

international duties; but in discharging them we should not be influenced unduly by national pride and prejudice. I hope that in our foreign relations we can reconcile our first duty to our own people with our ultimate obligations to the international community. In a frightened and suspicious world this is not always easy.

A most cursory survey of international events during the recent months gives one cause for concern, perhaps apprehension. This concern extends even to the very continuance of peace itself, and this less than three years after one atom bomb destroyed 70,000 human beings.

It is possible to recognize this fear and its cause as political realities without giving way to gloomy forebodings about the inevitability of an early war. Ostrich-like optimism and panicky pessimism are equally to be avoided. Both would be a danger to our security. The fact remains, however, that the trend has unfortunately been away from peaceful co-operation and toward the division of one friendly world into two competing worlds.

The picture is much the same all over the world, much the same in Europe and in Asia. Let us look first at the European side. It seems to me that the most dramatic illustration of division and political deterioration in Europe has been the complete failure of the great powers to agree on even the basic problems of a German peace settlement. This failure has poisoned the political atmosphere and it certainly has hindered all movement toward the restoration and recovery of Europe's shattered economy. This failure itself is merely the result of the tragic inability of the western democracies and the eastern totalitarian states, led by the U.S.S.R., to establish any basis for co-operation or even any basis for mutual toleration.

We had hoped for mutual toleration founded on a genuine desire to live and let live. It seems now that we shall have to be content with toleration based on what I hope will be a healthy respect for the determination of each of us to prevent encroachment and resist domination by the other. But whatever may be its basis, without mutual toleration no satisfactory progress can be made in the political or economic rehabilitation of Europe or of the far east, or even in the development of the United Nations into an agency which can maintain peace, guarantee security and effectively promote human welfare.

Most of the troubles and fears of our day spring from this lack of trust, this absence of mutual toleration. The main although perhaps not the sole responsibility for this rests upon the aggressive and imperialistic policies of communism and on outside sponsorship and support of subversive communist fifth columns in many countries, more particularly in the countries of Europe. Even with close and friendly co-operation between the great powers the recovery of western Europe from the war would have been difficult. We must recognize that before 1939 western Europe depended for its efficiency on a very high degree of economic specialization. Long years of war and of enemy occupation have thrown this delicate mechanism almost entirely out of gear. Physical devastation, the depletion of economic resources, prolonged interruption of international trade, the loss of earnings from foreign investments, the loss of earnings from merchant fleets, are some of the factors which have contributed to the present precarious economic conditions in Europe.

To the destruction and dislocations of war - and we are beginning at last to realize how much greater these were than anybody imagined when the guns stopped firing - have been added difficulties of nature. We all know from what we have read that the winter of 1946-47 in Europe and in some parts of Asia was the worst for generations and would have set back the healing work of recovery even if there had not been these forces of division and disorder to which I have referred.