

before us and which has made the protracted and often wearisome deliberations of this session of the General Assembly immensely rewarding. We are beginning to organize force to back up the collective action and the collective conscience of the free world.

Pessimists and cynics had said that the United Nations could not act. The encouraging news which I have tonight is that the United Nations has acted. It has acted to defeat aggression in Korea and it has acted also to organize itself in such a way that other attacks may be similarly defeated.

In all this, there is real cause for satisfaction. But in the uncertainties of the moment, you will be as aware as I am that we have no reason for complacency. The risks remain frightening and the dangers are great. We must summon as much wisdom as we can to see that they are reduced to a minimum. For that purpose, it is necessary to recall what must be the end and object of the mobilization of force behind the United Nations. The first object is to deter aggression or to crush it speedily and completely if it breaks out. The second is to create those situations in which conciliation and negotiation can be successful. A few days ago, I ventured to suggest at Lake Success that there were too many warlike words about peace and not enough peaceful action to prevent war. But I would not like you to believe that I share the view that it is acts only which are real and that words must always be vain and profitless. Otherwise, I should hardly be addressing you tonight. Certainly none of us who inherit the traditions of the West can be contemptuous of words. And, indeed, our object in equipping the United Nations with force might almost be described as the creation of circumstances in which words and discussions can have their proper meaning and their full effect. When rightly used in negotiation, words are the medium for give and take, the means of reconciling various points of view honestly held by communities of different kinds which are yet prepared to treat among one another in good faith. To restore the validity of words, to make real and profitable negotiation once again possible, is one of our chief aims.

You will gather from this that I believe we still must cherish the hope that, in the fullness of time, it may be possible again to negotiate with the Soviet Union, if not with cordiality, at least with frankness and with some hope of reaching mutually acceptable arrangements. We have found, however, that it is useless to negotiate with the Communist imperialists unless we can lead from strength rather than weakness. We have found also that bargains struck with them under the latter circumstances are very seldom honoured. It is therefore necessary for us to see that the free world is strong, militarily, economically and socially. When that has been accomplished, it may be possible for negotiations to take place in which the words exchanged will have some reality.

In the meantime, our task must be difficult and precarious. We cannot slacken in building up our military force. Nor can we be blind to the malice and tyranny which lies at the core of the Soviet system. Nevertheless, we must not allow ourselves to become so intent on those pressing preoccupations that we overlook any opportunities