

is discussion and negotiations between governments. It is precisely because the ability and willingness to talk, and the effort to understand, is the starting point for any development of community.

Good neighbourliness, like prudence, involves an ability and willingness to talk a situation over when there is something to say. It also involves, of course, some mutual knowledge, understanding, and respect. The most serious and disturbing feature in the policy of the totalitarian regimes which control so large an area in this interdependent world of ours, is, it seems to me, the Iron Curtain and the ruthless denial of human community which it implies. Fundamentally, of course, what the totalitarians have sought to erect is not merely a curtain to separate their own people from the rest of the world, but rather an iron blanket: their effort to control all communications and hence to prevent spontaneous or free expressions of ideas, news, or attitudes, extends among as well as around their own peoples. What we call the Iron Curtain is merely the outside edge of the blanket, the network of controls which seeks to deny the possibility of real community among the inhabitants of the territory which the totalitarians govern. Of course such efforts can only be partially successful. But I won't take your time trying to analyse totalitarian societies today.

The most basic factor, it seems to me, in the development (or disintegration) of neighbourliness, is the communication and thereby the reciprocal growth of creative (or destructive) attitudes to life and to our fellows. For it is attitudes that are contagious, and that really therefore shape the future of societies. It is motives that matter even more than material facts or the knowledge of facts: for it is people's motives that determine how the facts and knowledge are used.

It is precisely the assessment of the motives, and the main forces which are shaping the motives of large-scale action in our time, which, as it seems to me, gives the best ground for measured confidence in the foreseeable future.

It is useful to recognize how much of the international help undertaken by governments in the past ten years, and how many of our most constructive actions, have been motivated by calculations of prudence in a dangerous world: how many of them have, in fact, been responses to the threat of Communist aggression. Though UNRRA would certainly not fit into this category, nor the immediate post-war loans to help restore the economies of European countries which had been disrupted by war, this response to danger has certainly, I think, been the most important factor in prompting Western civilization to undertake such economic measures as the Marshall Plan, or such political measures as the development of the North Atlantic community. Both these