

accentuating the inherent contradictions of capitalism. All this need not frighten us into panic action. Indeed, if we realize what is going on, we may be able to use the present period to advance our own ends, which are to ensure peace, to strengthen security, and remove tensions.

Above all, we should remember that the present world conflict is not being fought between national groups, economic systems or social classes but between our form of free society based on the primacy and moral worth of the individual and totalitarian Communist despotism in which the individual counts for nothing except as a small cog in a great inhuman machine.

We have the right to believe that the dynamism of a free society, despite all its faults and weaknesses, has a greater vitality and capacity to adapt itself to new conditions, and, therefore, to survive than rigid, monolithic Soviet Communism can ever hope to achieve. It follows, then, that we can welcome "peaceful co-existence" not as a way of avoiding a contest but of winning it without war. Peace can also work on the side of freedom - provided we know how to use it.

If the Russians have, for various reasons, now ruled out war as a means of furthering their ends, and since we ourselves do not intend to resort to violence, we are faced now with the problem of adjusting our sights to a new situation. This demands skilful and patient diplomacy by Governments; steadiness and discipline by their peoples. We must avoid provocation on the one hand and on the other the military weakness which would tempt aggression.

But the situation will also require imaginative and creative policies to overcome social tensions and national differences within the free world as well as aid to the underdeveloped countries, and an understanding of their new urges and their old suspicions.

Above all it will require a realization of the fact that co-existing with the Russians is going to continue to be a trying, frustrating and difficult business. So we must not lose heart or patience or expect that either the "cold war" or "peaceful co-existence" or whatever you wish to call our relations with Russia, is going to lead to any spectacular victories, any sensational, sudden and clear-cut solutions for which we have a passion because decisiveness has been the keystone of material advance on this continent. We will never win this game by a home run with three on and two out in the last half of the ninth! There is not going to be a sweeping, sudden victory over Communism, either through the bomb or diplomacy. On the contrary we are, I think, in for a long, often depressing, exasperating and frustrating period of armed peace, or what passes for peace in this modern age, leading we may hope, to a peace which will rest on something more enduring than arms.

In short, gentlemen, and to repeat, if Soviet Russia and its followers have chosen to continue the struggle in "peaceful co-existence" we should welcome this while making ourselves strong enough economically, and resilient enough morally to win it. At the same time we must maintain the military strength to make it unprofitable for them ever to wish to change the form of struggle and resort to the awful arbitrament of a war which would be the annihilation of everything.