

PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH

ONLY

TO THE ENGLISH SPEAKING UNION

The problem of Europe is the problem of Germany. As long as Germany is divided, Europe will be divided. I said this at Berlin last year - it is just as true today. What then can we do to bring about the unity of Germany? There must be free elections throughout the whole country. This also we proposed at Berlin. When the elections are over it will be for the united Germany to determine her own future. It is natural that many in Europe feel that there are risks in this. Of course there are. The Germans understand them. There are risks for everybody in any attempt to solve this problem, but we have to solve it all the same, because there will be neither security nor lasting peace in Europe unless we do. But that does not mean that we ought not all of us, including the Germans, to try to work out methods which will reduce the dangers so far as we can.

I can quite understand that the Russians fear that a free Germany would probably unite with the West. I think that it would. The Russians may even consider this dangerous to their security. But the answer is that it need not be so. We are certainly ready, and I believe that the Western nations, including Germany, are also ready, to agree to any reasonable arrangements which will give Russia reassurance on this point. For example, we have already begun to elaborate and apply a number of schemes for the control and limitation of our armaments in Western Europe. We began to do this amongst ourselves last autumn. It was part of the plan we worked out together in London and finally agreed in Paris when we joined to create what is known as the Western European Union. That was after something of a scamper

around the capitals of Europe. By that agreement we have placed certain definite ~~restrictions~~ ^{restrictions} upon ourselves. The western German Government has undertaken these engagements too, with us. There has never been anything like it in the world before. A voluntary limitation of armaments: a voluntary system of control and inspection: and plans which are still being worked out for a pool of armaments and other arrangements of that kind. These ideas are worth study by everybody. There is no reason why they should not be extended in some form from the West to the East. And maybe other plans could be worked out too, to give confidence and security. But perhaps I had better keep these for Geneva. What we did last autumn, when we just had to, is a measure of what the nations can contrive, if they just have to, and surely in this hydrogen age, we must all have the will and the need. [At the same time I believe that it facilitates negotiation if you make quite plain what are the principles from which you will not depart. For us there are three such principles, which I will now mention. We are not prepared to break up NATO. We will not be parted from the United States. We will work for the unification of Germany. Subject to these principles, our position is negotiable.]

The first two of these principles require no explanation. They are our life and faith. As to the third, the unity of Germany, I will only add that in all these discussions we are going to be in very close touch with the Federal German Government with whom we have treaty engagements. Both Dr. Adenauer and the Opposition in Germany have said with emphasis that there is no analogy between Germany and Austria, and that the neutralization of Germany will not do. I agree

with them. I am sure that we can find an approach to the problem of German re-unification which is more realistic and constructive than that.

I have spoken of policies and principles. Now in what spirit should we approach these discussions at Geneva? I suggest with a blend of care and confidence and courage.

Care because diplomacy that is thorough and thoughtful, and takes account of reality, and takes time, is ^{always} the best diplomacy. In a tangled problem such as this you must beware of the snap solution. You must get down to fundamentals.

And then with care goes caution, because it is right that we should be wary and not drop our guard. There is nothing war-like in such reserve, it is mere prudence. Some say that there is a new look in the policy of Soviet Russia. It may be so - I trust it will prove so. But I hope that nobody will accuse us of hanging back if we take a good look at the new look before we pronounce upon it.)

~~And then there is confidence, because~~ [we are united as a nation and united with our friends. There is much criticism in these days, from behind the Iron Curtain in particular, of what are called military blocs. But a close partnership of friendly and peaceful nations, provided it is defensive in character is not a bad thing. That is precisely what NATO is. The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. Small nations and large, The United States and Luxembourg, Canada and Belgium, Britain and Norway - all bound together with the rest in a defensive alliance. It has been under the protection of NATO that we have dwelt in peace these years. I would say more: NATO and the Western European Union have made these negotiations at Geneva possible.)

And then the third element, courage. Courage because if opportunity opens up at Geneva, as we all pray it may, we must not fear to seize it. I am sure that we shall not. It is not wise to expect too much of an international meeting like this which will be, we hope, the first of a series at varying levels. And yet it is reasonable to look for real if modest progress. I will tell you what I hope - that by frank talks in private meetings we can allay suspicions of the intentions, to take one example, of the free nations of the West.

Of course we have become stronger during the last few years. But by doing this we have built a guard for ourselves, not a menace to others. Our first aim will be to allay mistrust on either side; and I hope that we might then agree to outline for the Foreign Secretaries detailed tasks on which they can be engaged. They might have a number of directives. First to bring about the unity of Germany. As part of that instruction, to work out plans for the security of Europe and - if possible - for the physical limitation of armaments on the spot. If we could agree on this, we should certainly get an increased measure of confidence for the future. And finally, we should surely set to work to examine what the nations could do together to raise their standard of living and to increase the happiness of their people if the cold war were once thawed out, and if the skill of science were matched to the tasks of peace. This is not impossible to realise but it cannot all be done at once. As some of you know,

step by step has always been my motto in these troubled years. It was the practice I tried to lay down at the first UNO meeting which I attended on my return to office in 1951, and it is still the method to which I hold. In that way, with perseverance, the harvest can yet be won, and all its sheaves be peace.