

in the United Nations, we also seek to provide for strengthening the NATO defensive coalition by modifications of the Brussels Treaty and by inclusion of the Federal Republic of Germany in the Western defence and political system.

There is no inconsistency here, for the two policies are complementary. We must not reduce our collective strength relative to that of the Soviet Empire. We must not slacken our vigilance as long as the present danger persists. But we must also never adopt a position so rigid or follow a diplomacy so frozen that we refuse any reasonable offer to negotiate in order to reduce that danger and eliminate current tensions. To maintain our security and at the same time to work towards practical solutions, which will replace this precarious security based on military strength with one based on common interest and a growing confidence, is consistent with our most enduring aims. The fact that opportunities may now exist at the United Nations for negotiation in the disarmament field, as in other areas, is itself the best justification of the collective policies which we have been pursuing on the political and the security fronts in London and Paris.

There may soon be other moves from behind the Iron Curtain - indeed there already have been some - designed to convince us that the clouds of fear and suspicion and animosity can easily be blown away. Let us not get too excited then, one way or the other, as we are increasingly subjected to this enticing appeal of "peaceful co-existence". It is more important to try to find out what is behind the words and to relate them to communist theory and practice.

As long ago as 1927, Stalin spoke of the possibility of "peaceful co-existence" between the Soviet Union and Capitalist states. It is undeniable that according to orthodox Marxist doctrine, there exists an irreconcilable conflict between capitalism on one side, and Communism on the other. This basic conflict between the two hostile worlds is manifested by periods of war and revolution. But these, in communist theory, may alternate with periods of peaceful co-existence between the two camps. It is during such periods that the states on the Communist side hope to be able to strengthen their economic, military and political system in preparation for the next crisis. Communist doctrine assumes that, on the other side, the "imperialist and capitalist" governments will emerge from their "peaceful" competition with the "socialist" world in these periods of relaxation weakened and divided because of their internal contradictions; by the class struggle, by national rivalries and colonial revolts. These Communism will then be able to exploit in its next surge forward.

In ultimate terms of power politics, this may mean that to-day the Communists regard a period of peaceful co-existence as merely a stage in their march to achievement of a communist world. But it may also mean that in that stage - which may be of long or of short duration, depending on - us they are not interested in precipitating or risking world war because they believe the irresistible forces of historical development are on their side. During these "peaceful" intervals they will apply a dual policy; using traditional diplomacy to maintain technically peaceful relations with non-Communist states and using Communist parties in those states to divide and to weaken them;