THE NEW TIMES

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"Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free"

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EDITORIAL

DOES FOREIGN AID REALLY HELP?

Regular readers of this journal are familiar with the fact that "foreign aid programmes are basically designed to overcome the internal financial and economic problems of the more developed countries. And the deeper student of international affairs knows that these programmes are a major aspect of the international revolutionary movement. Little criticism of these "aid" programmes has been possible because those offering any criticism have been depicted as selfish creatures not concerned about the plight of their less fortunate fellows. But at last some commentators are beginning to ask questions which, if followed up, could lead to a more widespread understanding of the realities concerning "foreign aid". The following article by the well-known British writer, Peregrine Worsthorne, in the "Daily Telegraph" (England) of August 20, 1964, is an example of some refreshing realism on the subject, clearly indicating that the peoples of the developed nations are suffering real economic loss without really helping the "have-nots":

The trouble about books aimed at justifying foreign aid is that the more successful they are at emphasising the desperate nature of the under-developed countries' needs, the less persuasive are they in convincing the reader that foreign aid is the right remedy.

A new volume by Prof. Herbert Feis, an American publicist, is only the latest example of this dismayingly self-defeating academic exercise.

First our consciences are torn to shreds by the shocking contrast between *their* poverty and *our* affluence. We are made to feel that this state of affairs is an outrage which no Christian or humanitarian can possibly tolerate. Having worried our moral sensibilities, the next step is to disturb our sense of physical security.

Do we not realise that unless something is done to reduce the abyss between the coloured "have-nots" and the white "haves," the world is going to be plunged into conflict by a terrible revolutionary explosion?

So not only is it morally necessary for the West to help, but it is politically expedient as well. The West's security is at stake quite as much as Afro-Asian welfare.

If the author is eloquent and plausible - - and Prof. Feis is both — the reader is by now as moved by the moral challenge as he is alarmed by the physical threat. One reads on, urgently eager to learn what must be done to save and be saved.

Then comes the anti-climax, the pitifully inadequate solution to this unprecedented double challenge. We are asked to believe that allocating X number of pounds and dollars in foreign aid, without strings, is the sensible Western response.

At this point I am always dissolved in gusts of laughter, out of sheer relief. Obviously the problem cannot be as serious as the author says it is, if he suggests that foreign aid is the answer. It is rather as if a doctor, having examined a dying patient with increasing gravity, concluded his agonising diagnosis by prescribing a couple of aspirins.

Far, Far Beyond

Unfortunately, if the author has done the first part of his job effectively, and Prof. Feis certainly has, the disagreeable truth swiftly dawns that the comic triviality of the remedy does not invalidate the tragic profundity of the diagnosis. It merely shows that even as learned and serious a specialist as Prof. Feis lacks the intellectual courage to admit the true conclusions that flow from his analysis.

They are, starkly stated, that if we are serious about the challenge of the under-developed countries, if we

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STUDY MAPS ON PAGES FOUR AND FIVE

As many of our readers do not see the League of Rights' official publication, "The Intelligence Survey," we are reprinting the two maps used in the special February issue of "The Intelligence Survey." There has already been a tremendous reaction to these maps, now republished in a League brochure of 8 pages packed with explosive factual material about the international situation. "New Times" readers are urged to help in the nation-wide campaign of distribution of this material. Prices for this publication are: 1/- per single copy; 10/- per dozen; 30/- per 50; 50/- per 100; 90/- per 200.

If there is sufficient demand, the maps will also be published on stiff poster paper, so that these maps may be displayed in public places. Some teachers are already making use of them. The estimated price of the maps as posters will be approximately 1/3 each.

Order from The Australian League of Rights, Box 1052J, G.P.O., Melbourne.

ABORIGINES MUST NOT BE EXPLOITED TO FURTHER REVOLUTION

If, as C. H. Douglas said, control of credit and control of news were concentric, the world-wide publicity given to the recent antics of Australia's "freedom riders" in Northern N.S.W., would appear to be of some significance. This publicity will be used to the maximum in the conduct of an international campaign against this country similar to that being conducted against South Africa. Whether the part aborigine student Mr. Perkins understands the revolutionary purpose he is serving we do not know. But those members of the Communist Eureka Youth League who were in his team knew what they were about.

In the following article on the problem of the Australian aborigines, our contributor D. Watts urges that Australians protect these simple people from being exploited in the interests of those who have no real concern about them

An interesting article by a staff correspondent writing about "Aborigines in Australia" appeared in *The Sydney Morning Herald* some time back. Perhaps it was not the writer's fault that a journalist's propaganda inheritance cast a faint shadow of casuistry over what was really a straightforward account of a development and a situation. The word, casuistry, may here be understood in both its original and its debased sense. There seemed to be an egalitarian conscience struggling with the fact of racial differences, and also there was a using of terms to make things seem what they are not.

The writer, himself, gives some impression of being uneasily aware of the slight confusion arising from being obliged to give an air of verbal respectability to a statement of what is now being recognised . . . the impracticability of a speedy and complete assimilation of the aborigines into a white society. The ill that could come out of trying to fix old words to the new conception is that there could be, not a broader view with increased knowledge, but merely a shift of focus with just as narrow a vision.

The new experiment is to be the establishing of a multi-racial, multi-cultural society, and there are some indications that in seeking to bring it into being, there will be as little consideration of relevant factors as there was when assimilation was the queen idea.

Double-Talk On "Integration"

The writer quotes an official statement to describe assimilation:

"The policy of assimilation means that all aborigines and part-aborigines will attain the same manner of living as other Australians and live as members of a single Australian community enjoying the same rights and privileges, accepting the same responsibilities, observing the same customs and influenced by the same beliefs, hopes and loyalties as other Australians."

Briefly the present proposition is that since the policy of assimilation has failed, the next experiment should be "integration." The writer hastens to say, "The word is vague but the concept is not. Basically it means recognising that aborigines for years to come will form their own distinct social groups, and helping them to live their own lives equal to but distinct from the white man's. This does not imply segregation, but simply the existence of two cultures side by side."

In other places he says that in practice integrationists

believe that the aborigines should be encouraged to develop their own communities and forms of self-government and shape their own adapting to the society around them, that they should own their land and be encouraged to develop their holdings, to form their own co-operative projects and share responsibility for the management of their affairs. With this "integration" the aborigines need a crash program to give them advanced education, training in skills and the know-how that will help them to become self-sufficient. This time teacher's bad boy, the white Australian, who a little while ago was being scolded, bullied, threatened, intimidated and dragooned into accepting the policy of assimilation without reservations is to be scolded, bullied, threatened, intimidated and dragooned into accepting the fact that there will be no sweet integration without cultural pluralism.

There is some nice word juggling in the attempt to have a change of policy without a change of terms. The attaining by all of the same manner of living in a community in which all enjoy the same rights and privileges, a state which anywhere necessitates the observing of the same customs and being influenced by the same beliefs (moral and ideological) and hopes (ambitions) is, according to the article, Assimilation in Australia and "something of a dirty word." In the U.S.A. it is what Negroes demand in the name of Civil Rights, and there it is called Integration.

In Australia, however, Integration apparently means that the aboriginal race will form its own distinct social groups, so that there will exist two cultures side-by-side; but in South Africa that is called apartheid, and by "integrationists" in other countries an abomination.

Names Do Not Alter Reality

Australians may call that latter form of organisation multiracialism and South Africa may call it separate development, but by any name it is a kind of segregation. I suppose the argument is that when the separation into different racial groups is voluntary it is integration or multiracialism, but when it is compulsory it is apartheid or segregation. If so, why is not the same form in every case called by the same name and the difference denoted by a qualifying word? Why not say compulsory and voluntary segregation? Maybe there is a shying away from what was so emphatically denied but turns out to be true that there are indeed racial differences.

Mainly the clothing of nude reality in words of prudish,

political propriety is demanded by an egalitarian tradition. The theory was that since all men are equal there must be an all-over human sameness, and difference must be a perversion of the natural state. Consequently, sameness being a quality of assimilation or integration, these were held to be good; but because by means of segregation or apartheid differences are preserved, those forms were regarded as being bad. Now the values of good and bad have been cemented to the respective words; but from experience it has been found that racial differences are natural and liked and that therefore the policy of allowing some degree or form of segregation is the only workable one; but the segregation must be called integration to denote that it is good. It is a little silly, a little superstitious; but the worst of it is that it does not make for correct description or honest thinking.

Cultural Differences

There are cultures that are different in kind, and there are different stages of cultural development. The different stages may in some instances, and may not in others, be related to differences in ability to produce culture and differences to assimilate it. A glance over that shows that racial relationships do not present us with a simple problem yielding everywhere to the same, simple solution.

On the highest level the differences between cultures hardly create a problem, for the well-educated person can appreciate an alien culture even though he may prefer that of his own people. The problems created by the existence of people at different stages of cultural development can be solved by educationalists and sociologists, not by rushing and crashing, but slowly and steadily. The task is not to bring everyone at once to the highest stage, but to encourage higher stages to be reached from lower ones. The problems created by the existence of different degrees of cultural ability can be solved only by grading; and this is done, though so far never perfectly, in all societies except those at the lowest stage of cultural development where, all being in the lowest grade, there are no cultural class distinctions and the form of organisation is consequently communistic.

Wherever there are different racial and cultural groups in the same political body there must be some integration, some segregation and some assimilation. There must be integration under one government, and that calls for a common loyalty. There must be a measure of legal integration, and that requires having the same basic, moral beliefs. There must, in these times, be considerable economic integration. There must be certain sameness in the way of living to make communication possible, and that involves a certain amount of social integration.

Segregation Is Natural

There must be segregation. Like is happiest with like. People can live harmoniously with those who are different in noticeable ways only if they can, at will, escape from the different into an intimate environment of their like. The desire of American Negroes to be accepted as likes by the white people is an unnatural one, artificially gen-

erated. As said before, nearly all the bitterness and hate and sense of injustice that compulsory integration has brought to the boil could have been avoided had it been recognised that it is not the segregating, but the making of segregation disadvantageous and humiliating to one of the groups that is wrong.

Where two or more racial groups exist within the one nation there will be a certain amount of cultural assimilation and almost inevitably a fringe of physical assimilation. That brings us to the matter of different cultural stages and grades, and to the question of whether those who have reached advanced stages should assimilate the forms and values of a culture at a lower stage of development or vice versa. A high standard of cultural development is a hardly won and easily lost prize. With that in mind there should be some sympathy with white South Africans trying to segregate themselves in order to prevent a superior culture from disappearing through being dissipated by assimilation into a much less highly developed one. Such thought might even lead to the conclusion that the racial group with the highest cultural standards should be the dominating one.

White Australians' Responsibility

Both aboriginal and white Australians have a natural right to segregate themselves but, on account of its present cultural superiority, the white group has the moral right to be the dominating one and, by right of might, dominate it does. Whether the general policy in dealing with aborigines and their affairs is one of assimilation, integration or segregation or any other, it will be determined, for good or ill, success or failure, by the white governors. These may not be able to dictate what shall be the final result of their policy, but they do and must govern the general direction of development. The essence of that is that with any policy there must be some degree of Protection. As a matter of fact, one of the most important functions of government is protection and, in good government, the greater the need, the more protection is afforded.

Protection is impertinent only when offered patronisingly. Otherwise it is a duty of the strong towards the weak. We will never give the aborigines the protection they need and can accept with dignity while we harbour a sense of guilt about them. The abject cannot help to elevate others. For the sake of the self-respect we need in order to win their respect, we must cease this masochistic business of self-abasement. To begin with, be it inelegantly said that the talk about taking the aborigines' land away from them is malarkey.

Sense of Possessing Lacking

Mr. Duncan, tutor for adult aborigines, is quoted in the *Sydney Morning Herald* article as saying, "... they (the aborigines) don't understand the importance we place on possessions." He remarks that possessions are not status symbols to them.

People who do not place any importance on possessions would not have any sense of possessing the land in the first place. What the aborigines had and valued were what

THE COMMUNIST EMPIRE IN 1939



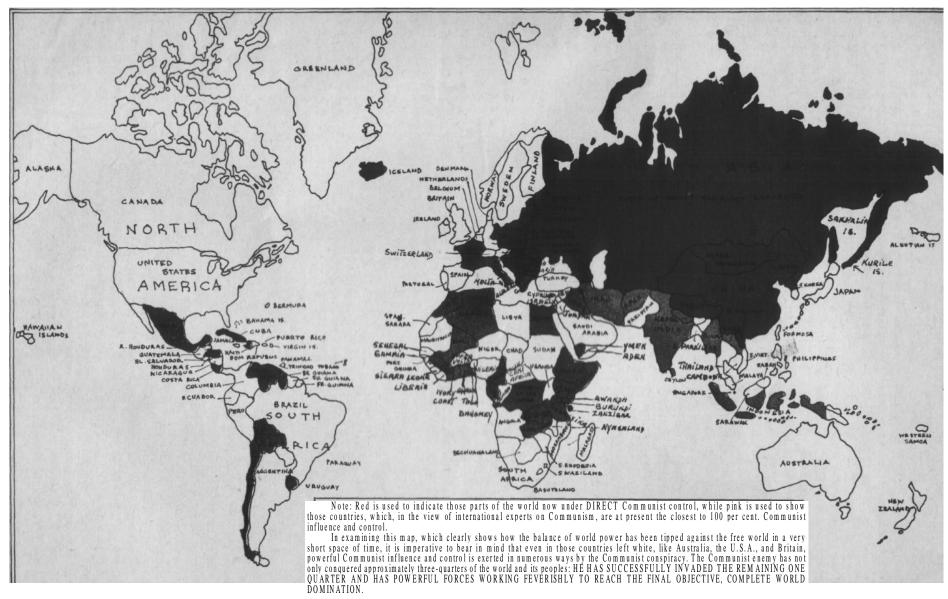
In 1903 Lenin, the organisational genius of the Communist conspiracy, established the first Bolshevik Party pledged to follow his programme for world conquest. Lenin had 17 supporters. At a time when the British Empire was strong, and Western Civilization appeared to have an indefinite future, few took Lenin and his movement seriously. But in 1917, with only 40,000 supporters, Lenin and Trotsky seized control of Russia to use as the major base for world revolution.

When Lenin died and Stalin won his battle for power against Trotsky, the same type of people who applauded Khrushchev because of his "anti-Stalinism" were praising Stalin as a "moderate" because he was allegedly a Russian nationalist primarily devoted to building Socialism in Russia.

He was not an international revolutionary like Trotsky! But Stalin not only concentrated upon firmly establishing the Russian base for international revolution; he quietly set about the development of an international Communist espionage system which penetrated all other countries in preparation for coming events.

Stalin's non-aggression pact with Hitler in August 1939 was the culmination of Communist strategy to foster a second world war, which would enable the world revolution to be expanded. The map on the opposite back shows just how successful Communist strategy has been in expanding the Communist Empire—and Communist influence—since 1939.

THE COMMUNIST EMPIRE TODAY



Upon the outbreak of the world war the Communists welcomed, Stalin seized Eastern Poland, and then took over Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and part of Finland. Although most of these conquests were temporarily lost to the Nazis, they were later recovered. The Communists then conquered the following Eastern European nations: Albania, Hungary, Roumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and East Germany. Complete control of Eastern Europe was achieved in 1948 when the Communists took over Czechoslovakia from within. Lenin's first major objective for world conquest had been achieved.

Within days of the end of the Pacific War, in August 1945, Stalin's troops had occupied Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands. A look at the map indicates their strategic importance in a Russian campaign against Japan.

In 1945 the Communists set up their "People's Republic in Outer Mongolia", while in 1948 both North Korea and Manchuria were completely taken over. By 1950 Communist control of China had been completed. Tibet passed under Communist control in 1951. In 1954 North Vietnam was conquered by the Communists. Cuba, only 90 miles from the U.S.A., was added to the Communist Empire by Castro in 1959.

Most of Asia and Africa has been lost, or is in process of being lost. Lenin's second major objective is being rapidly reached. The U.S.A. and Western Europe, particularly Britain, are being isolated and "softened" up for the final phase of the Communist campaign.

These maps are published by the Australian League of Rights, non-party, 273 Little Collins Street Melbourne Phone: 63-9749.

may be roughly described as hunting and fishing rights. We took those away and in doing so deprived them of a way of life. Whether we compensate them by giving them rations and shanties a little better than the food and shelter they used to get by their own efforts, or a standard of living as high as our own, we cannot give them back their old way of life. But loss of that kind is recurrent in the procession of historical changes. After all, the younger generations have no compunction about depriving the older generations of their own race of an accustomed way of life.

If we try to live perpetually and poetically in what was for gone generations of aborigines a calamity, we shall probably end by trying to give the present generations a mummified way of living, albeit the mummy may be richly decorated. There is indication that the benevolent idealists are planning to make of the proposed distinct, social groups of aborigines Model Communist Settlements.

Mr. Duncan, when speaking of their lack of a sense of possession, remarks upon their very strong community feeling and their habit of sharing everything. He says that they do not accept the individualism of the white people. That seems to describe the perfect communist psychology. The implication in the *Sydney Morning Herald* article is that the aborigines' strong communal feelings and traditions will be retained in communities in which they will be encouraged "to develop their own form of self-government and form their own co-operative projects and share the responsibility for the management of their own affairs."

The Menace Of Ideological Communism

Ideological communism - thus throws its image over the future dreamed for them.

It will be another dream that did not come true. Though the basic forms of primitive communalism and ideological communism are the same, there is a vast difference in character between them. This is from the difference between necessity and urge. Primitive communalism is the first stage of political and social organisation; but ideological communism is a very sophisticated conception, the realising of which involves a great deal of what may be called counter-organising to an already developed social and political complexity. So great an effort of organising is needed to melt individualist developments back into the communist form that in the end there is not a simple primitive, communist society, but stark organisation in which de-individualisation is compensated-for by elaboration of the governmental machine.

In a primitive, communal society there is a minimum of organisation. Certainly the group is unified by customs and ceremonies that are rigid and do call for some organising; but these may be the rudiments of an organisational vertebral column rather than the film of an evolving shell to confine development within a communist form. The people live at first by hunting. The hunters bring home the kill to feed the community. When some primitive agriculture is developed, the old custom of sharing the

food will naturally be followed. This rigidity of governing customs with a sharing of all by all is of the nature of theoretical communism; but it is extremely important not to confuse a stage of organisational development with an ultimate form of planned organisation.

Attempts to force a primitive, communal way of life to produce organised communism in full flower would probably make the aborigines long for their old shanty settlements as never they longed for their mia-mias and kangaroo hunts, because the reason why they never advanced beyond the primary stage of organisation seems to be that they are an easy-going people; whereas the creation of ideological communist societies is a very strenuous business.

People without a sense of possession or individualist urges are people without much personal ambition and so without the incentive to submit themselves to the discipline of hard, continuous mental or physical work. Where there is not personal ambition there is not likely to be community ambition. Besides, communism is not, for aborigines, a social or political ideal inspiring great effort. Their communalism is merely a practical tradition that has been preserved through their very lack of personal ambition. If they are ever persuaded to accept advanced education, training in skills and the know-how to help them become self-sufficient, with development and a good standard of living their primitive communism is likely to break down.

Recently I came across a remark quoted from "Life in a Kibbutz" by Murray Weingarten: "It seems much easier to maintain a communal set-up in a poorly developed, impoverished society where there is little to divide and no opportunity to become an 'executive' than it is when the community begins to expand its wealth and activity." Exactly. Commonsense can tell anyone why.

Add to the fact that with development comes the complexity which shatters the simplicity without which communism is a sham, the circumstance that the aborigines seem to have a genius for passive resistance, and we meet the probability that efforts to promote the multi-racialism which is apparently an alias for communism may end, at worst, in the creating of self-governed humpy settlements or, at best, in bringing about plain Government Protection and supervision with comparatively good living conditions.

Multi-Racialism

Of course the idea of multi-racialism, like that of racial integration and communism and a good many others is an importation into this country. Particularly when dealing with the aborigine problem Australians might try to think for themselves instead of indulging in their favourite past-time of copycatting. They might begin by recognising that the racial problem is different in every country. In the U.S.A. the problem of the Red Indian who has lost all but an imitation of his native culture but has retained his peculiar character is different from that of the more ebullient and aggressive Negro with the remnants of an inherited culture badly fitted to an acquired one.

Racial problems in the U.S.A. where the dominance of the culturally most advanced majority group is unchallenged are different from those in South Africa where the dominance of a culturally advanced minority group is deliberately being made as precarious as possible. The aborigine problem in Australia is different again from the Negro and Red Indian problems in the U.S.A. and the Negro problem in South Africa.

We would possibly arrive at a practical and humane solution of our aborigine problem were we to sweep away the word-mess of assimilation, integration, segregation, equality, multi-racialism and the rest so that we may be able to see clearly the task before us. We should help the aboriginal people to take a step in development at a time instead of trying to haul them to some pre-ordained place with a single heave-ho. That is to say we should not allow ourselves to be stampeded by the present fashionable demands for crashing and speeding. We should allow their development to follow its own line in whichever direction natural impulse and aspiration lead. The important thing is that the aborigines exercise their greatest abilities and embody the values that afford them the most satisfaction in forms that are pleasing to themselves. We can properly require of them that they do not grievously offend against our morality; and it is our duty to protect them from our immorality -prostitution and drunkenness for example.

With their temperament maybe the aborigines could, in a long time, develop a society which, though perhaps less luxurious, materially, than ours, might yet be psychically more comfortable; and with those conditions a higher cultural level than is ours at present could be attained. It would, however, be worse than rash to prophesy that they will create such a society, and beyond our right to set such a goal for them.

Should the aborigines, prodded by us or their own aspirations, make a success in any form of self-run settlements, while they, as a people, remain under our protection we owe it to them to spare them the indignity of being made a poppy-show for tourists or political dog's meat for communists and hungry U.N. observers.

"POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE

WEEKLY" Editor: John Paul Following the last British Elections, Mr. John Paul, founder and director of the Anti-Common Market League, launched a new venture to continue serving those interested in the future of the British Commonwealth: a high class weekly intelligence service. "Political Intelligence Weekly" contains penetrating comments on significant developments in Britain, particularly those that affect the Commonwealth.

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JEWISH FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR BRITISH SOCIALISTS

The bill promised by the socialists, to require disclosure of political contributions by companies in their accounts, is a long time making its appearance for so superficially simple a matter. It could well be that the government is finding this new legislation harder to draft than it expected and, additionally, perhaps more of a two-edged weapon than might have been desired.

We do not doubt that most companies, which can pluck up the courage to give money to political causes, prefer to do so to the Conservative Party, but there are still a number of very wealthy men reputed to give support to the Labour Party who may not always confine their generosity to their own pockets. Men like Lewis Cohen, Robert Maxwell, Isaac Wolfson, E. S. Birk, Sidney Bernstein and Lord Sainsbury are all connected with sizeable businesses, and it must be well within the bounds of probability that contributions come from their firms as well. The support in South Wales from Julian Hodge and C. H. Bailey may also not have been purely personal.

The man who interests us in this list as much as any is E. S. Birk, who is a solicitor said to represent the large Ellerman interests in the International Publishing Corporation, publishers of the left-wing Daily and Sunday Mirrors. Birk is also a director of Associated Television and is married to Mrs. Alma Birk, who writes for the Sunday Mirror and stood unsuccessfully as a socialist candidate for parliament in 1950, 1951 and 1955. Both are said to be long-standing members of the Labour Party.

The particular point which interested us, seeing that Ellis Samuel Birk, B.A., is shown in the Directory of Directors as having an address at 19/21 Moorgate (the address given also for Sir John Ellerman), is whether he is solicitor Elias Samuel Birk of the same address, shown as being a joint holder of 7,730 shares out of 20,000 in a firm of moneylenders, Mason & Wood. Two early principals in the firm were Russian Jews, Bloch and Birk, both acquiring British nationality and the former changing name to Black. To some people a joint shareholding of nearly 40% in a firm of moneylenders may otherwise seem an unusual, and even excessively capitalist, way of expressing support for the creed of socialism and the universal brotherhood of man. But perhaps Ellis and Elias are two very different men.

The considerable element of Jewish financial support for the Labour Party may have some bearing on the fact that 31 of the present 316 socialist M.P.'s are Jews -- a very high proportion of 10% in relation to Britain's population, although not yet in quite the same bracket as the 22% of Old Etonians gracing the Tory benches.

- John Paul in Political Intelligence Weekly, Feb. 26.

DOES FOREIGN AID REALLY HELP

Cont from PAGE 1

deeply and passionately believe in our responsibility to raise their standards of living; if we sincerely fear the explosive consequences of one-quarter of the world waxing fat and the other three-quarters living like animals, then we have an inescapable obligation to go far, far beyond foreign aid.

If the challenge really is as Prof. Feis says it is — and he merely puts into book form the arguments deployed by every Western statesman, notably Sir Alec Douglas-Home — can the West avoid the conclusion that the whole complex anti-colonial process by which the West has thrown away — or allowed itself to be deprived of -- the means to do anything effective about the backward peoples was an act of callous selfishness and inexcusable self-indulgence by comparison with which Pontius Pilate's washing of hands stands out as an act of dutiful dedication?

Lost Opportunities

Just consider the tragic implications of the *timing* of colonial withdrawal. The Western Powers were persuaded, or persuaded themselves, to abdicate their mission and hand over control to local rulers (whose ambitions scarcely exceed the primitive goal of feathering their own nests) just at the moment when their physical resources and surplus wealth had become large enough to transform the under-developed world; they did so at the precise point in history when Western man had so harnessed nature that he enjoyed the technical know-how and power to revolutionise the lives of the backward peoples with a speed and on a scale almost comparable to the original act of divine creation.

To the historian of the future this will surely appear as the supreme treason of the clerks. The imagination mists over at the thought of the West's lost opportunities to do good in the world, if only its confidence in its destiny to civilize and succour the backward peoples, which had been so powerful in the 19th century when its physical capacity to do the job was relatively meagre, had lasted into the second half of the 20th century when science placed in its hands the means to practise what formerly it could only preach.

Foreign aid, unfortunately, is the West's attempt to escape the consequences of these tragically lost opportunities; a sad experiment in self-deception.

No amount of economic aid, on however generous a scale, has the slightest chance of galvanising Asia and Africa into a condition of self-sustaining growth. Nobody with eyes to see who visits these countries - - as I have done - - can fail to conclude that unless the advanced countries intervene politically as well as economically the prospect of significant progress is dismally small; and of significant retrogression grimly great.

Frankness prompts one to be more confident of the development of the moon, once the advanced countries gain untrammelled access to its arid craters, than of development in many parts of Africa and Asia where the advanced countries can only operate under political condi-

tions which reduce their best efforts to metaphorical ashes far more barren than those lunar wastes of outer space.

This is not written in a spirit of contempt or blame. The religious, cultural, social, historical, climatic — not to mention economic and political -- obstacles barring progress in Asia and Africa are of a dimension that is beyond many Westerners' capacity to grasp.

It has been estimated, for example, that the Paris of 1789 had more skilled industrial labour and experienced management than that supplied by the 100,000,000 people of Indonesia today; and that Elizabethan England could boast a more scientifically orientated population than contemporary India.

For comparisons with Africa one would have to go back to pre-history. To suppose that foreign aid without political strings can overcome these chronic difficulties is to throw reason to the winds, albeit to the winds of change.

But surely (it may be objected) assuming that political interventionism is now utterly impracticable, foreign aid is better than nothing. I am not at all sure about this.

Is there not a danger that encouragement of the West to believe in the relevance of foreign aid, even as a partial solution, when in truth it is no solution at all, engenders a false sense of complacency, which in turn precludes any genuine attempt to find realistic answers?

Is there not a danger, too, that Western involvement on a wholly unrealistic basis with the deepening tragedy of the under-developed countries will cause us to be blamed (and to blame ourselves) for developments wholly outside our control; that pre-occupation with helping the under-developed world will deflect the West's limited resources of idealism from putting its own house in order (which is a practicable goal) into the morass of Africa and Asia where the conditions for practical help are totally absent; and most dangerous of all, that the West, increasingly discouraged by the mounting evidence of the futility of its noble endeavours, will allow the consequential frustrations and disappointments to infect its own faith in its own destiny?

Japanese Lesson

One final sobering thought. What is the one non-Western, coloured country that has successfully broken through into the modern world? Japan. How did it do it? By its own drive and energy, without foreign aid. Why did it do it? Because it could no longer tolerate being pushed about by the Western Powers.

But what would have happened to Japan if the West, instead of seeking to exploit its weakness and backwardness, had sweetly offered to help with foreign aid

Is it not possible that Western charity to the underdeveloped world today, while quite insufficient to bring about self-sustaining growth, is just enough to satisfy national pride, particularly since so much of it goes into status symbols like airlines and armies?

In other words foreign aid may be dulling the one incentive that once worked an economic miracle in Japan, and might work elsewhere if only the West did not feel compelled to smother it with kindness.