

hope, the possibility that it may come by agreement; but Ian Smith's obduracy, his unwillingness to negotiate realistically, makes this possibility slighter each week. I do not propose to prophesy here.

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Democracies should take their own ideology seriously. If we in the West are concerned about human freedom, it is wise to encourage and to help other open societies that are threatened and need help. This is a very different thing from a strategy of seeking satellites, of encouraging and supporting unpopular regimes, however tyrannical, on the grounds that they are pro-Western, or pro-American, or anti-Marxist. Supporting an unpopular and even tyrannical dictatorship is apt to alienate the people whom the dictator tries to dominate; the fact that they may then fall under the domination of an even more repressive dictatorship, as seems to have happened in Cambodia, does not make the former policy right.

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The moral issue

If, as I believe, the moral factors are even more weighty than material factors in calculations of political power, it is important that they be included realistically, rather than, as it were, upside-down or out of phase, in assessing changed situations. There have been plenty of relevant changes in the past couple of years....

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If morality is important in relations between governments, and in maintaining the cohesion of coalitions and nations, it is still more important in creating and consolidating new multi-cultural communities. This is the key

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task of world politics today....

It is my belief that, within the next generation or so...we must achieve a community, for many purposes, that is world-wide – with the intellectual horizons of understanding, and the moral horizons of goodwill and mutual respect, and some of the effective decision-taking and decision-enforcing institutions of community, on a global scale.

Meanwhile we must, I think, within the next few years develop among governments and peoples much higher levels than have hitherto been reached, of understanding, co-operation and justice. We need greater understanding in order to avoid serious miscalculations and error. The stakes are so much higher, and they are increasing....

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Above all, I think, we need to move towards a significantly greater degree of justice, on a global scale. We have a knowledge explosion as well as a population explosion. There are plans for satellite television, for example, to link school systems in Indian villages. Increasingly, men know how what we call the "other half" lives. Unless we make adequate progress with the problem of development, which is perhaps World Problem Number 1, the dangers of frustration, despair, and the irrational acts that these can involve, could become dangerous.

Within the past two or three generations we have learned, in the Western democracies, that it is simply not safe to live in communities that are say 30 percent affluent, educated and reasonably healthy and two-thirds poor, with inadequate opportunities for education, health, and fulfilling work. It has been this prudent recognition that what Disraeli called "two nations" could not safely be tolerated within Western democracies that has led to the social-security apparatus that can be summarized under the phrase "welfare state".

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Some 24 centuries ago, Aristotle observed that, when you establish a democratic assembly, you make it inevitable that sooner or later the poor, who are many, will use their voting power to get benefits from the rich, who are few. This pressure of which Aristotle spoke is desirable as well

as inevitable and it certainly exists. Beginning in the latter part of the 1940s, when I used to represent Canada on the United Nations Economic and Social Council, I saw (and, indeed, helped to encourage) the beginning of a new international lobby, led at that time by my friend Ambassador Malik of Lebanon. The Europeans had developed a habit of writing into virtually every ECOSOC resolution that special regard must be paid to the needs and interests of the war-ravaged economies. Malik said that this sort of thing, and its implementation through policies like the Marshall Plan, would merely re-establish the inequalities of the prewar period, unless matched by a major effort to help what were then called the under-developed countries. So, nearly every time, he proposed writing in exhortations that special regard must be paid to the "undeveloped" nations.

New economic order

Today, this lobby, which has, of course, grown much more numerous with the access to independence of most of Africa and Asia, and the Caribbean, Mediterranean and South Pacific islands, is stronger and more cohesive. It advocates the concept of a new international economic order. One of my final tasks, in my previous job as Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, was to appoint a representative group of "ten wise men", drawn from a balanced cross-section of Commonwealth countries, to draw up specific proposals under this heading....

One of the many uses of the Commonwealth is as an instrument for caucusing between representative groups of industrialized and developing countries. There are few such instruments, though there are many where the rich caucus among themselves, such as the OECD, and many where the poor caucus – various regional organizations, or non-aligned meetings, or the Group of 77.

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