

We must assume, however, that this unity and strength, especially under NATO, is bound to be the object of increasing attack in the coming year from the Communists, within and without our gates; not so much, I feel, from direct frontal assault as from the insidious pressure of enticing double-talk and bewildering blandishment.

There never was much doubt that the really serious strain on the Western coalition would begin when the menace of immediate aggression seemed to recede. We are in that period now, with new problems and difficulties - and also new possibilities.

This is certainly no time to weaken the common front by dissension or doubts or indifference. It is no time to lower our guard; or start wrangling among ourselves.

In meeting these problems, in negotiating with the Communist states and keeping the coalition together in the face of what may seem, or be made to seem, diminishing dangers, diplomacy should, I think, play a greater part than in recent years. By diplomacy I mean something more than monologues at international gatherings, or public press conferences, or calculated leaks to frighten potential adversaries, or to "put the heat on" reluctant friends; or even political quiz programmes before the microphone or camera. There should be more room for and greater reliance on quite and confidential negotiation, as I am sure you, as public relations experts, will agree. If Moscow, by the crudity of Communist diplomatic methods, and by its incessant and direct appeal to peoples over the heads of governments, makes this procedure difficult or even impossible, we should keep on trying to restore it. In any event, we need not follow these Communist tactics of propaganda diplomacy in conferences and negotiations between friends.

There are, of course, important situations in which the most effective instruments of diplomacy are open conferences with a maximum of publicity. The General Assembly of the United Nations, and the Economic and Social Council, have accomplished a great deal through the opportunities they provide in public sessions for the clarification and mobilization of international public opinion. The Security Council, too, has often found its ability to bring to bear in public the pressure of world opinion on particular issues, a strong instrument for peace.

But there are also situations - and they are sometimes the most difficult and most important ones - where highly publicized meetings offer the least promising method of negotiating. An atmosphere of drama is inevitably generated when the eyes of the world are focussed on a single meeting. Too much drama is not always good for discussion or decision. It may neutralize the value of talks and even doom them in advance to futility. Where public expectations are over-stimulated, deliberation is apt to be confused with dullness and compromise with capitulation. The purpose of negotiation is, necessarily, to seek agreement through mutual adjustments. But adjustments are not made easier,