

and increased dramatically the weaponry which is arrayed against the West.

These challenges constitute another more traditional form of crisis to be managed. Western countries must develop the means to take a united stand, so that in the event of a direct threat, there will be a swift and concerted response, in the defence of our own interest, and the interests of those countries which look to us for strength and support.

Personally, I believe that the good sense of Soviet leaders will prevail. I believe they will not feel themselves so threatened by events that they have to respond to the challenge of change by the force of arms. We all watch the crisis in Poland. The Soviet Union should know that recourse to arms is a losing game, for them and for all the world.

But we in the West still have to act with the knowledge that we live in a dangerous world. Our security and that of the Western Alliance has to be based on reality and has to be convincing, to ourselves, and to others.

The experience of the last five years has demonstrated the fragility of "détente" as a fundamental basis for the conduct of East-West relations. The events of the coming months and years will determine what the next phase will be in relations between East and West. But I trust that all countries concerned can recognize that stabilization of the relationship between East and West is vital, not least for the countries of the South, which should, in any event, be kept apart from East-West tension. But the U.S.S.R. is a super-power, and it asserts no less right than its rival to be heard about problems in any corner of the globe. It does so for reasons of national interest, but evidently also for ideological reasons. Thus, there is an element of super-power rivalry present, at least potentially, in every trouble-spot in the developing world.

One element of weakness in détente is, paradoxically, the product of a certain measure of balance and stability in Europe. Whatever strength the concept might painfully have acquired in European surroundings, it was of untested validity outside Europe. It is evident, in practice, that there are even greater difficulties in making détente workable outside Europe. Even worse, the tensions