

But if, through laziness and considerations of short-term political expediency, we pursue the "easier" course of exclusively helping the Soviet Union to build up its economy (and hence incidentally the attractiveness of its totalitarianism to backward foreigners) while we leave the populations of Asia, the Middle East, and Africa in their present states of illiteracy, disease, squalor, frustration - and hence political dissatisfaction - then the irony of future historians will be little consolation to us for what may become imperceptibly an irreparable shift in the centre of political gravity to another, and totalitarian civilisation.

I have heard young Communist Party members in Moscow say, feverently and not implausibly, "If we can get enough capital from Germany and America, then with Soviet organising genius and the opportunities to develop the manpower of Asia we shall rule the world." I am not of course suggesting that such imperialist dreams are typical - they are not - but they can easily become so.

Some day - probably well within a century - the various races of mankind will, we may hope, be fairly equal in the opportunities available for the individual. When that juster era dawns, if disputes should ever arise manpower will be the deciding factor. We will be wise to ensure that by then the great masses of mankind - now backward and often with just grievances against the white "imperialist" races - have exchanged these grievances for gratitude and have absorbed some of the essential liberal traditions and human values, of our western Christian civilisation, and have thus become our dependable friends.

This will not happen automatically. It will take vision, realism, energetic planning and wise decisions by us now.

This policy would not be aimed in any sense against the Soviet Union. Reasonable loans should be given to the Soviet Union as elsewhere. But the policy here sketched is in my opinion the one policy that will allow a prediction, over the long run and with permanent confidence, of reliable Soviet cooperation with non-communist states and above all with the Democracies of the West.

d) WESTERN EUROPE

From the short-run viewpoint, more important than what Marxists call the "semi-colonial" areas of Asia and Africa is Western Europe and the Mediterranean. Here we have the inestimable advantages of kindred civilisations and many common traditions and values. But in this revolutionary century these advantages can be easily lost, strategically, as the examples of Mussolini's Italy, Petain's France, or Franco's Spain have temporarily (and nearly fatally) illustrated.

Here too we have the great advantage that we are, by the military course of this war, in intimate contact with many parts of Europe either as liberators or as conquerors.

We would be foolish to dissipate our opportunities to consolidate the friendship and economic strength of these peoples (excepting Germany). Wisdom would suggest the provision of adequate relief and post-war aid, and the early consolidation of long-term political understandings and close "cultural relations". It is obviously essential to sympathise, (with strategic caution but with warm human enthusiasm) with the social-reform aspirations of the bulk of these populations.