

The main problems of foreign policy in a democracy now have to be assessed, and day to day decisions taken, against this background of global relations between civilizations. And against this background it is of course obvious that our greatest need, our one indispensable asset, is unity among those who are working together to defend freedom and maintain peace. Today we certainly cannot take this unity for granted.

It is not easy, but it should be possible, for democratic statesmen to cultivate effective cohesion and cooperation within a coalition. For one thing, successful politicians in a democracy are inevitably schooled to sense quickly, almost before they appear, the first signs of disunity within their own section or nation.

Again, when action is needed, careful and timely consultation is the democratic politician's stock in trade. Anyone experienced in the operations of a democracy, with its committees, cabinets, caucuses, trade union meetings, or boards of directors, knows, or soon learns, the value of having private consultations with his leading associates, before confronting them in public with the need to pronounce judgment on a new issue. These processes are equally important in a coalition of states. They are not always followed. But I think that, in our coalition against aggression, we are improving our techniques of co-operation and, more important, increasingly acquiring the habit of consultation. We are learning the value of prior discussion - not as a substitute for action - but as essential for united action.

Needless to say, consultation does not mean merely the opportunity either to share in responsibility for implementing a decision already taken, or alternatively to stand aside. Consultation means the opportunity to participate in the give and take of ideas, the weighing of pros and cons, and the formulation of policy.

This may seem like a "tall order" between a group of sovereign states, varying so much in power and influence as is the case with the members of our Atlantic coalition. It is a "tall order", and its achievements will take considerable time. In crises, indeed, something less may seem to suffice or may have to suffice. But eventually nothing less than this true consultation will be adequate to consolidate a coalition of free peoples, and to forge out of several democracies a unity deep and strong enough for the international situation of risk and menace with which we may have to live for a long time.

This broader responsibility does not in any sense remove, or weaken, the direct constitutional responsibility of each democratic government to its own nation. It is something additional. It is nothing formalized. It is, rather, an attitude which must be developed, a quality of outlook that must be achieved.

This requirement of unity will put a premium on those qualities of detachment, patience, and moral courage which any politician in a democracy needs from time to time if he is to stand firm despite the passing currents and passions of the moment. For, though not only interests, but intellectual appreciation and the understanding of a situation