

exposed. Where, on the other hand, suspicions can be removed when they are unjust and unwarranted.

This does not mean that bilateral aid such as Point IV, or aid under such arrangements as the Colombo Plan, should be abandoned, or taken over by the United Nations. That would be unnecessary and undesirable as well as politically unrealistic. But the United Nations should be brought more and more into the picture, and all its members pressed to accept their full responsibility. In this way, as Mr. Hammarskjöld put it, we may find "a sound basis for the reconciliation of the natural national interest with valid international considerations."

Enlightened Self-Interest

But why bother at all? Haven't we enough to do at home? I could spend an hour or so on this question. Here I can only say that while the element of goodwill and neighbourliness does enter into these matters, as it does in their domestic manifestations, equally or more important is the long-term consideration of our own enlightened self-interest.

Today we all want peace; more anxiously, perhaps, than ever before, because the alternative could be total annihilation. But we are not always willing to do the things or make the sacrifices that ensure peace. Are we willing to accept, for instance, the proposition that there will be no peace in this small world if it consists of "residential areas surrounded by slums."

The domestic analogy applies here. Every free democratic government today accepts the fact—and most of them act on it—that national stability, welfare and progress are not possible if the poor are allowed to get poorer while the rich get richer. Inequalities and deprivations that are considered intolerable mean unrest, ferment and ultimate explosion.

The same result will inevitably and inexorably occur internationally, if hundreds of millions of people feel condemned indefinitely to an existence below or on the edge of subsistence; hopeless and helpless and bitter; the easy victims for extreme ideas and extremist agitators.

The main and the final responsibility for avoiding this situation lies with the governments and the peoples concerned. We in more favoured parts of the world can only supplement their efforts, unless of course, those efforts are hostile to us. But, we would be well advised to do that, and primarily in our own interest.

Nor should we expect, as I have just said, much gratitude; least of all the United States of America which, I think, deserves it most, in terms of the magnitude of the assistance given.

The United States is the most powerful and the richest country in the world. Yet while great national wealth and power can achieve international recognition and respect, it rarely gains affection—and not too often even understanding. This is something to which the giant has to become accustomed.

All history shows this to be the case, and most recently, the history of the British Empire.

I was reading the other day an article by Mr. Eugen Weber, a British Professor at the University of Iowa, entitled, "European Reactions to American Policies", which contained some witty and perspective reflections on this score. I will quote two paragraphs, while refusing to take responsibility for all the expressions he uses:

"The Greeks despised the Romans as Barbarians; no doubt the Egyptians in their turn despised the Greeks. We British have also had our time of greatness—our time of world supremacy. What were we in those days? We were perfidious Albion. We were a nation of long-shanked, long-toothed milords; of lean and angular spinsters; patronizing Cook's tours, gaping at European culture (which we were not supposed to understand), and calling loudly wherever we went for tea and for porridge. Now we are decaying, and only the memories of this great tradition still live on. We have gathered the distinction of decay. People prize us, like one of the riper sorts of cheese. We are supposed to enshrine and guard admirable traditions, a great cultural heritage, which no one seemed to suspect (or at any rate admit) a generation or two ago. It is wonderful what a little failure can do!

"Meanwhile, the Americans have taken over, more nilly than willy, the banner with the strange device of the white man's burden. They provide the perfidy, they provide the comic relief, they provide the gaping, uncultured tourists chewing gum and sipping cokes. They are the powerful and the rich, and for this they must pay the penalty; and one part of the penalty is that they cannot be loved when they are feared . . . or exploited."

On a day like this, however, I would not like to end on a note which suggests that one cannot be loved. Everything about this com-