文內公佈。

目標和目的：北大西洋公約是一個簡短和簡單的文件。這個公約對於世界事務所能發生的有力的影響，起於如下三種因素：一、各國的勢力和實力，這些國家已表示有意成爲這個協議的參加者；二、不穩定的世界安全局勢，公約對於這種局勢，具有一種補救的力量；三地北大西洋集團所展開的團結，這種團結自過去五十多年以來，在歷史上顯然已有彼此互相增加依靠的趨向，但在這裏公約內正式承認則還是第一次。

### 公約的序文宣稱：

本條約的締約國重申他們對於聯合國憲章的目標和原則的信念，以及他們與一切民族及一切政府在和平中共同生活的願望。

「他們決意保障他們民族的自由，共同祖業和文明，以民主原則，個人自由和法治爲基礎。

「他們設法促進北大西洋區的安定和福利。

「他們決定聯合努力實行集體聯防，並保全和平與安全。」

公約下的義務：在條約的第一條內，各締約國重申他們在憲章下所負的義務，即不但在他們彼此之間，而且對任何一國，所牽涉到的任何國際爭執，決定採取和平的方法，加以解決，務使和平，安全與正義不致受到

危害，並避免以違反聯合國目標的任何方法，使用威脅或武力。

在以後的條文中，各締約國自動負起如下的義務：

一、加強他們的自由制度，促進安定和幸福的情形，並鼓勵經濟合作。

二、維持並發展他們個人和集體的力量，用以抵抗外來的武裝襲擊；

三、如果締約國中任何一國的領土完整，政治獨立，或安全受到威脅的話，那末全體締約國應互相協商。

四、對於締約國中任何一國所受到的武裝襲擊，認為是一種對全體締約國的襲擊，因此採取每一締約國所認為必要的個別和集體行動，包括使用武裝力量，以便恢復和維持北大西洋區的安全。

美國參加北大西洋公約，將重申其在聯合國憲章中所表示的決心，參加『有效的集體措施，以防止和消弭對和平的威脅，並遏制侵略的行爲。』美國在其他締約國合作之下，將維持並發展適當的力量，以抵抗武裝的襲擊。美國參加這個協議，將承認如下的事實：即對締約國中任何一國的武裝襲擊將威脅到美國國家的全安，實際上等於對美國襲擊。

根據美國的憲法，只有國會才有宣戰的權力。但是這個憲法問題實際上並不妨礙本公約。美國當然能預先採取認為必要的行動，包括使用武裝的力量，以對付足以影響其國家安全的武裝襲擊。就宣戰的問題而論，履

行一種條約的義務，繫於國會的行動，但這一個事實並不阻止美國負起這個義務。一般相信北大西洋公約的精神和文字確切表示並說明美國人民決心採取任何必要的方法，以抵抗這種襲擊。

武裝襲擊：公約第五條含有一種嚴肅的義務：就是每一個締約國將運用誠實和真正的判斷力，在另一締約國受到襲擊的時候，決定採取何種必要的行動，以恢復和平。本公約的各締約國相信再來一次衝突是有百害而無一利的。他們相信近代戰爭中，戰敗的固然是大禍臨頭，但戰勝的國家也得不償失。他們相信戰爭本身必須加以防止。北大西洋公約就是他們聯合努力，在依照聯合國憲章的精神和義務之下，保證和平與防止戰爭。這是一種國際間的協定，這些國家已確切證明他們不願意戰爭，他們祇希望在和平與安全中生活，當被攻的時候，他們將起而自衛。

本公約締約國擬採取聯合行動，並準備行動的方法，這種明確的意向應該可以消弭任何侵略者以為他能把這些締約國逐一征服的錯誤觀念的危險。自由國家的堅決意向，如果在納粹侵略的過程中早就有這種類似的明確表示，那末軸心國家很可能不至於參加一九三九年的戰爭。强有力的侵

略者面臨到對方堅決的意志，往往就中止不前。堅決的意志單獨不能解決一切問題，但確能使野心國家準備以談判方式而不以武力來覓取解決的辦法。

北大西洋區：北大西洋公約第五條的互助條款將適用於締約國中任何一國的領土，不論在歐洲，北美洲或法國的阿爾傑里亞部份；並適用於任何一國締約國在歐洲的佔領區，以及在夏至線以北的大西洋。當其他國家加入協定的時候，這國區域就可能隨之擴大。

**公約的參加者：** 公約的簽字國是比利時、加拿大、法國、盧森堡、荷蘭、挪威、聯合王國、美國、丹麥、冰島、義大利和葡萄牙。此外，建議中的條約的本文規定各締約國家，在一致同意之下，可以邀請任何其他『能促進本條約原則並對北大西洋區安全能有所貢獻的歐洲國家』成爲本公約的締約國。

各種問題使德國全部或一部份無法成爲北大西洋公約的一份子。西班牙的參加公約是由全體會員國決定的問題，但他們多數現在並不認爲西班牙應包括在內。

如果任何其他歐洲國家，本來不是簽字國而對於北大西洋公約表示有興趣的，那末全體會員國不妨遵照第十條的規定，採取決議，邀請他們表示同意。

組織：本公約規定設立一個理事會，締約國每一個國家均將派代表出席，並指定這個理事會的組織「必須能隨時立即召開會議。」理事會本身須「附設必要的附屬機構；尤其須立即設立一個防禦委員會，這個防禦委員會必須建議各項措施，以便履行第三條和第五條。」

協定的期限：北大西洋公約並不含有時間的限制。這個公約規定在十年以後締約國可以隨時檢討這個條約，以便決定是否有修改的必要，以配合屆時的國際局勢和保證全球性與地方性國際安全的方法通過聯合國而展開的進步。這個公約並規定：在二十年以後，任何一國可以在提出通知一年以後退出條約。

本公約由各國政府經過憲法程序核准以後，即將以批准書存在美國政府。當多數締約國批准書已繳存的時候，本條約即將生效。對於以後加入公約的締約國，本條約將從他們繳存批准書的日期起發生效力。



## 大西洋公約和聯合國

公約和聯合國憲章：大西洋公約是北大西洋區各國間一件集體自衛的協議，這些國家雖團結一致抵抗對他們中間任何一國的武裝襲擊，但他們特別重申他們在憲章下所負的義務：即對任何國家完全用和平的方法來解決他們的爭執。這個公約目的在於調整自衛權的執行，這種自衛權特別規定在聯合國憲章的五十一條中。所以，這個公約的計劃恰正配合聯合國的組織，並保證遵照憲章切實努力維持和平與安全。

聯合國憲章第五十一條承認會員國政府「如遇聯合國的一個會員國受到武裝襲擊的時候，具有個別或集體自衛的固有權利，直至安全理事會採取維持國際和平與安全所必需的措施。」但這種措施須立即向安全理事會報告，而絕不影響安全理事會「隨時採取其所認為必要的行動，以便維持或恢復國際的和平與安全」的權限和責任。

條約的第五條特別規定締約國因他們中間一國受到武裝襲擊而採取的各項措施，必須立即向安全理事會報告，當安全理事會業已採取恢復和維持國際和平與安全所必需的措施之時，這些措施就必須終止。

維持國際和平與安全的主要責任在於安全理事會。大西洋公約的締約國所負的義務並不影響他們在憲章下所負的義務，而對於聯合國爲「維持或恢復國際和平與安全而採取的行動，須負起現現在和將來的義務。公約的第七條明白宣示「本條約並不影響，也不得解釋爲影響，聯合國會員國的締約國在憲章下所有的權利與義務，也不影響安全理事會維持國際和平與安全的主要責任。」換言之，締約國在本條約之下所做的一切事情必須符合他們在憲章下所負的義務，憲章的規定，在任何可能適用的地方，應作爲最重要的。

對里約熱內盧公約的比較：雖然北大西洋公約和里約熱內盧公約都是在聯合國範圍以內的集體協議，但這兩種公約在若干方面是不同的。這兩個公約類似的部分是締約國的任何一國所受到的武裝襲擊將被認爲全體締約國所受到的武裝襲擊，兩個公約都規定萬一發生威脅締約國安全的情形之時，締約國應互相協商。主要的不同點如下：一、里約熱內盧公約對於協商機構的決議，含有投票的規定，這種機構就是批准里約熱內盧公約的美洲共和國外長會議，或汎美聯盟的監督委員會，這個委員會可以作爲臨時的協商機構，直至外長會議舉行的時候。大西洋公約並不含有這種投票的需要。二、里約熱內盧公約規定協商機構所能同意的措施。大西洋公約的每一締約國同意「個別或和其他列強共同採取其所認爲必要的行動，包

括武裝部隊的運用，以恢復和維持北大西洋區的安全。』三、里約熱內盧公約對於締約國之間如果發生衝突應遵照何種程序一節，具有特別的規定。大西洋公約中並不列入這種規定。

以里約熱內盧和大西洋兩個公約爲對比，蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯邦和她的衛星國所訂的互助條約是雙邊性質的，這些條約的文字主要的意思在於防制德國侵略的死灰復燃。這些協議對聯合國憲章的關係並不明白。條約裏面沒有特別提到憲章的第五十一條，而其對聯合國的關係也用籠統而不着邊際的字句。例如一九四八年三月十八日的保加利亞——蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯邦條約僅稱：『本條約將依照聯合國機構的憲章的原則履行。』

加強聯合國的實力：大西洋公約的計劃是要協助造成那種世界的情形使聯合國能依照舊金山會議的計劃執行工作。列強在戰時所保證並在憲章內所反映的合作，並沒有實現繼續的期望。和平解決中最重要的問題，並未獲致同意，大半爲了蘇聯的阻礙和濫用否決權，以致聯合國並沒有完全有效的完成原來所希望的集體安全。

自從憲章簽訂以來，蘇聯領袖的思想中，對於蘇聯和其餘世界之間的關係中可能與不可能之事，抱着嚴重的誤解，這已成爲更明顯了。聯合國

和美國外交政策所能提供的較大的貢獻是以符合憲章的方法，消除這種誤解。

在國際關係的範圍中，西方列強竭力企圖完成協定，以便對於戰後不少極重要的問題，提供真正解決的辦法，但因蘇聯的從中作梗，以致直到如今仍然沒有結果。然而北大西洋公約的締約國特別鄭重重申他們在憲章下所負的義務，對於任何國際爭執，將採取和平的方法予以解決，務使和平，安全與正義不致受到危害。他們在公約中保證重新爲了這個目標而努力。

北大西洋公約是用清楚而容易明白的文字說話的。這公約解釋北大西洋區的安全，和侵犯這種安全所能引起的後果。因此這個公約對於各種未了的問題，闡明使用武力所能引起的後果，因而提高和平解決的可能性。

在目前的情形之下，聯合國憲章的目標和原則將被促進到這樣一種程度：就是使這個公約能加強北大西洋區各民族的安全。美國駐聯合國大使奧斯汀曾綜合這個公約和聯合國憲章的目標的關係如下：

「北大西洋公約提供最有力的證據，證明侵略是不智的，今後應當採取的途徑是和平的合作。

「應當着重的一點是建議採取行動的性質。目的在於表示一種抵抗武

裝襲擊的決心，以阻止侵略。它的性質是防禦。它的目標是和平。

『本公約所規定的使用武力一節，和聯合國憲章所規定的性質相同；即防止戰爭。它以集團的力量迅速抵抗侵略國家。

『北大西洋公約的訂立將減少戰爭的可能性。它將增加和平的希望。它將協助我們轉向聯合國的一個較大的任務——即以和平解決代替武裝衝突。』

## 大西洋公約和美國政策

杜魯門總統的「第三點」：杜魯門總統的就職演說，一方面是關於美國立國原則的一種聲明，一方面也是關於行動的一種綱領，其中重新肯定地說明指導美國處理世界事務的政策，以及怎樣選擇方法藉使這些政策成爲最有效。他所宣佈的四大行動方針，相互爲用，並且又都依靠美國整個外交政策的日常執行情形，而美國的外交政策乃是表示美國人民的性格，生活方式和志趣的。在已往導使美國採取偉大行動的原則，也就是使美國目前盼望和北大西洋區其他國家建立合作時獲得力量和道德意味的原則。總統宣稱：

「美國人民相信所有的人在法律之下有權享有平等的公理，並且有權享有平等機會，以分享共同的福利。我們相信所有的人有思想和表達自由的權利……。」

「美國人民希望一種世界並且決心爲實現這種世界而努力。在這個世界中，所有的國家和所有的人民可以照他們的意思，自由治理他們自己，並且實現一種合理和滿意的生活。在其他一切之上，吾國人民希望地球上的和平，一種公正和持久的和平，後者係以地位平等者自由獲到的真正協議爲基礎的。」

杜魯門總統所闡明的美國行動四大方針的第三點，乃是切切實實地以「由地位平等者自由獲致的真正協議為基礎的」和平為目標。原則和方法很清楚地聯繫在一起。

「……我們決心增強愛好自由的國家，來對抗侵略的危險。

「我們現正和若干國家擬訂一個聯合協定，其目的乃在增強北大西洋區的安全。這種協定將在聯合國憲章的規定範圍內，以集體防禦措施的形式出現。

「由於里約熱內盧公約的簽訂，我們已經替西半球建立了一個這一類的防禦協定。

「這些協定的主要目的，是對於自由國家一致決心抵抗來自任何方面的武裝襲擊，提供一個不致被錯認的證據。參加這些協定的每一個國家必須盡其所能，俾對共同防禦有所貢獻。

「假如我們能够事前充份表明凡足以影響吾國安全的任何武裝襲擊將遭遇極大的力量予以對付的話，這種武裝襲擊可能永不發生」。

為世界和平而合作：美國曾對聯合國及其有關機關作有力的支持。杜魯門在他的就職演說中曾經再度說明美國決心繼續尋求種種方法，以謀增強它們的權力以及增加它們的效能。這種決心曾經導致並將繼續導致實際行動——諸如對曾遭戰爭破壞地區的援助，對希臘和土耳其的援助，為求護致國際管制原子能協定而作的努力，歐洲復興計劃，協力建立美洲國際機構，技術援助世界合作計劃的建議，以及保護北大西洋區安全的聯合行動

等。這些行動是以一種假定為根據，那就是聯合國每一會員國在它對其他國家的關係的各方面，具有恪守在簽訂憲章時保證決予支持的各項原則之責任。

安全措施：美國的政策承認聯合國猶非爭取世界安全的完善工具。聯合國是以大國合作的前題為基礎的。所以在這個機構之中假如任何一個大國不願意合作的話，它可以對於這個機構爭取和平的努力造成嚴重的妨礙。蘇聯因過度使用否決權而在聯合國中所形成的阻撓，以及蘇聯之未能恪守憲章下應負的責任，已經促使積極支持憲章目的和原則的會員國採取步驟，以保證若干聯合國會員國的自由和獨立。美國已參與這些行動中的若干種，並且在道德上和物質上支持其他國家。一九四八年三月十七日，杜魯門總統致國會的咨文曾經特別提到布魯塞爾公約說：

「……這個發展值得我們的充份支持。本人相信美國將以適當方法，視局勢需要而支持這些自由國家。本人確信歐洲自由國家保護它們自身的決心，將和我們幫助它們做到這一點的同樣決心相配合。」

這種支持自由國家的政策，在三個月後獲得了更廣大的內容，蓋在一九四八年六月十一日，美國參院會以極大多數票提出建議說：

「遵照憲章的目的，原則和規定，逐步發展區域的和其他集體的措置



，藉以作個別的和集體的自衛。

「以繼續推行有效的自助和互助為基礎，並在有關國家安全的範圍內，美國應該和這種區域的和其他集體的措置發生聯繫。」

「假如足以影響美國國家安全的武裝進攻一旦發生，美國就應按照第五十一條表明使用個別的或者集體的自衛權之決心，俾對維保和平有所貢獻。」

第一次和第二次世界大戰顯示一點，那就是美國的安全和西歐的安全直接相關，北大西洋兩岸的國家，為一種自然的利益關係結合在一起。大西洋公約是對於這種關係的一種正式的確證，並且反映它們的一種信念，這就是說欲求防止武裝襲擊，祇有事前明白表示假如這種襲擊一旦發生，它們將決心實行集體抵抗。在美國看來，這種集體安全措施對於保護北大西洋區及其安全，乃是必要的。

大西洋公約將能使其參加國家以優勢的軍事，經濟和精神力量對付可能的侵略者，因此將有助於信心和安全感，後者對於充份的經濟政治穩定係屬必要。它的政治，心理和軍事價值都是很重要的，而且事實上也是不可分的。由於公約可以減少戰爭的機會，增加信心和穩定，以及在需要發生時可以提供有效集體防禦的基礎之故，它可以切實有助於西歐為求經濟復興而必需建立的一種氣氛，並且使更充實的生活接近一步，這種生活祇

有在一個合作的世界社會隨時可以適應現代科學和技術進步而加以和平運用的情形下，始屬可能。

愛好自由人民在面對極權威脅的情形下，它們的是否能保持獨立這一點，端視他們能否竭力做到上述工作的決心而定。復次，這種決心又有賴於健全的政治經濟生活的發展以及真正的安全感。這種自我決心的信念首先導使美國經由援助希土計劃而從事援助希臘和土耳其，其後復經由歐洲復興計劃而從事援助歐洲國家。美國刻正考慮參加北大西洋公約，以謀按照聯合國在憲章中所規定的目的和原則，對於這個區域的集體安全予以有效的支持。假如美國人民贊成這個步驟，那麼政府的目標將和目前美國政策所集中注意的目標相同，那就是使國際社會恢復種種必要條件，藉使聯合國的機構得以有效地發揮功能，並且逐步達成聯合國憲章所規定的目標。照杜魯門總統的說法，就是：

「我們正和其他國家共同前進，成立一個甚至更堅強的機構，以維護國際的秩序和正義。許多國家現在已經不僅關切國家的生存問題，而正在努力改善它們全體人民的生活水準，我們將有這些國家作為我們的同伴。

「我們正在慢慢地但是很有把握地為國際的安全和日益增進的繁榮編織一個世界的體系。」

## 大西洋公約和軍事援助

軍事援助計劃刻正由政府的行政部份加以考慮。這個計劃乃是保障美國和其他愛好和平國家的另一種措置，以便把援助給予公約締約國以及自由世界的其他友好國家。杜魯門總統曾於一九四七年三月向國會說：「本人相信美國的政策必須是支持自由人民的，因為這些自由人民正在抵抗武裝少數派或外來壓力的征服企圖。以直接或間接侵略方式強加於自由人民的極權政權，動搖了國際和平的基礎，因此也動搖了美國的安全。」自從一九四七年五月以來，美國曾在這個政策之下以軍事援助給予若干國家。

北大西洋公約雖然並不明白規定美國有對其他參加公約國家提供軍事援助的責任，可是美國的決定這樣做法，將使這個國家對於公約第三條中所規定的互助觀念能夠作合理的貢獻。但是這並不是說一個國家應該肩負維護北大西洋區安全的全部責任。美國對於這種努力應該是有所貢獻的國家之一。美國充份明瞭美國並無無限的供應，再者它自己的武裝部隊必須

具有充足的配備。撥交其他國家的軍事配備，必須有助於美國的統盤安全。

按照自助互助的原則，其他參加公約國家業已採取行動，藉以促進北大西洋區的安全。它們重建健全經濟的努力，乃是在安全措置方面實行自助的一個重要規定。這些國家中許多國家雖已負有巨大的經濟復興支出，但是它們所負擔的軍事預算，更足以表明它們實行自助的意向而並不想單獨依賴或者偏重於美國的援助，俾維護它們自己的安全和北大西洋區的安全。

## 大西洋公約和歐洲的完整

經濟和政治合作：大西洋公約乃是靠了西歐國家在經濟復興方面以及在經濟，政治和軍事合作方面所獲的重大進步而成爲可能的。經濟復興努力的核心乃是歐洲復興計劃和歐洲經濟合作機構，後者係經由經濟合作總署獲得美國援助的十六個國家所組成。參與歐洲經濟合作機構及其理事會的十六個國家，乃是聯合王國，奧地利，比利時，丹麥，法國，希臘，冰島，愛爾蘭，義大利，盧森堡，荷蘭，挪威，葡萄牙，瑞典，瑞士和土耳其。德國西部也充份參與歐洲經濟合作機構。歐洲經濟合作機構的憲章保證這些國家將不斷努力，藉以增加生產，使工業現代化，穩定他們的財政以及平衡它們和外界的支付，藉使它們對於世界經濟安全得以提供充份的貢獻。直到一九五二年的增加合作行動路線已經擬就。聯合國歐洲經濟委員會對於歐洲這種一致從事的工作，也予以支持和援助，而美國也是聯合國歐洲經濟委員會中的一員。

經濟合作的進步曾和西歐更密切的政治團結行動，相輔並進。一九四八年三月十七日簽訂的布魯塞爾公約，乃是一個顯著的例子。布魯塞爾公約體系，有時候是被稱爲「西歐聯盟」的，乃發源於英國外相貝文於一九四八年一月二十二日在下院發表的一篇演說。貝文先生說，歐洲團結的機

念，是為大多數人民所接受的，問題乃在於這種團結應該由一個大國使用警察國家的方法實行霸制而加以實現呢，還是應該由相互合作和援助而加以實現。他相信鞏固西歐的時機業已成熟，並且建議經由公約的方式把聯合王國，法國和比荷盧（比利時，荷蘭和盧森堡）聯繫起來，作為「一個西歐單元的核心」，後者將容納自由歐洲的其他國家。

軍事合作：布魯塞爾公約規定五個締約國家應「以其能力範圍內的一切軍事援助和其他援助」，給予歐洲境內遭受武裝襲擊的一個締結國。根據公約而設立的諮詢理事會，復成立了一個永久軍事委員會，由高級軍事專家組成，此外並規定締約國家的國防部長應該定期舉行會議。永久軍事委員會負責設計一個完整的防禦機構以及一個共同的防禦政策，藉以調整五國的軍事力量和資源。自從一九四八年七月以來，美國的軍事代表已以非會員國的地位參與委員會的工作。

一九四八年九月，五國的國防部長核准了一個完整的軍事指揮機構，由蒙哥馬利子爵擔任西歐地上部隊各總司令的主席，由英國空軍元帥羅勃爵士擔任空軍總司令，以及由法國的佐榮特海軍中將擔任委員會的海軍司令官。一九四八年十月，諮詢理事會通過了共同防禦政策，後者是以布魯塞爾公約的目標和聯合國憲章為基礎的。永久軍事委員會正在研討一項供

應計劃，藉以調整五國的軍事資源。預料這個計劃將顯示布魯塞爾公約各國在軍事供應方面對它們自己以及在相互之間究能有何作為，此外並將顯示它們究竟需要從美國獲得多少軍用配備，藉以補充它們自己的供應。

## 大西洋公約和美國的安全

美國代表在討論北大西洋公約的安全功能的時候，曾經特別重視下列各點：假如整個歐洲大陸再度為一個對美國敵對的國家或者國家集團所羈制，那麼美國的安全將重行遭遇嚴重的危險。在美國積極參加第二次世界大戰之前，盟國失却了歐陸，其後冒了極大的危險以及耗損極大數量的生命，物資和金錢才把它恢復過來。今日，由於戰爭所造成的破壞和痛苦，歐洲國家處境孱弱，因此對於一個新侵略者業已提供了一個異常良好的機會。在這種情形之下有一點是很明顯的——猶如回想納粹德國時代的情形有一點是很明顯的一樣——那就是歐洲大陸的羈佔一旦達成而予以鞏固，可能是一個更大規模進攻計劃的第一步，從而可以攻擊英國，然後再可以進攻美國和西半球其他部份。因這種逐步不斷進行侵略的可能性所形成的問題，當然是美國在策劃安全方面所關心的。維護西歐國家的自由和獨立，乃是非常重要的事情。所以為美國的安全計，有一點是被認為必要的，那就是說美國目前從自由友好國家方面所獲得的友誼和支持，必須予以鞏固，其後復應經由和平方法，設法使任何侵略國家可以有效施用壓力的地區縮小。



上兩次世界大戰已經證明歐洲的一個重大衝突將無可避免地使美國牽入在內。北大西洋公約的目的，猶如業已指出的，乃在保證假如戰爭發生，則各締約國將進行協調的防禦，它們的實際軍事力量和軍事潛力將合併為一個共同的軍略計劃。公約第四條規定凡在公約締約國中之任何一國的領土，獨立或安全遭受威脅的時候，所有公約簽字國就應該進行商討；公約第五條保證對於遭受武裝襲擊的任何公約締約國，即應予以援助。上次的大戰已經明白證明一個侵略國家要達到它的目的，其最佳辦法就是把民主國家逐一剔除，以宣傳及其他策略加以分裂，因此使它們不能進行協調的防禦。北大西洋公約的精義，就是要使這種情形對於公約締約各國不再發生。

這些防衛行動對於美國的安全是具有極大重要性的，但是它們並不在任何方面遮掩公約中所規定的廣泛而具有建設性的安全行動。美國及其人民相信任何國家所能採取的最確切有效的安全行動，就是經由聯合國和其他談判途徑實行合作努力，藉以消弭戰爭以及導致戰爭的條件。這種政策在北大西洋公約的第二條中，曾有明白的說明：

「公約各簽字國將設法加強它們的自由制度，使它們對於自由制度所基的原則獲得更深切的瞭解，並且努力促進穩定和福利的條件，俾對國際和平友好關係的更進一步發展有所貢獻。它們將設法消除它們國際經濟政策上的矛盾，並將鼓勵它們任何兩者之間或者全體之間的經濟合作。」

## 北大西洋公約全文

### 序言：

本條約全體締約國家重申其對於聯合國憲章目標與原則所具之信念，及其對一切民族與一切政府和平相處之願望。

各締約國決心保障其人民之自由，共同命運及文明，以民主原則，個人自由及法治精神為基礎。

各締約國擬促進北大西洋區之安全與福利。

各締約國決心聯合一切，努力於集體防禦及維持和平與安全。

因此，各締約國同意此項北大西洋條約：

### 第一條

各締約國，遵照聯合國憲章之規定，保證以和平之方法，解決任何有關之國際爭執務使國際之和平與安全，及公理，不致遭受危害，並在其國際關係中，避免採用與聯合國目標不符之威脅或武力。

### 第二條

締約國將加強其自由制度，增進對於此種制度所基之原則的瞭解，促進安定與幸福條件，以推進和平與友善之國際關係。締約國應消除其經濟政策之衝突并鼓勵任何締約國或所有締約國之間的經濟合作。

### 第三條

爲能有效達成本約之目標起見，締約國得個別或集體以持續及有效的自助及互助方法，維持并發展其單獨及集體之抵抗武裝攻擊能力。

### 第四條

在任何一締約國認爲凡在領土完整，政治獨立或安全已受威脅時，各締約國得共同商討對策。

### 第五條

締約國承認對於歐洲或北美之締約國之一或數個之武裝攻擊，即係對締約國全體之攻擊，因此，締約國同意於此種武裝攻擊發生時，每一締約國本於聯合國憲章第五十一款所承認之單獨或集體自衛權利，得單獨及會同其他締約國採取必要之行動，協助被攻擊之一國或數國。包括武力之使用，藉以恢復後並維持北大西洋區域之安全。

此等武裝攻擊及因此而採取之一切措施均應立即呈報安全理事會。在安理會已採取恢復并給維持國際和平及安全之必要措施後，此項措施即應終止。

### 第六條

第五條所述對於締約國之一或數國之武裝，攻擊包括對於歐洲北美任何一締約國之領土，對於法國之阿爾及里爾省對於歐洲任何締約國之佔領軍隊，對於北大西洋區域回歸線以北任何一締約國所轄島嶼以及該區內任何一締約國之船舶或飛機之攻擊在內。

## 第七條

本約並不影響，亦不得在任何方面被認為影響締約國中之聯合國會員在聯合國憲章下之權利與義務，以及安全理事會在維持國際和平及安全方面之主要責任。

## 第八條

每一締約國聲明該國與任何其他締約國或與任何某國間目前猶屬有效之國際協定，並不與本約中之規定相抵觸，同時並保證決不締結與本約相抵觸之任何國際協定。

## 第九條

締約各國應各派代表組織一理事會，俾考慮有關履行本約事宜。理事會應如此組織，使其在任何時間均能迅即召開。理事會應設立必要之附屬機關，尤其應立即設立一防務委員會，俾建議關於執行本約第三條與第五條之辦法。

## 第十條

歐洲任何其他國家，凡能促進本約原則並對北大西洋區安全有所貢獻者，經締約各國之一致同意，得邀請其參加本約。

被邀國家一經將其入約文件繳存美利堅合衆國政府，即可成爲本約之一份子。美利堅合衆國將以此種文件之每一繳存情形，通知各締約國。

## 第十一條

本條約須由各締約國遵照其本國之憲法程序，予以批准，並履行條約中之一切規定。批准書須儘速存交美國政府將每次收存之批准書，通知其

他各簽字國。一俟締約國家，包括比利時，加拿大，法國，~~盧森堡~~，~~荷蘭~~，~~英國~~，~~美國~~，大多數已繳存其批准書以後，本條約在此等國家之間，立即開始生效。

## 第十二條

本條約施行十年或十年以後，如經任何一個締約國之請求，各締約國須共同協商，重新檢討本條約，注意屆時影響北大西洋區和平與安全之因素，包括在聯合國憲章下對於維持國際和平與安全之地球性及地方性協議之發展。

## 第十三條

在本約生效廿年後，任何締約國在通知美利堅合衆國政府廢棄本約一年以後，得停止爲本約締約國。美國政府於接獲此種廢棄通知後應轉告其他締約國。

## 第十四條

本約英文與法文一律作準，其正本將保存於美利堅合衆國政府之檔案中，由該政府將正式證明之謄本送交其他締約國。

茲將議定條約，由上列各全權代表簽字，以昭信守。

一九四九年四月 日訂於華盛頓。

## 大西洋公約簽字儀式向歷史最大聽眾廣播

四月四日北大西洋條約舉行簽字儀式，參觀者與無線電聽眾之多，為有史以來所未見。

當此一歷史性之大事，在此間國務院大禮堂展開時，長短波無線電及電視向無數人民（包括鐵幕背後之人民），生動地描述此一盛舉。此外印刷機，電影設備，特約作家及評論家，總之，一切公共報導媒介之代表數百名，均目睹並報告此二小時儀式之每一詳細節目。

一切可能之事均已做到，務使世界各地人民均獲知此項防禦侵略新安全聯盟之目標與範圍。

美國務院以四十三種語言廣播之「美國之音」電台，英國與加拿大之廣播公司，以及美武裝部隊之廣播網，均以短波設備，集中於此一節目。全美國及西歐大多數國家之廣播網亦均轉播此項節目。

「美國之音」電台，在就地報告以後，擬作二十四小時之綜合報導及摘要。

在憲法街上之國務院大禮堂，介於白宮及國會大廈之間，為簽訂條約

之理想地點。該大禮堂高及數層，既長又闊，內有粗大之柱石，直抵光明燦爛之天花板。巨大之燈架更增加其美觀。

該大禮堂建於一九三五年，曾舉行不少全國性及國際性之會議。一九四〇年十月廿九日，此一大禮堂為草擬徵兵法之場所，該徵兵法將數百萬美國人在全國甄別服役制度下送入第二次世界大戰之軍事訓練。

今日十二國簽字國之外長及其大使坐於有天蓋掩覆之壇上，兩旁懸有各國國旗。

條約簽字由各國依照英文字之次序在壇前桃花心木之長桌旁舉行。桌上置自來水鋼筆十二枝，每一簽字人用一枝。

出席者在一千三百人以上，包括特邀之來賓，華盛頓外交團團員，政府高級官員及國會議員約二百人。

國會代表團包括參院外交委員會主席康納利，衆院外交委員會主席季約翰，及該兩團體之其他議員。國會各委員會之主席及少數黨高級議員均被邀出席。

儀式完成後，業經簽字之條約即遵照第十四條之規定，移放在國務院之特別庫房內，該第十四條條文稱：此項文件「須存放在美政府之檔案中。」

該條約用兩種文字繕成。左頁上為英文，右頁上為法文。用紅，白，藍三色絲帶裝訂成冊。

## 簽訂大西洋公約杜魯門演辭全文

杜魯門總統於簽署北大西洋條約時發表演辭，全文如下：

在這個歷史性的時機，我很快樂歡迎各國的外長，這些國家和美國共同組成北大西洋的國家集團。

這個會議的目的是採取第一個步驟，使保障北大西洋國家集團的和平與繁榮的國際協定發生效力。

這是完全適當的事情；深切意識到共同利益的國家自應聯合表示他們維護目前和將來和平局勢的決心。

我們將在這裏做的是一種睦鄰的行為。我們如同一羣家長，居住在同一地區，決定加入一種互相自衛的正式結合，藉以表達共和的利益。

這個條約是一種簡單的文件，這條約上簽字的各國同意遵守聯合國的和平原則，彼此維持友好關係和經濟合作，任何一國的領土或獨立如果受到威脅時，即共同協商，其中任何一國遭受攻擊時即予以援助。

這是一個簡單的文件，但如果在一九一四年和一九三九年早已有了這



大條約，由今日在此間出席的各國予以支持，那末我相信造成第二次世界大戰的侵略行爲早就可以防止了。

今日與會各國皆曾身受這兩次戰爭的慘禍。誠是之故，我們大都參加建立聯合國，聯合國的每一個會員國都有維持國際和平與安全的莊嚴義務。每一國都必須以和平方法解決國際爭端，避免使用武力以威脅任何一國的領土或獨立，並採取任何維護和平的行動，支援聯合國。

我們今天在此重申這一個莊重的誓約，這一個永久的義務。

我們重行獻身於此一義務並提出北大西洋公約，作為實踐此種義務的一個方法。

我們通過這一個公約遵照聯合國憲章的規定，處理我們的國際事務。根據憲章第五十一款，我們運用集體或個別防禦武裝攻擊的自衛權利並遵守安全理事會所採取的維持與恢復國際和平及安全的措置。

在聯合國內，本國及其他各國曾企望設立國際武裝部隊，俾在維護全世界和平中，供聯合國之用。但我們的建立這一種軍隊的努力受到某一個大國的阻撓。

安理會的未能達到一致的協議並不是說我們應當放棄我們的鞏固和平的企圖。

縱使沒有我們所仍然希望的一致協議，我們仍將盡我們最大的努力。

我們的每一點滴的工作將加強全世界的和平機構。

在這個公約中我們想排除侵略與北大西洋區域中的武力的使用，樹立自由。北大西洋地區是過去兩次世界衝突的中心。

這個區域的宣佈反對戰爭將是走向整個世的永久和平的一大步。

有人認為這個公約是環繞北大西洋國家的侵略行爲。

這種論調是絕對謬誤的。

公約對於和平將發生積極的影響，而非消極的影響，其影響所及將不僅限於公約所包括的地帶，尚將廣遍整個世界。公約的締定并非意味簽約國的關懷範圍的縮減。國務卿近經本人授權與指示，最近已明確申述，美國的遵行公約并不表示美國將減少它於其他區域（諸如近東）的安全與福利的關切。我們今天所採取的步驟當能保證舉世的愛好和平人民，并爲我們所渴求的全世界的穩定與和平發展鋪設一條大路。

在以往的年代中各國兩次身受無事生非的侵略。我國政府向人民負責。我們的人民要求這些事情不再重演。

我們在採取步驟以預防對我們的人民的侵略時，并無意侵略他人。如果說我們意圖侵略則不啻誹謗我們的制度并中傷我們的理想與抱負。

在這裏出席的國家都有很久的聯繫，我們都有民主，個人自由和法治

的共同遺產，這些都是和平生活方式的聯繫。在這個公約中，我們僅予以正式承認而已。

我們有這種共同的傳統，因此面臨着共同的問題。我們大部是工業國家，所以我們所面臨的問題就是如何利用近代工藝的力量來促進公衆的利益。

欲順利應付這個問題，我們必須有一個世界，在這個世界中我們不但在自己國內，而且和別的國，能交換我們努力的生產品。我們在偉大的經濟合作努力中，共同建立這種世界，

我們決心共同作，替人民提供更好的生活，而不致犧牲我們正義和人類價值的共同理想。

但如果我們的人民常受侵略的恐懼並因各國個別準備抵禦攻擊而背上負擔，那末我們就無法成功。

在這個公約中，我們希望創生一種抵禦侵略和侵略之恐懼的盾牌——一種堡壘，使我們能進行政府和社會的真正事業，也就是完成我們公民一種更充滿和更幸福的生活事業。

我們對於這種事業的進行，當然方法各不相同。各種政府和經濟制度的不同，正如各種語言和各化的不同。但這種不同對於自由國家志願聯合一起致力於和平的共同目標，並不是真正的阻礙。

我們相信各國可能在人類自由和正義的偉大原則上完成統一，同時在其他方面，則不妨容有人類思想所能產生的最大的不同。

我們對於這種團結的信心，是根據我們在這裏（美國）所得到的經驗而產生出來的，因為美國就是靠了我們這個大陸上的種種資源以及來自許多地方的人民所形成的一個國家。

組織種種不同人民和文化的方法和警察國家所使用的方法，形成一個直接的對照，因為警察國家是企圖以同業的信念和同樣的武力統治硬加到每一個人的頭上，以謀獲得團結的。

我們經由各國的自願結合，獻身於一項共同目的，籍以獲致國際團結。我們相信這種方法，乃是依我們這個困苦世界獲得秩序的一個有效步驟。

在我們看來，戰爭並不是無可避免的。我們並不相信歷史中盲目的潮流可以隨便把人類掠到這一邊或者另一邊。在我們自己的時代中，我們曾經看到勇敢的人克服似乎無可克服的障礙，克服似乎壓倒一切的力量。具有勇氣和遠見的人尚能決定他們自己的命運。他們可以選擇奴役或者自由，戰爭或者和平。

我們對於他們將加以選擇的東西，毫無懷疑。今天我們在這種簽訂的條約，乃是它們將遵循的途徑的一個明證。

假如在今天有任何確定的事情，假如在將來有任何無可避免的事情，這就是世界人民爭取自由與和平的意志。

## 國務卿艾契遜聲明全文

參加簽訂北大西洋公約之十二國外長，曾分別發表演說，美國務卿艾契遜首先發言，全文如下：

本人代表美國政府和人民，熱烈歡迎各國外長到我們的國家和我們的首都來，他們是聚集在這裏準備簽訂北大西洋公約的。我們對於他們到這裏來，感到非常榮幸，因為他們個人對和平會有很多作為，同時他們又是許多國家和人民的代表，而這些國家和人民對於人類的幸福和進步是會有很重要的貢獻的。

我們集合在一起藉以完成一項莊嚴的工作。參與草擬這個公約的人，必須讓別人來判斷這一行動的重要性和價值。他們不能估量這個成就，但是他們能夠並且應該說明他們內心的目的。

我想，他們的目的猶如繪畫星系圖的人一樣，並不是要創問他們所記錄下來的東西，所是要把事實記載下來，俾以指導給予人類，不管事實是好是壞。對於尋求和平的人，這是獲得庇護和力量的一個指導，這是在困難中的一個極現實的幫助。對於踏上侵略之路的人，這是一個警告，那就是假如觸犯的事情一定要來的話，那麼發動這種觸犯的人就應該遭殃。

因為在這裏所指出的現實，並不是在這裏創造出來的。這個現實，是出席簽字各國儀式各國的信念，精神和利益的一種團結。這是許多世紀

來的共同思想和許多單純勇敢男女的鮮血的一種產物。

這個現實，目的並不在共同爭取一項目標或者爭取控制別國的一種權力。它的目的，乃在於確認道德和精神價值，這種價值對於他們所設想的生活是具有指導作用，假如一旦為事勢所迫，他們就準備以一切可能方法去維護這種價值。這種情形甚至在目前這個世紀中已經表現了一次。

使這些事實為大家所知道，乃是一樁好的事情。這個條約的目的就是公佈它們並且使他們獲得形式上的表現。

今日在這裏所採取的行動，將使一切人民源源獲得更多的好處。由於許多意志結合於一個目的之下的原故，對於將來可以產生新的惡感。新的實力和勇氣將積聚起來，這不但對於大西洋國家的人民是如此，並且對於世界上設法為他們自己以及同樣為別人尋求自由與和平的一切人民，也是一樣。

## 十二國外長解釋 大西洋公約目標

十二國家外長今日在簽署北大西洋公約前，代表其本國民眾解釋各國的動機與目的。各外長指明，任何一國的侵略行動定將遭遇全體的聯合與巨大力量的抵抗，他們已決心締造一個力能保證全球人民的和平與安全的聯合國。

參觀簽字儀式者有各國外交使節美國官員國會議員以及其他等一千三百餘人。各國外長由艾契遜介紹一一致辭。以下為各外長演說的重要部份。

### 比利時外長史巴克

「聯合國憲章倡議普遍的集體安全的原則。今天對於這個原則感到憤

怒與憂傷的人又看到一個較小規模的制度。這個制度有着同樣的目標并遵守同樣的原則。值此公約簽署之時，這些人將發現若干值得思考的問題，他們目睹聯合國的論壇已變成宣傳的工具，激烈與侮蔑的言詞常替代了對於合作的重要的需求。他們或將引以為憾。再看否決權的濫用與若干國家的拒絕合作已推翻了安理會的決定以及聯大會的建議，他們也將感到遺憾。

但聯合國仍不失為我們最大的希望。

「我們繼續企求并相信杜有一天所有國家能在這個世界組織中獲得他們的安全，一切政府在認識了國際法律高於本身意志的一點之後，就能將聯合國造成一個我們所一向希望的偉大的工具。

「但在這一天以前，沒有人能反對我們團結與我們在世界一角組織起來的權利。在這一個角落裏，所有國家已最後并全部摒棄一切的侵略戰爭的觀念，但他們不願有一天遭受攻擊而缺乏自衛準備。

北大西洋公約是對於西方文明前途的信心的表現。西方文明以公民與政治自由，及對於人類的尊重為基礎決不致於冰消瓦解。

「北大西洋公約以亙古未有的最有力的防禦措施來保衛這一個文明與和平」。

### 加拿大外長皮爾遜

「北大西洋公約是在恐懼與挫折中長成，恐懼是共產主義的侵略與顯

覆政府的政策，以及這些政策的對於我們本身和平安全與幸福的影響；所謂挫折，是指我們努力使聯合國發揮普遍安全制度的效力時，所受到共黨國家的固執的阻撓。這個條約雖生長於恐懼與挫折之中，但爲了生存却必須獲取積極的社會經濟與政治的成就，這種成就在時間上將超過目前它所出生的危急時代；空間上則將超過它現所包括的地理區域。……

「我們的北大西洋集團有十二個國家三億五千萬人民……北大西洋集團是世界集團的一部份，當我們維護和平逐漸強大時，一切的自由人民與我們同趨強大，今天的世界是如此狹小與互相依賴，我們已不能再採行區域性的孤立主義。

「這個公約是人類自戰後世界的一無成就的情況中進展到一個良好與安全地點的一大步。」

### 丹麥外長賴斯茂遜

「根據本條約第一條，簽約國家應以和平方法，解決任何國際糾紛。正如最近有一美國高員所稱的，此項保證以各簽約國家的性格與政策爲後盾。此種制度的性質足使舊意侵略的計劃，實際上成爲不能之事。

「北大西洋條約具有一種含意：重申各國在聯合國憲章下所作的保證故該條約之用意在於加強聯合國的制度。此一條約構成普遍安全基本組織的基石。」

### 法國外長許曼

「法國熱烈希望聯合國有一日勢力強大，足以保證世界的和平與安全



，而使個別的主動，成爲不必要之事。

「但同時負責保證其國家獨立的政府，無權以其信託於不完全的證據中。政府若果於失保持和平的機會或忽略可能的協助，實爲一種犯罪的過失。

「法國唯一關心之事爲使其本國領土或任何愛好和平的國家領土，絕不致受人侵犯。我們的目標不能僅以戰勝爲限，此種戰爭可能強迫加諸吾人，此種戰爭，即使吾人能獲勝，亦將使歐洲遭受破壞而居民大爲減少。吾人必需和衷共濟，對峙強大，以對障和平而避免此種戰爭。

「吾人團結一致，意在提供一種共同與相互的保護。吾人須預先阻礙侵略，使侵略者感覺更大的危險。惟有可能的侵略者能合法自認爲本條約的對象。我們的良心，清白無疵。法國簽署此一公約，鄭重宣告其維持和平的絕就決心。」

### 冰島外長貝奈狄克遜

「我們希望完全明白地表明一點，那就是我們屬於並且願意屬於自由國家的這個自由團體，後者現在正式成立之中……

「我們都面臨同樣的危險。在我們這個距離已經消失的世界中，和平的確是每一個國家所關切的。同樣的破壞份子在世界各地從事他們邪惡的工作。我們正在爲和平努力而他們都在各地指責我們爲戰爭敗子……

「但是使我們團結在一起的不但是這種對世界和平與人類幸福的威脅

……。我們無論就個人或者國家講，都甯願犧牲我們的性命而不願犧牲我們的自由。」

### 義大利外長史柴福

「假如在一九一四年和一九三九年時這個條約存在的話，就不致於發生戰爭，以致使破壞從義大利蔓延到英國，從法國蔓延到俄國……

「歐洲在獲悉這個條約將在自由美國土地上簽訂之後應該感到欣喜，這並不是沒有重要性的。它使每一個人明瞭海洋正在變成小湖，而且使每一個人明瞭在團結我們一切人以謀挽救我們最寶貴的共同遺產即和平與民主的需之前，甚至最不同的歷史淵源，至多也不過是一種瑣屑之事，無關宏旨的。

「假如公約各簽字國將能在公約範圍之內和公約範圍之外表現歐洲滲透的歷史已經給予他們一個至高無上的教訓，那就是假如一國的全部隣國不能安穩地向繁榮安全的目標走去，那樣這個國家在其繁榮與和平之中也不能感覺安全，假如公約各簽字國能夠如此，那麼北大西洋公約將成爲人類歷史上最高貴和最意味深長的事件之一。」

### 盧森堡外長貝克：

「北大西洋公約是布魯塞協定的合理的補充物」。

「像布魯塞協定一樣，北大西洋公約目標一方面是建立一種勢力的均衡，藉以防止戰爭的爆發，另一方面是對於任何以締約國的一國或全體國對象的侵略戰爭，取得勝利。

「憑着馬歇爾計劃對歐洲所予的援助，大西洋公約開啓了歐洲民主爲家和新世界彼此密切團結的新時代。

「我們這些國家命這種不能抵抗的團結最好的證明是美國打破了具有兩個世紀歷史的傳統而締結一種承平時代的軍事聯盟。這對於美國是一種具有非常歷史重要性的事件，而對於歐洲也是極其重要的。

### 荷蘭外長史蒂克

「反對的人高喊這個條約目的是在於戰爭。這是一個謊言。它的目標是和平，不是追求一個新的戰爭，而是現在和今後的和平。

「我們對於北大西洋區的安全極有關係，自今以後將團結一致決心抵抗侵略，正如我們團結一致決不攻擊他人一樣。

「那末這就是本條約不可動搖的道德基礎。我們將以清白的良心，當着上帝的面前簽字。

「我們想到真理的終於佔優勢，北大西洋是一條統一的路而不是分裂的障礙物的時候，就感覺到喜樂。我們想到北美和西歐已找到致力於和平的共同基礎的時候，就感覺到喜樂。我們今日更趨近免除恐懼的自由。」

### 挪威外長蘭球

聯合國今天不能給我們或其他國家以我們所希望的安全。我們都知道造成這個現象的理由。事實如此，我們不能視若無睹？

在這種情況之下本國不得不暫時追尋更大的安全措施——超過聯合國所能給予會員國的安全措施。……

我們確信：公約的簽字國認為維護和平，與自由是他們的至高無上的目標。他們將認為任何侵略的觀念都違反他們的最原始的本性與最基本的政策。

我們的公約是和平的公約。它並不針對任一國。它只是針對侵略。

一俟聯合國的會員國能共同努力，遵照聯合國創立者的宗旨，恪守憲章的意義與精神，使聯合國發揮并克盡其職責，則類此的受城協定即不像今日之有迫切的需要，最後且將全部消滅。

極大多數的挪威民衆深信大西洋公約的簽署是一件要舉，它對於歷史的道路，將發生決定性的影響，并將加速理想的一天的到來，在那時所有國家都能團結一致爲和平與自由而努力。

### 葡萄牙外長達瑪泰

「葡萄牙希望表明的一點，那就是認爲北大西洋公約不但是防禦和國際合作的一種工具，鑒于這個公約內在的理由和目的，它並且是維護和平的一種寶貴工具。她認爲對於一點自己深感欣幸，那就是她能夠發現作爲她外交關係依據的一切條約中，從沒有一個條約是和這個公約的文字或者精神相衝突。」

### 聯合王國外長貝文

吾國人民並不崇尚戰爭，但是假如侵略威脅發生的時候，他們是不會畏縮的。

「這個公約乃是一羣思想相同的國家決心永不互相作戰的具體證據。

「此外，這些國家並且和其他許多同樣永久不願意恣意從事侵略的人民，聯繫在一起。

「今日不但是簽訂這個公約的日子，並且是一個可以作嚴肅深思的日子，我還希望說這是崇讚和平與抵抗侵略的日子……

「今日將以極大的安慰帶給千百萬人民。民主政治終于不再是一連串孤立的單位了。它已經變成了一個決心實現其重大目的而結合在一起的有機體。

「但是這並不是最後的目的。

「我們將竭盡一切努力以雜成立一個真正世界性的聯合國，而這一群國家對於這個世界機構的貢獻，將不是低微的。」

## 杜魯門請參院批准大西洋條約咨文

杜魯門總統四月十二日向參院提出咨文，請求參院批准北大西洋條約咨文內容如下：

『致美國參議院：

『余今以一九四九年四月四日在華盛頓所簽訂之北大西洋條約副本，連同國務卿之報告，送達參院致慮。

『此一條約表示美國人民願望和平與安全，並願獲得繼續在自由中生活與工作之機會。

『本國之種種事件已教導吾人不能單獨完成和平。世界之距離已縮小。在吾人東西兩邊之海洋不再能保護吾人抵抗外來之暴力與侵略。

『吾人已在血與衝突之中獲得教訓：吾人如欲獲致和平，則吾人必須為和平而工作。

『此項知識已使吾人決心竭盡一切力量，以保證維持和平。吾人並非較率完成此種決議，亦非不明瞭其中所需之努力。但吾人不能規避吾人在世界所處地位之重大責任。近年來本國之每一行動已表示我人民絕對多數之意志杜即美國之實力與勢力，必須用於和平，正義與自由之目標。

「吾國人民抱此決心，若一九四五年竭誠接受聯合國憲章。自是時起吾人即不斷努力以期通過聯合國達成國際協調，并使聯合國能成爲執行其艱鉅任務之更有效工具。

上年吾人着手與歐洲自由國家進行一項偉大之合作事業，以恢復歐洲經濟之活力。歐洲經濟之復元，對於吾國及世界之繁榮與和平極關重要。

北大西洋公約更進一步證明吾人謀取和平世界之決心。上年六月參院即認爲吾國應於承平時代之聯合國憲章範圍內，與西半球範圍以外之其他國家訂立集體協定發生連繫，以保障和平及安全。

公約與參院行動係屬符合。締約國家遵照聯合國憲章第五十一條，運用其集體或單獨之抵禦武裝攻擊之自衛權利，并遵守安理會意志，維持與恢復國際和平及安全之措施。

公約說明美國及北大西洋地區國家之決心。公約各國均已決意全力維持公正和平并於和平破裂時，採取彼等所認爲必要之行動。

旨在保證和平及小國權利之莊嚴協定，已逐一遭受破壞，而此諸國家人民被剝奪自由，並被壓迫。凡此均爲北大西洋國家所目睹。

公約各國已決心不再一一重蹈覆轍！。

「簽訂公約國家具有共同之民主傳統，個人自由及法治。北大西洋區域之美洲國家之傳統及對自由之愛好均直接淵源於北大西洋區域之歐洲國家。吾人共同努力謀取自由制度之進取性的發展，吾人共享道義與物質力量，自戰爭創痕中，致力目前之重建工作。

締約各國之安全與福利有賴於所有締約國家之安全與福利。吾人中無一能單獨獲致經濟繁榮與軍事安全。無一能單獨獲致經濟繁榮與軍事安全。無一能單獨保證自由之長久不墮。

但吾人之聯合力量對於世界各地自由人類之前途實具有重大意義。蓋該約已清晰證明：語言文字政治經濟制度之歧異并力不足以阻礙献身於人類自由與公義偉大原則之國家之有效組合也。

「此一條約僅為趨向和平途上之一個步驟，但此為一長足之步驟。僅憑單獨行動，無論如何重要，決不能完成和平。吾人必須繼續忍耐謹慎工作，視當前之環境以實際現實之步驟向前邁進，建立健全與堅固之和平機構。

「余深信北大西洋條約即為此種步驟，以吾人今日所面臨之現實情形為基礎，而以聯合國憲章與美國之憲法為範圍。



「深信北大西洋條約爲一重大之進步，以求實踐美國人民無法克服之意志，余請求參院提供意見，並加以批准。

杜魯門

一九四九年四月十二日白宮。」

## A TREATY FOR COLLECTIVE DEFENSE

**T**HE CONVERSATIONS begun in Washington in the summer of 1948 among representatives of the governments of Belgium, Canada, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States have resulted in agreement on the specific terms of a treaty providing for a collective security arrangement among nations of the North Atlantic area.

The Pact has its roots in the common heritage and civilization of the peoples living on both shores of the North Atlantic Ocean. These peoples have ties not only of cultural background but of a common, ingrained faith in the dignity and worth of the individual, in the principles of democracy, and in the rule of law. Two world wars have taught them that their security is inextricably linked together, that an attack on any one of them is in effect an attack on all.

Developments in Europe since the ending of hostilities in 1945 have revealed the true dimensions of the task of restoring economic health and political stability to postwar Europe. At the same time these developments have demonstrated, in emergency after emergency, the identical security and economic interests shared by the democratic countries of the North Atlantic community. From the problems of immediate postwar relief to the economic crisis disclosed by the bitter winter of 1947, and from attempted Soviet intimidation of Greece and Turkey to the Communist overthrow of democracy in Czechoslovakia, each emergency has required practical action from the democratic nations. In turn, each action has created closer ties of cooperation and has emphasized the need for joint

defense on a continuing and intimate basis. The purposes and proposed method of such a defense have now been made public in the text of the North Atlantic Pact.

*Purposes and Objectives:* The North Atlantic Pact is a brief and simple document. The powerful impact it can be expected to have on world affairs derives from three factors: (1) the stature and strength of the states which have indicated their intentions of becoming members of the arrangement; (2) the precarious world security situation to which it will bring a corrective influence; and (3) the developing unity of the North Atlantic community, historically evident throughout more than a half century of increasing interdependence but here formally recognized for the first time.

The preamble of the Pact declares that:

"The Parties to this Treaty reaffirm their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all governments.

"They are determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law.

"They seek to promote stability and well-being in the North Atlantic area.

"They are resolved to unite their efforts for collective defense and for the preservation of peace and security."

*Commitments Under the Pact:* In the first article of the treaty the Parties specifically reaffirm their obligations under the Charter to settle any international disputes in which they may be involved, not only with each other but with any nation, by peaceful means and in such a manner that peace, security, and justice are not endangered and to refrain from the threat or use of force

in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

In subsequent articles the Parties undertake the following commitments:

1. To strengthen their free institutions, promote conditions of stability and well-being, and encourage economic collaboration;

2. To maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack;

3. To consult if the territorial integrity, political independence, or security of any one of the parties is threatened; and

4. To consider an armed attack on any one of the Parties as an attack against all and, consequently, to take such individual and collective action, including the use of armed force, as each Party considers necessary to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area.

By entering into the North Atlantic Pact the United States would reaffirm its determination expressed in the United Nations Charter to participate in "effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression". It would undertake, in cooperation with the other Parties to the treaty, to maintain and develop adequate capacity to resist armed attack. By entering into this arrangement it would recognize the fact that any armed attack upon any nation party to the treaty would so threaten the national security of the United States as to be in effect an attack upon the United States.

Under the United States Constitution the Congress alone has the power to declare war. This constitutional question, however, does not present a real obstacle to the Pact. The United States certainly can obligate itself in advance to take such action, including the use of armed force, as it deems necessary to meet armed attack affecting

its national security. The fact that the fulfilment of a treaty obligation—as far as a declaration of war is concerned—depends upon the action of Congress does not inhibit the United States from undertaking the commitment. It is believed that the spirit underlying the North Atlantic Pact, as well as its language, correctly expresses and makes clear the determination of the American people to resist such attack by whatever means may be necessary.

*Armed Attack:* Article 5 of the Pact comprises a solemn engagement that each Party will exercise honest and genuine judgment in determining what action is necessary for the restoration of peace when another Party has been attacked. The purpose of the Pact is to strengthen the peace by making clear that the Parties are prepared to do their utmost, individually or together, to maintain it and to act together if any one of them is attacked. The Parties to the Pact believe that they have the most to lose and the least to gain from another conflict. They are convinced that, while defeat may mean complete disaster, even the victor in a modern war loses more than it gains. They are convinced that war itself must be prevented. The North Atlantic Pact is their joint effort, in keeping with the spirit and obligations of the Charter of the United Nations, to insure peace and prevent war. It is an agreement among nations which have given clear proof that they do not wish war, that they wish only to live in peace and security, and that they will defend themselves when attacked.

The clear intention of the Parties to the Pact to take united action, coupled with the preparation of the means to do so, should remove the danger of miscalculation by any potential aggressor that he could succeed in overcoming them one by one. If a similar clear indication of the firm intention of the free nations had been given early enough in the course of Nazi aggressions, the Axis

Powers might well have stopped before they precipitated a war in 1939. Faced with sufficient firmness, potential aggressors have always paused. Firmness does not in itself provide solutions of the underlying problems, but it does increase the readiness of ambitious nations to seek solutions by negotiations rather than by force.

*The North Atlantic Area:* The mutual assistance provisions of article 5 of the North Atlantic Pact will apply to the territory of any of the Parties in Europe, North America, and the Algerian departments of France; and to the occupational forces of any Party in Europe, as well as to the Atlantic Ocean north of the Tropic of Cancer. It may be enlarged as other states become Parties to the agreement.

*Membership in the Pact:* The signers of the Pact were Belgium, Canada, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, the United Kingdom, the United States, Denmark, Iceland, Italy, and Portugal. In addition, the text of the proposed treaty provides that the Parties may, by unanimous agreement, invite any other "European state in a position to further the principles of this Treaty and to contribute to the security of the North Atlantic area" to become a Party to the Pact.

Various considerations make it impossible to contemplate all or part of Germany now becoming a member of the North Atlantic Pact. The question of Spain's participation in the Pact is a matter for decision by all the members, most of whom do not now consider that Spain should be included.

If any other European countries which do not become original signatories indicate an interest in the North Atlantic Pact, inviting them to accede would be a decision to be taken by the members as a group in conformity with article 10.

*Organization:* The Pact provides for the setting up of a council on which each of the Parties will be represented and directs that the council "shall be so organized as to be able to meet promptly at any time". The council itself is required to "set up such subsidiary bodies as may be necessary; in particular it shall establish immediately a defense committee which shall recommend measures for the implementation of Articles 3 and 5."

*Duration of the Agreement:* The North Atlantic Pact contains no time limit. It provides that after 10 years, or at any time thereafter, the Parties may review the treaty to determine whether any changes would be desirable in the light of the international situation at the time and the progress made in developing, through the United Nations, methods of assuring international security on both a universal and a regional basis. It provides also that after 20 years any nation may withdraw from the treaty after giving one year's notice.

After ratification through the constitutional processes of the individual countries, instruments of ratification will be deposited with the United States Government. The treaty will come into force when the ratifications of the majority of the signatories have been deposited. For those states which become Parties at a later date, the treaty will come into effect on the date of the deposit of their individual ratifications.

## THE ATLANTIC PACT AND THE UNITED NATIONS

*The Pact and the United Nations Charter:* The Atlantic Pact is a collective self-defense arrangement among countries of the North Atlantic area who, while banding together to resist armed attack against any one of them, specifically reaffirm their obligations under the Charter to settle their disputes with any nations solely by peaceful means. It is aimed at coordinating the exercise of the right of self-defense specifically recognized in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. It is designed, therefore, to fit precisely into the framework of the United Nations and to assure practical efforts for maintaining peace and security in harmony with the Charter.

Article 51 of the United Nations Charter recognizes that the Member Governments have "the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security." Such measures, however, are to be reported immediately to the Security Council, and do not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council "to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security."

Article 5 of the Treaty specifically provides that measures taken by the Parties as a result of an armed attack on one of them shall immediately be reported to the Security Council and shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security.



The primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security rests with the Security Council. The obligations undertaken by the Parties to the Atlantic Pact do not affect their obligations under the Charter and are subject to present and future obligations with respect to actions taken by the United Nations "to maintain or restore international peace and security". Article 7 of the Pact explicitly states: "This Treaty does not affect, and shall not be interpreted as affecting, in any way the rights and obligations under the Charter of the Parties which are members of the United Nations, or the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security." In other words, everything done by the Parties under the Treaty must be done in accordance with their obligations under the Charter, the provisions of which, wherever applicable, are paramount.

*Comparison With the Rio Pact:* While the North Atlantic Pact and the Rio Pact are both collective arrangements within the framework of the United Nations, they differ in certain respects. They are similar in that an armed attack against one of the Parties is to be considered an armed attack against all the Parties, and both provide for consultation in the event of any situation threatening the security of the Parties. The chief differences are these: (1) The Rio Pact contains voting provisions with respect to the decision of the organ of consultation, this organ being the Meetings of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics which have ratified the Pact, or the Governing Board of the Pan American Union which may act provisionally as an organ of consultation until a Meeting of Ministers can take place. The Atlantic Pact does not contain such voting requirements. (2) The Rio Pact specifies the measures which the organ of consultation may agree upon. Each party of the Atlantic Pact

agrees to take "individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area." (3) The Rio Pact has specific provision for procedures to be followed in the case of conflict between Parties to the Pact. The Atlantic Pact does not contain such a provision.

In contrast to both the Rio and Atlantic Pacts, the mutual assistance treaties the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has made with her satellites are bilateral in character and by their language are directed primarily against renewal of German aggression. The way in which these arrangements are related to the United Nations Charter is not clear. They contain no specific reference to Article 51 of the Charter, and the connection with the United Nations is given in vague and generalized phrasing. The Bulgarian-U.S.S.R. treaty of March 18, 1948, for example, merely states that: "The present Treaty will be implemented in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations Organization."

*Added Strength to the United Nations:* The Atlantic Pact is designed to help bring about world conditions which will permit the United Nations to function as contemplated at the San Francisco conference. The expectation that the cooperation among the Great Powers pledged during the war and reflected in the Charter would be continued has not been realized. The most important of the peace settlements have not been agreed upon, and, largely because of Soviet obstruction and abuse of the veto, the United Nations has not yet become so fully effective in achieving collective security as had been hoped.

Since the signing of the Charter it has become progressively clearer that serious misconceptions prevail in the minds of the leaders of the Soviet Union concerning Western civilization and concerning what is possible and

what is impossible in the relations between the Soviet Union and the world at large. A major contribution which the United Nations and which United States foreign policy can make is to dispel these misconceptions by means consistent with the Charter.

In the field of international relations efforts of the Western powers to reach agreements providing genuine solutions for many of the most important postwar problems have thus far proved fruitless because of Soviet intransigence. Nonetheless, the Parties to the North Atlantic Pact solemnly and specifically reaffirm their obligation under the Charter to settle any international dispute by peaceful means and in such a manner that peace, security, and justice are not endangered. In the Pact they pledge themselves anew to strive toward that end.

The North Atlantic Pact speaks in clearly understandable language. It defines the security of the North Atlantic area and the consequences of infringement upon that security. It should thereby enhance the likelihood of reaching peaceful solutions to pending problems by making clear the consequences of resort to force.

Under existing conditions the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter will be advanced exactly to the extent that the Pact may be able to strengthen the security of the peoples in the North Atlantic area. Its relation to the objectives of the United Nations Charter was summed up in these terms by Warren R. Austin, United States Ambassador to the United Nations:

"The North Atlantic pact provides most persuasive evidence that aggression is unwise and that peaceful collaboration is the course that should henceforth be adopted.

"Emphasis should be placed on the character of the action that is proposed. The aim is to discourage aggres-

sion by showing a firm determination to resist armed attack. Its character is defensive. Its object is peace. . . .

"The use of force provided for by this pact is of the same character as that provided for by the United Nations Charter; namely, to prevent war. It promises prompt resistance by interposing collective force against an aggressor nation.

"Conclusion of the North Atlantic pact would reduce the likelihood of war. It would increase the prospects of peace. It would help us turn to a major task of the United Nations—the substitution of pacific settlements for armed conflict."

## THE ATLANTIC PACT AND UNITED STATES POLICIES

*President Truman's "Point Three":* President Truman's Inaugural Address was both a statement of American principles and a program of action, a reaffirmation of the policies which have guided the United States in world affairs and a selection of the means to be used to make those policies most effective. The four major courses of action he announced are dependent one upon the other and all of them depend upon the day-to-day execution of the whole body of United States foreign policy which expresses the character, the way of life and the intent of the American people. The principles which have led to the great actions of the United States in the past are those which now give power and moral substance to the cooperation the United States looks forward to establishing with the other countries of the North Atlantic area. The people of the United States, the President declared:

"...believe that all men have a right to equal justice under law and equal opportunity to share in the common good. We believe that all men have the right to freedom of thought and expression...."

"The American people desire, and are determined to work for, a world in which all nations and all peoples are free to govern themselves as they see fit and to achieve a decent and satisfying life. Above all else, our people desire, and are determined to work for, peace on earth—a just and lasting peace—based on genuine agreement freely arrived at by equals."

The third of the four major courses of United States action outlined by President Truman was directed squarely at a peace "based on genuine agreement freely arrived at by equals." Principle and method were tied clearly together.

"...we will strengthen freedom-loving nations against the dangers of aggression.

"We are now working out with a number of countries a joint agreement designed to strengthen the security of the North Atlantic area. Such an arrangement would take the form of a collective defense arrangement within the terms of the United Nations Charter.

"We have already established such a defense pact for the Western Hemisphere by the treaty of Rio de Janeiro.

"The primary purpose of these agreements is to provide unmistakable proof of the joint determination of the free countries to resist armed attack from any quarter. Each country participating in these arrangements must contribute all it can to the common defense.

"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."

*Cooperation for World Peace:* The United States has vigorously supported the United Nations and the related agencies. In his Inaugural Address President Truman stated again the determination of the United States to continue to search for ways to strengthen their authority and increase their effectiveness. This determination has led and will continue to lead to practical action—aid to the war devastated areas, aid to Greece and Turkey, the effort to secure agreement on the international control of atomic energy, the European Recovery Program, cooperation in establishing the Organization of American States, the proposal for a cooperative world program of

technical assistance, and the joint action in protecting the security of the North Atlantic area. These actions are based on the assumption that each Member of the United Nations is obligated to observe in all of its relations with other countries the principles it pledged itself to support when it signed the Charter.

*Security Arrangements:* United States policy recognizes that the United Nations is not yet the perfected instrument of world security. The United Nations was founded on the premise of Great Power cooperation. Its structure is therefore such that, if any one Great Power is unwilling to cooperate, it can seriously impede efforts for peace within the organization. Soviet obstruction in the United Nations, with excessive use of the veto, and Soviet failure to live up to its obligations under the Charter have prompted Members which are active in support of the purposes and principles of the Charter to take steps to assure the freedom and independence of certain Members of the United Nations. The United States has taken part in some of these actions and has given support, both moral and material, to others. President Truman's message to Congress on March 17, 1948, referred specifically to the Brussels Pact:

"...This development deserves our full support. I am confident that the United States will, by appropriate means, extend to the free nations the support which the situation requires. I am sure that the determination of the free countries of Europe to protect themselves will be matched by an equal determination on our part to help them to do so."

This policy of support was given a broader context three months later when on June 11, 1948, the United States Senate, by an overwhelming vote, recommended:

"Progressive development of regional and other collective arrangements for individual and collective self-

defense in accordance with the purposes, principles, and provisions of the Charter.

“Association of the United States, by constitutional process, with such regional and other collective arrangements as are based on continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, and as affect its national security.

“Contributing to the maintenance of peace by making clear its determination to exercise the right of individual or collective self-defense under Article 51 should any armed attack occur affecting its national security.”

World Wars I and II demonstrate that the security of the United States is directly related to the security of Western Europe and that the nations on both sides of the North Atlantic are bound together by a natural community of interests. The Atlantic Pact is a formal acknowledgment of this relationship and reflects their conviction that an armed attack can be prevented only by making clear in advance their determination collectively to resist such an attack if it should occur. Such a collective security arrangement is necessary, in the view of the United States, to protect the North Atlantic community and its own security.

By enabling its members to confront a potential aggressor with preponderant power—military, economic, and spiritual—the Atlantic Pact will help to restore the confidence and sense of security which are essential for full economic and political stability. Its political, psychological, and military values are each important and, in fact, inseparable. By reducing the chances of war, by increasing confidence and stability, and by providing the basis for effective collective defense should it be necessary, the Pact can aid materially in establishing in Western Europe the atmosphere necessary for economic recovery and bring closer the fuller life which is possible



in a cooperative world society adjusted to the peaceful uses of modern scientific and technical advances.

The ability of freedom-loving peoples to preserve their independence, in the face of totalitarian threats, depends upon their determination to do so. That determination, in turn, depends upon the development of healthy political and economic life and a genuine sense of security. A belief in this power of self-determination led the United States to embark upon a policy of assisting Greece and Turkey through the Greek and Turkish Aid Program, and later, the European countries through the European Recovery Program. The United States is now contemplating entry into the North Atlantic Pact as a means of giving effective support in the area of collective security to the purposes and principles of the United Nations as set forth in the Charter. If the American people approve this step, the government's objective will be the same as the one on which United States policies now converge, the restoration to international society of the conditions essential to the effective operation of the machinery of the United Nations and the progressive attainment of the objectives stated in the United Nations Charter. In the words of President Truman:

"We are moving on with other nations to build an even stronger structure of international order and justice. We shall have as our partners countries which, no longer solely concerned with the problem of national survival, are now working to improve the standards of living of all their people.

"Slowly but surely we are weaving a world fabric of international security and growing prosperity."

## THE ATLANTIC PACT AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE

A military assistance program is now being considered by the executive branch of the Government. This program, another measure for securing peace for the United States and other peace-loving nations, envisages aid to the members of the Pact as well as other friendly states of the free world. As President Truman stated to the Congress in March 1947: "I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures. . . . Totalitarian regimes imposed upon free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States." Since May 1947, military assistance has been provided to several countries under this policy.

While the North Atlantic Pact does not expressly commit the United States to furnish military assistance to the other Parties of the Pact, the decision to do so by the United States would be one way in which this nation could logically contribute to the mutual aid concept expressed in Article 3 of the Pact. It is not intended, however, that one nation should carry on its shoulders the entire burden of maintenance of the security of the North Atlantic area. The United States is one of the contributors to this effort. The United States is fully aware that it does not have available unlimited supplies and that it is essential that its own armed forces be adequately equipped. Allocation of such military equipment as is avail-

able for transfer to other countries must be made in such a manner as will serve the over-all security interests of the United States.

In accordance with the principle of self-help and mutual aid, the other members of the Pact have already taken action to further the security of the North Atlantic area. Their efforts toward reestablishing sound economies are a vital provision of self-help in the security arrangements. The military budgets already carried by many of these countries, despite the tremendous load of economic recovery expenditures which they are undertaking, are an added expression of their intention of helping themselves and of not relying solely or even principally on United States assistance to maintain their own security and that of the North Atlantic area.

## THE PACT AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

*Economic and Political Cooperation:* The North Atlantic Pact is made possible by the strides the Western nations of Europe have taken toward economic recovery and toward economic, political, and military cooperation. The core of the economic recovery effort is the European Recovery Program and the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), composed of the 16 countries receiving American aid through the United States Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA). The 16 countries in the OEEC and represented on its Council are the United Kingdom, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, and Turkey. Western Germany also participates fully in the OEEC. The Charter of the OEEC pledges the continuing effort of these countries to increase production, modernize industry, stabilize their finances, and balance their accounts with the outside world in order to make their full contribution to world economic security. Lines of action to increase cooperation through 1952 have been prepared. Support and aid to this integration has also come from the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, of which the United States is a member.

The progress toward economic cooperation has been paralleled by moves toward a closer political integration of Western Europe. The outstanding instance is the Brussels Pact signed on March 17, 1948. The Brussels Treaty System, or "Western Union" as it is sometimes called, originated in a speech delivered by British Foreign Secretary Bevin in the House of Commons on January 22,

1948. Mr. Bevin stated that the concept of the unity of Europe was accepted by most people, but that the question was whether it should be achieved by the domination of one great power using police-state methods or by mutual cooperation and assistance. He believed the time ripe for a consolidation of Western Europe and proposed the linking by treaty of the United Kingdom, France, and the Benelux countries (Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg) as the "nucleus of a Western European unit" which would include other countries of free Europe.

*Military Cooperation:* The Brussels treaty provides that the five member countries shall give "all military and other aid and assistance in their power" to a contracting state that is the object of armed attack in Europe. The Consultative Council set up by the treaty established a Permanent Military Committee of high ranking military experts and also arranged for periodic meetings of the Ministers of Defense of the member countries. The Permanent Military Committee was given the task of planning an integrated defense organization and a common defense policy which would coordinate the military forces and resources of the five countries. Since July 1948, United States military representatives have been participating in a non-member status in the work of the committee.

In September 1948 the five Ministers of Defense approved an integrated military command organization headed by Viscount Montgomery, as chairman of the Commanders in Chief of the Western European Ground Forces, British Air Marshal Sir James Robb as Commander in Chief of the Air Forces, and French Vice-Admiral Robert Jaujard as naval "Flag Officer" of the Committee. In October 1948 the Consultative Council approved the common defense policy, based on the Brussels treaty objectives and on the United Nations Charter. The Permanent

Military Committee is currently coordinating the military resources of the five countries in a supply program which is expected to reveal what the Brussels Pact countries can do for themselves and each other in this respect and the extent to which they may find it necessary to supplement their supplies with military equipment from the United States.

## THE ATLANTIC PACT AND U.S. SECURITY

Discussions of the security functions of the North Atlantic Pact by United States representatives have emphasized the following considerations: The security of the United States would again be seriously endangered if the entire European continent were once more to come under the domination of a power or an association of powers antagonistic to the United States. Continental Europe was lost to the Allied Powers in World War II before the United States became an active participant. It was regained at great risk and at an enormous loss of lives and expenditure of material and money. Today, the weakened condition in which the nations of Europe find themselves as a result of the destruction and privation of war has afforded a golden opportunity for a new aggressor. It is clear in this case—as it is clear, in retrospect, in the case of Nazi Germany—that dominance of the European continent, once attained and consolidated, could be the first step in a larger plan of attack on Great Britain and then on the United States and the rest of the Western Hemisphere. The problems created by this possibility of progressive and sustained aggression are legitimately the concern of United States security planning. The maintenance of the freedom and independence of the countries of Western Europe is of pre-eminent importance. It is believed essential to the security of the United States, therefore, that it consolidate the friendships and support which it now enjoys from free and friendly nations, and that thereafter it should seek through peaceful means to reduce the area within which any aggressor can effectively apply pressure.

The last two great wars have proved that a major conflict in Europe would inevitably involve the United States. The North Atlantic Pact, it was pointed out, is designed to give assurance that in the case of such a war there will be a coordinated defense in which the actual military strength and the military potential of all the members will be integrated into a common strategic plan. Article 4 provides that the Parties to the Pact shall consult when the territory, independence, or security of any of them is threatened; Article 5 insures assistance to any Party subject to armed attack. The last war proved clearly that an aggressor nation can best achieve its results by picking off democratic countries one by one, dividing and splitting these countries through propaganda and other tactics so that they are incapable of coordinated defense. The essence of the North Atlantic Pact is that this is not to happen again with respect to the signatory countries.

These preventive and defensive actions have a vital significance for United States security, but they do not by any means overshadow the broad, constructive security actions which are enjoined by the Pact. The United States and its people believe that the most certain and effective security action open to any nation is a cooperative effort, through the United Nations and other avenues of negotiation, to eliminate war and the conditions which lead to war. This policy finds expression in article 2 of the North Atlantic Pact:

"The Parties will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being. They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them."



## NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY TEXT

*Preamble:* The parties to this treaty reaffirm their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all governments.

They are determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of Democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law.

They seek to promote stability and well-being in the North Atlantic area.

They are resolved to unite their efforts for collective defense and for the preservation of peace and security.

They therefore agree to this North Atlantic treaty:

*Article 1*—The parties undertake, as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations to settle any international disputes in which they may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered, and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

*Article 2*—The parties will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being. They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them.

*Article 3*—In order more effectively to achieve the objectives of this treaty, the parties, separately and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, will maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack.

*Article 4*—The parties will consult together whenever, in the opinion of any of them, the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the parties is threatened.

*Article 5*—The parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all; and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defense recognized by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, will assist the party or parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other parties, such actions it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area.

Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall immediately be reported to the Security Council. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security.

*Article 6*—For the purpose of Article 5 an armed attack on one or more of the parties is deemed to include an armed attack on the territory of any of the parties in Europe or North America, on the Algerian Department of France, on the occupation forces of any party in Europe, on the islands under the jurisdiction forces of any party in the North Atlantic area north of the Tropic of Cancer or on the vessels or aircraft in this area of any of the parties.

*Article 7*—This treaty does not affect, and shall not be interpreted as affecting, in any way the rights and obligations under the charter of the parties which are members of the United Nations, or the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security.

*Article 8*—Each party declares that none of the international engagements now in force between it and any other of the parties or any third state is in conflict with the provisions of this treaty, and undertakes not to enter into any international engagement in conflict with this treaty.

*Article 9*—The parties hereby establish a council, on which each of them shall be represented, to consider matters concerning the implementation of this treaty. The council shall be so organized as to be able to meet promptly at any time. The council shall set up such subsidiary bodies as may be necessary; in particular shall establish immediately a defense committee which shall recommend measures for the implementation of Article 3 and 5.

*Article 10*—The parties may, by unanimous agreement, invite any other European state in a position to further the principles of this treaty and to contribute to the security of the North Atlantic area to accede to this treaty. Any state so invited may become a party to the treaty by depositing its instrument of accession with the Government of the United States of America. The Government of the United States of America will inform each of the parties of the deposit of each such instrument of accession.

*Article 11*—This treaty shall be ratified and its provisions carried out by the parties in accordance with their respective constitutional processes. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited as soon as possible with the

Government of the United States of America, which will notify all the other signatories of each deposit. The treaty shall enter into force between the states which have ratified it as soon as the ratifications of the majority of the signatories, including the ratification of Belgium, Canada, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States, have been deposited and shall come into effect with respect to other states on the date of the deposit of their ratifications.

*Article 12*—After the treaty has been in force for ten years, or at any time thereafter the parties shall, if any of them so requests, consult together for the purpose of reviewing the treaty, having regard for the factors then affecting peace and security in the North Atlantic area, including the development of universal as well as regional arrangements under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security.

*Article 13*—After the treaty has been in force for twenty years, any party may cease to be a party one year after its notice of denunciation has been given to the Government of the United States of America, which will inform the governments of the other parties of the deposit of each notice of denunciation.

*Article 14*—This treaty, of which the English and French texts are equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States of America. Duly certified copies thereof will be transmitted by that government to the governments of the other signatories.

In witness whereof, the undersigned plenipotentiaries have signed this treaty.

Done at Washington, the 4th day of April, 1949.

## SCENE AT TREATY SIGNING RELAYED TO HISTORY'S LARGEST AUDIENCE

Ceremonies attendant to the North Atlantic treaty signing April 4 were seen and heard by the greatest audience in history.

Long and short wave radio and television brought to untold millions of people—including those behind the iron curtain—a vivid description of the historic event as it actually unfolded in the Departmental Auditorium here. In addition, the working press, motion picture equipment, special writers and commentators—in short, hundreds of representatives of all media of public information—witnessed and reported on every detail of the two-hour ceremony.

Everything possible was done to insure that the peoples of the world were informed about the purposes and scope of the new security alliance against aggression.

The U.S. State Department's "Voice of America," broadcasting in 43 languages, the British and Canadian broadcasting companies and the U.S. Armed Forces network combined for the largest concentration of shortwave facilities ever assembled for a single program. National networks of the United States and most Western European countries also carried the treaty program.

For 24 hours after the on-the-scene reporting, the "Voice of America" planned follow-up summaries and highlights.

The Departmental Auditorium on Constitution Avenue about half-way between the White House and Capitol Building was an impressive setting for the treaty

signing. Several stories high, it is long and wide with massive columns reaching up to a resplendent ceiling. Huge chandeliers enhance its beauty.

Built in 1935, it has accommodated many national and international conferences. On October 29, 1940, it was the scene of the drawing of draft numbers which sent millions of Americans into military training for World War II under the National Selective Service System.

Today, the foreign ministers of the 12 signatory nations with their ambassadors behind them were seated on a canopied dais banked with the flags of the various countries.

The treaty signing—in alphabetical order—took place at a long mahogany table at the front of the dais. Twelve fountain pens were used—one for each signer.

There were more than 1300 present, including especially invited guests, members of the Washington diplomatic corps, high Government officials, and some 200 members of the U.S. Congress.

The Congressional delegation included Chairman Tom Connally of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and John Kee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee along with other members of the two bodies. All the chairmen and ranking minority party members of all committees of the Congress were invited.

Following the ceremony, the signed treaty was removed to a special vault at the State Department in accordance with Article 14 which states that the document "shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States."

The treaty is written in two languages. English is on the left-hand pages, French on the right. It is bound in red, white and blue ribbon.

## TEXT OF TRUMAN ADDRESS ON ATLANTIC TREATY

Following is the full text of President Truman's address at the signing of the North Atlantic treaty:

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 repre-

sented 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 of 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, 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 some 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.

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 herit-

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 age of Democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law. These are the ties of a peaceful way of life. In 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 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.

The 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.

## TEXT OF ACHESON STATEMENT

Following is the full text of the statement of Secretary of State Dean Acheson, opening the remarks of the 12 foreign ministers gathered to sign the North Atlantic treaty:

On behalf of the Government and the people of the United States, I warmly welcome to our country and our capital the foreign ministers who have assembled here to sign the North Atlantic treaty. We are honored by their presence, both as individuals who have done much for peace and as representatives of nations and peoples who have contributed notably to the welfare and progress of mankind.

We are met together to consummate a solemn act. Those who participated in the drafting of this treaty must leave to others judgment of the significance and value of this act. They cannot appraise the achievement but they can and should declare the purposes of their minds and hearts.

It was, I think, their purpose—like the purpose of those who chart the stars—not to create what they record, but to set down realities for the guidance of men, whether well or ill-disposed. For those who seek peace it is a guide to refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble. For those who set their feet upon the path of aggression, it is a warning that if it must needs be that offenses come, then woe unto them by whom the offense cometh.

For the reality which is set down here is not created here. The reality is the unity of belief, of spirit, of interest of the community of nations represented here.

It is the product of many centuries of common thought and of the blood of many simple and brave men and women.

The reality lies not in the common pursuit of a material goal or of a power to dominate others. It lies in the affirmation of moral and spiritual values which govern the kind of life they propose to lead and which they propose to defend, by all possible means, should that necessity be thrust upon them. Even this purpose is a fact which has been demonstrated twice in this present century.

It is well these truths be known. The purpose of this treaty is to publish them and give them form.

From this act, taken here today, will flow increasing good for all peoples. From this joining of many wills in one purpose will come new inspiration for the future. New strength and courage will accrue not only to the peoples of the Atlantic community, but to all peoples of the world community who seek for themselves, and for others equally, freedom and peace.

### **Pact Objectives Explained**

Before affixing their signatures to the North Atlantic treaty, the foreign ministers of 12 nations explained, on behalf of their peoples, their motives and their aims. They made it clear that no act of aggression may again be launched against any one of them without the sure reply of their joint and overwhelming force, and that they are resolved to build a United Nations which will assure peace and freedom for all the world's people.

Introduced by Secretary Acheson, the foreign ministers made their statements before the assembled diplomats, U.S. officials and members of Congress and others of the 1,300 witnessing the ceremony. Following are highlights of their remarks:

*Paul-Henri Spaak of Belgium:* "Those who today are angered or saddened because the principles of

universal collective security contemplated in the UN Charter are to be supplemented by a system more restricted, but having the same goal and observing the same principles, will find some subjects for reflection in the signing of the pact. They will regret, perhaps, having seen the rostrum of the United Nations transformed into an instrument of propaganda in which vehemence and insult have frequently replaced the essential desire for cooperation, perhaps also they will regret that the abuse of the veto and refusal to collaborate have so often rendered ineffective the decisions of the Security Council or the recommendations of the Assembly.

“The United Nations remain our great hope.

“We continue to desire and to believe that one day all nations may find their security in this world organization and that all governments, having at last recognized the precedence of international law over their own will, may make of the United Nations the mighty instrument that we have always wished for.

“But until that day no one can contest our right to gather together and organize in one corner of the world all the forces of those who, having finally and wholly renounced all idea of aggressive warfare, do not wish to find themselves one day without defense before an attack upon them.

“The North Atlantic pact is an act of faith in the destiny of Western civilization. Based on the exercise of civil and political liberties, on respect for the human person, it cannot perish.

“The North Atlantic pact places in the service of this civilization and of peace the most powerful means of defense that have ever been created.”

*Lester B. Pearson of Canada:* “The North Atlantic treaty was born out of fear and frustration; fear of the aggressive and subversive policies of Communism and

the effect of those policies on our own peace and security and well-being; frustration over the obstinate obstruction by Communist states of our efforts to make the United Nations function effectively as a universal security system. This treaty, though born of fear and frustration, must, however, lead to positive social, economic and political achievements if it is to live; achievements which will extend beyond the time of emergency which gave it birth, or the geographical area which it now includes. . .

"We are a North Atlantic community of 12 nations; and 350 million people . . . the North Atlantic community is part of the world community and as we grow stronger to preserve the peace, all free men grow stronger with us. The world today is too small, too interdependent, for even regional isolation.

"This treaty is a forward move in man's progress from the wasteland of his postwar world, to better, safer ground. . ."

*Gustav Rasmussen of Denmark:* "Under Article One of the treaty, the parties undertake to settle any international dispute by peaceful means. As has been recently said by a high American official, behind this pledge stand the character and policies of the countries which are parties to the treaty. The very nature of their institutions makes a calculated plan of aggression a virtual impossibility.

"The North Atlantic treaty contains a solemn reaffirmation of the pledges given by those countries under the UN Charter. The treaty is therefore designed to strengthen the system of the United Nations. It constitutes a cornerstone in the fundamental structure of general security."

*Robert Schuman of France:* "France ardently desires that the United Nations may become one day strong

enough to assure by itself peace and security in the world, thus rendering any individual initiative unnecessary.

"But, meanwhile, the governments which bear the fearsome responsibility of guarding the independence of their countries have no right to put their trust in partial guarantees. It would be criminal for them to neglect a single opportunity, or a possible aid, for the preservation of peace.

"The exclusive concern of France is to make impossible any invasion of her own territory or of the territory of peace-loving nations. Our aim cannot be restricted to the winning of a war which might be forced upon us, a war which even if we win it, would leave Europe ravaged and depopulated. We want to avoid such a war by becoming, together, strong enough, together, to safeguard peace.

"We are uniting, with the intention of providing a common and reciprocal protection. We want to discourage in advance any aggression, by making it more and more dangerous for the aggressor. Only a potential aggressor could legitimately consider it aimed at him. Our conscience is clear. In signing this pact, France solemnly proclaims her absolute determination to maintain peace."

*Bjarni Benediktsson of Iceland:* "We want to make it crystal clear that we belong and want to belong to this free community of free nations which now is being formally founded. . .

"We all face the same danger. In this world of ours, where distances have vanished, peace indeed is individual. The same disruptive elements are everywhere at their sinister work. Everywhere they are accusing us, who are working for peace of being warmongers. . .

"But it is not only this threat to world peace and human well-being which united us. . . We would all prefer



to lose our lives rather than lose our freedom, either as individuals or nations."

*Count Sforza of Italy:* "Had this treaty existed in 1914 and 1939, there wouldn't have been the battles which spread ruins from Italy to England, from France to Russia

"It is not without significance that the European peoples should have apprehended with joy that this treaty would be signed on the free American soil. It helps everybody realize that oceans are on the way of becoming small lakes, and that even the most different historical formations represent no more than a variety of folklore in front of the necessity of uniting, all of us, in order to save our most cherished common patrimony; peace and Democracy

"The North Atlantic pact will constitute one among the noblest and most generous events in human history if all its members will show—within and outside the pact—that the melancholy history of Europe has taught them this supreme lesson: That no nation in the world can feel secure in its prosperity and peace if all its neighbors are not as safely marching towards the same goal of prosperity and security."

*Joseph Bech of Luxembourg:* "The North Atlantic pact is the logical supplement to the Brussels pact.

"Like the latter, its purpose is both to prevent war from breaking out, by establishing a balance between the forces confronting each other and to win any war of aggression that may be directed against one or all of the signatory states.

"With the aid given to Europe by the Marshall plan, the Atlantic pact opens a new era of the closest solidarity between the Democratic countries of Europe and the New World.

"Nothing proves better this ineluctable solidarity of the destinies of our countries than the fact that the United States, breaking with a tradition two centuries old, is concluding a military alliance in peacetime. That is an event of extraordinary historical significance for the United States and of the utmost importance for Europe.

*Dirk U. Stikker of the Netherlands:* "Its opponents are clamoring that this treaty aims at war. That is a lie. Its aim is peace—peace, not after a new war, but peace now and from now on.

"We who are vitally interested in the security of the North Atlantic area henceforth stand united in our resolve to repel aggression, just as we stand united in our resolve not to attack others.

"Such then, is the treaty's unshakable moral basis. We shall sign with a clear conscience in the face of God. . .

"We rejoice at the thought that at last the truth prevails, that the North Atlantic is a highway that unites, not a barrier that divides. We rejoice at the thought that North Americans and Western Europeans have found each other in a common edifice dedicated to peace. Freedom from fear is being brought nearer to all of us today."

*Halvard Lange of Norway:* "We cannot close our eyes to the fact that—for reasons which we all know—the United Nations cannot today give us or any other nation the security to which we had confidently looked forward.

"Under these circumstances my country temporarily had to look for a great measure of security, beyond that provided by membership in the United Nations.

"We felt convinced that the prospective signers of the pact considered the preservation of peace and freedom their foremost aim. They would regard any idea of aggression contrary to their most basic instincts and fundamental policies.

"Our pact is a pact of peace. It is directed against no nation. It is directed solely against aggression itself.

"The moment the United Nations, through the common efforts of all its member nations, is capable of functioning in accordance with the intention of its founders and with the letter and spirit of the Charter, at that moment the need for such regional arrangements will become much less urgent, and will ultimately be eliminated altogether.

"The overwhelming majority of the Norwegian people deeply believes that the signing of the Atlantic pact is an event which may decisively influence the course of history and hasten the day when all nations can work together for peace and freedom."

*Jose Caeiro da Matta of Portugal:* "Portugal wishes to assert that she sees in the North Atlantic pact not only an instrument of defense and international cooperation, but also, for the reasons and for the aims which govern it, a precious instrument for peace. And she considers herself fortunate to be able to find that, once again, none of the instruments on which her foreign relations are based is in conflict with its letter or its spirit."

*Ernest Bevin of United Kingdom:* "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 likeminded nations never to fight one another.

"These nations are, in addition, linked with many other peoples, who equally will never indulge in aggression.

"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 consecration for peace and resistance to aggression....

“Today will bring a great feeling of relief to millions of people. At last Democracy is no longer a series of isolates 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 endeavor the building up of a truly universal United Nations, to which this group of countries will be no mean contributor.

## **TEXT OF PRESIDENT TRUMAN MESSAGE TO THE SENATE ON ATLANTIC TREATY**

Following is the text of President Truman's message to the Senate today, asking the Senate to ratify the North Atlantic treaty:

"To the Senate of the United States:

"I transmit herewith for the consideration of the Senate a copy of the North Atlantic treaty signed at Washington on April 4, 1949, together with a report of the Secretary of State.

"This treaty is an expression of the desire of the people of the United States for peace and security, for the continuing opportunity to live and work in freedom.

"Events of this century have taught us that we cannot achieve peace independently. The world has grown too small. The oceans to our east and west no longer protect us from the reach of brutality and aggression.

"We have also learned—learned in blood and conflict—that if we are to achieve peace we must work for peace.

"This knowledge has made us determined to do everything we can to insure that peace is maintained. We have not arrived at this decision lightly, or without recognition of the effort it entails. But we cannot escape the great responsibility that goes with our great stature in the world. Every action of this nation in recent years has demonstrated the overwhelming will of our people that the strength and influence of the United States shall be used in the cause of peace, justice and freedom.

"In this determination, our people wholeheartedly accepted the Charter of the United Nations in 1945. Since then, we have worked unceasingly to reach international agreement through the United Nations and to make the United Nations a more effective instrument for its mighty task.

"In the last year we have embarked on a great cooperative enterprise with the free nations of Europe to restore the vitality of the European economy—so important to the prosperity and peace of our country and the world.

"The North Atlantic treaty is further evidence of our determination to work for a peaceful world. It is in accord with the action of the Senate last June when it signified its approval of our country's associating itself in peacetime with countries outside the Western Hemisphere in collective arrangements, within the framework of the United Nations Charter, designed to safeguard peace and security.

"The twelve nations which have signed this treaty undertake to exercise their right of collective or individual self-defense against armed attack, in accordance with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, and subject to such measures as the Security Council may take to maintain and restore international peace and security.

"The treaty makes clear the determination of the people of the United States and of our neighbors in the North Atlantic community to do their utmost to maintain peace with justice and to take such action as they may deem necessary if the peace is broken.

"The people of the North Atlantic community have seen solemn agreements, decreed to assure peace and the right of small nations, broken one by one and the people of those nations deprived of freedom and oppressed.

They are resolved that their nations shall not, one by one, suffer the same fate.

"The nations signing this treaty share a common heritage of Democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law. The American members of the North Atlantic community stem directly from the European members in tradition and in love of freedom. We have joined together in the progressive development of free institutions, and we have shared our moral and material strength in the present task of rebuilding from the devastation of war.

"The security and welfare of each member of this community depend upon the security and welfare of all. None of us alone can achieve economic prosperity or military security. None of us alone can assure the continuance of freedom.

"Together, our joint strength is of tremendous significance to the future of free men in every part of the world. For this treaty is clear evidence that differences in language and in economic and political systems are no real bar to the effective association of nations devoted to the great principles of human freedom and justice.

"This treaty is only one step—although a long one—on the road to peace. No single action, no matter how significant, will achieve peace. We must continue to work patiently and carefully, advancing with practical, realistic steps in the light of circumstances and events as they occur, building the structure of peace soundly and solidly.

"I believe that the North Atlantic treaty is such a step, based on the realities of the situation we face today and framed within the terms of the United Nations Charter and the Constitution of the United States.

"In the conviction that the North Atlantic treaty is a great advance toward fulfillment of the unconquerable will of the people of the United States to achieve a just and enduring peace, I request the advice and consent of the Senate to its ratification.

"Harry S. Truman

"In the White House,

"April 12, 1949."