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Byng, Edward J. (Edward John), 1894-1962.

A five-year peace plan,
a schedule for peace

[1943]

A FIVE-YEAR PEACE PLAN

WORLD LEADER
WHO SAVED

A Five-Year

PEACE

Author of

OF THE MEEK AND THE MIGHTY

PLAN

A Schedule For
Peace Building

By

EDWARD J. BYNG

COWARD-McCANN, INC.

NEW YORK

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TO THE GLORIOUS MEMORY
OF
MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS

up the various indispensable punitive and precautionary measures by unnecessary acts of cruelty. Besides, wanton cruelty might impart the martyr's halo to some totalitarian gangsters and their sympathizers. And the resultant legend of their "suffering and sacrifice" might again create the very kind of poisonous jingo atmosphere in which Hitlers and Mussolinis thrive!

When this war is won we must leave no center of jingo infection in the world either through lack of energy or lack of self-restraint. The peacemakers should be fully aware that, *like democracy, peace also is one and indivisible*. Mankind does not want a "clever" peace—it needs a *wise* peace.

The twin watchwords of the peace must be:

No sentimentality.

No cruelty.

A primitive soul is swayed by passion. A self-critical soul is wary of passion. An advanced soul is free from passion.

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I

THE REASON FOR
THE FIVE-YEAR PEACE PLAN

garian war. They should occupy and police the Black Sea ports of Varna, on the Bulgarian side, and Constanza, on the Rumanian side of the Bulgaro-Rumanian danger region. The potential source of a Bulgaro-Rumanian war is the Southern Dobrudja, situated between these two key cities.

Failing these vital measures of paramount urgency, the four-cornered Balkan war would probably start with a Hungarian attack against Rumania or a Rumanian attack against Hungary, probably with each party bombing the other's capital from the air. Rumania would try to grab Northern Transylvania, adjudicated to Hungary by German-Italian "arbitration" in 1940, on the grounds that that strip of land is predominantly Rumanian-inhabited. Hungary would try to grab Southern Transylvania, now Rumanian, claiming that, like Northern Transylvania, it had formed part of Hungary for centuries before both parts of Transylvania were given to Rumania in 1918.

While the fighting between Rumania and Hungary goes on, Hungary would probably be attacked in the rear by Slovakia, advancing from the northwest. Rumania would probably be attacked by Bulgaria, advancing from the south and southwest. To use the time-honored vocabulary of European politics, the Slovak and Bulgarian aggression would have the character of a "preventive war," which means that if the Slovaks don't attack the Hungarians and the Bulgarians the Rumanians while those two countries are busy fighting one another, the Hungarians might attack the Slovaks and the Rumanians the Bulgarians a little later.

In other words, we should have another full-fledged Balkan war, raging from the Polish frontier to the Aegean and the Black Sea.

“Those governments last long without danger which instill into the hearts not fear by their cruelty but love by their goodness.”

“Those who do not serve as slaves, under compulsion, but are obedient from conviction, are never restive, unless driven to it by violence and outrage.”

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, philosopher, philanthropist, Roman Emperor, victor over the invading Germans in 173-174 A.D., on his deathbed in Vienna, in March 180 A.D., following another victory over the Germans.

My first thought of writing this book came following a broadcast on a nation-wide C.B.S. hook-up in June 1941, when I was a guest on Columbia's "People's Platform" program. The plan began to take definite shape during a series of lectures before graduate classes at New York University's School of Education in March 1942, in which I dealt with post-war problems. In certain parts of the chapter dealing with the spiritual aspect of the post-war situation, I have followed up some reflections advanced in a course of twelve lectures in New York City's Carnegie Hall, in the spring of 1941, in which I attempted a synthesis between eastern and western cultural concepts.

In this book, I am trying to be specific and direct. Consequently, I have avoided a theoretical, historical,

or other indirect approach to the subject. For the same reason, I prefer to discard the official and distant majestic plural used by kings, newspapers, and authors, and am using the first person where necessary.

It is perfectly obvious that the changing fortunes of war may temporarily cause some of the ideas or suggestions advanced in this book to look dated, premature, or even nonsensical. But I don't believe I should allow this consideration to influence the basic structure and contents of the book, which was completed during the summer of 1942, and was in the hands of the publisher by the middle of December of that year.

When the time comes to talk peace the leaders of the victorious United Nations will undoubtedly avoid the mistakes made at Versailles. But the new peace must not have negative virtues only. It must dig the grave of "ethno-centrism," must tear economic and political *super*-nationalism out by the roots—and pave the way for *supra*-nationalism.

Mere *inter*-national co-operation, as represented by the League of Nations, has gone bankrupt. No real co-operation among nations is possible if any one government can walk out on any vital issue, defy the rest of the world, and dynamite peace. It is absurd to demand unanimity for international decisions, such as was required in decisions by the League of Nations Council under the League Covenant. There will always be some fanatic, fool, or criminal at the head of some state who may instruct his diplomatic representative to vote "no" and torpedo human progress.

Humanity must be taught to think and act *supra*-nationally, not just *inter*-nationally.

Reason for the Five-Year Peace Plan 5

To *think* supra-nationally means, as the word "supra" implies, to be above nationalism. It means to transcend the para-hypnotic concept of nationalism, which has resulted in the collective "ethno-centric" psychosis of this generation, just as the para-hypnotic concept of religious differentiation caused the collective religious psychosis of the generation that fought the Thirty Years' War.

To *act* supra-nationally means to co-operate on a plane higher than mere inter-nationalism. It means co-operation between free and equal nations, not under some international bully like the Beast of Berchtesgaden, but under some freely and generally accepted form of leadership.

Throughout the book I will use the term "supra-national" in this sense, in preference to "international."

Supra-nationalism is true cosmopolitanism. In ancient Greece the teachers of the Stoic school of philosophy coined the term *Cosmopolis*. It denoted the ideal of a world community of free and equal peoples. In other words, *cosmopolitanism is democracy on the supra-national plane—world democracy, one and indivisible.*

Past attempts at real international co-operation having failed, the post-war world must become truly supra-national, i.e., cosmopolitan, in outlook. Our children must learn to understand that *a constructive patriot and a good cosmopolitan are two terms for the same thing.*

More and more leaders of the United Nations agree that a certain amount of time, perhaps a few years, must pass between the end of the shooting and the drafting of a peace treaty.

No attitude could be wiser. The problems of the post-

war period will be simply too big to be approached in a doctrinary spirit. The ultimate form of the peace can be found solely through empirical methods. Moreover, when the Nazi hangmen have to evacuate the countries which are the scene of their atrocities, a thoroughly comprehensible wave of righteous anger will sweep through Europe. And, unfortunately, along with that righteous anger will come a recrudescence of nationalism in a particularly virulent form. A peace made in that highly emotional atmosphere would perpetuate hatred and sow the seed of more wars. This is another reason why we must not be in a hurry to make a formal peace.

When the "Cease Firing" sounds *we must have a definite and co-ordinated peace program worked out and ready; apply it; watch it in operation; readjust and improve it by trial and error; only then can we "freeze" post-war conditions in a formal treaty.*

So, the treaty must follow several years of experience obtained through empirical peace-building. In a lecture on post-war problems at New York University in March 1942, I estimated that five years must pass before the peace document can be drafted. Without wanting to be dogmatic about it, I still believe that the interval between the cessation of hostilities and a formal peace treaty should be about five years, perhaps more but certainly not less.

We must confront the job of building up a workable peace during the five crucial post-war years with a *Five-Year Peace Plan*. As already indicated, that Five-Year Peace Plan should be ready when the Axis throws up the sponge. It should be worked out *now*. The major part of this book consists of specific suggestions for measures which, in my strictly personal opinion, should form an organic part of such a Five-Year Peace Plan.

Reason for the Five-Year Peace Plan 7

But "Nature does not jump." *We must be idealists but not dreamers.* This book is written for men and women whose attitude will influence peace building in the *present* generation, and not in 2043. Throughout the book, my endeavor has been to make suggestions for measures which appear to me to be both *desirable and possible*, instead of being *desirable but as yet impracticable*.

On the other hand, I think that the institutions here advocated will not have to be pulled down later, before something better can be set up in their place. In other words, I sincerely believe that the measures and institutions advocated in my Five-Year Peace Plan can automatically serve as a basis for such, even more advanced, institutions as humanity's growing maturity may make possible later.

The principal killers and thieves who seized power in Germany on January 30, 1933, must be severely punished, without sentimentality. The hundreds of thousands of dangerous fanatics, opportunists, megalomaniacs, sadistic perverts, and petty thieves who rallied round the major Nazi criminals, as well as the Fascist element in Italy and the militarist clique in Japan, must be methodically and permanently removed from public life. Then, having decontaminated these centers of Nazi, Fascist, and militarist infection, the victorious democracies must not allow the just anger of the liberated masses to degenerate into wanton, indiscriminate cruelty and bestiality on the Nazi model.

We all know today that by overshooting the mark the victor sows the seeds of another war twenty years later. Therefore nothing would be more foolish than to follow

II

IMMEDIATE POST-WAR MEASURES

“Save men—life is short!”

“Truly, how worthless are these political nonentities, these extra clever doctrinaries of statesmanship! Prattlers, every one of them! I say to you, man, do what Nature requires, here and now. Get down to action . . . don't look for Utopias. Be content if even the smallest thing is accomplished, and don't consider that a small matter!”

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.

Most thinking people are agreed that when the “Cease Firing” sounds the world situation will have so many catastrophic aspects that a number of immediate measures must be taken to meet them. Therefore, before going into the various points of the *Five-Year Peace Plan*, I shall deal first with the principal immediate post-war measures I advocate.

1. *Pending the methodical military occupation of the whole of Germany by troops of the United Nations, airborne troops should effect an immediate “advance occupation” of the following points in Europe:*

Oslo (Norway);

Copenhagen (Denmark);

The Hague, Amsterdam, and Rotterdam (Holland);

Brussels and Antwerp (Belgium);

Hamburg, Emden, Kiel, Bremen, Lübeck, Danzig,

Rostock (Germany);

Berlin, Munich, Nuremberg (Germany);
Duisburg, Ruhrort, Wuppertal (formerly known as
the twin cities Elberfeld and Barmen), Cologne,
Düsseldorf, Dortmund (Germany);
Paris, Brest, Cherbourg, Bordeaux, Marseille, Toulon,
Le Havre, Lille, Lyon, Strasbourg (France);
Prague (Bohemia);
Reichenberg, also known as Liberec; Rumburg; Eger;
Teplitz-Schönau (Sudeten country);
Vienna (Austria);
Rome (Italy);
Turin, Milan (Italy);
Bratislava, Žilina (Slovakia);
Teschen; Oderberg, also known as Bohumin. (Until
1919, Austria; 1919-1938, Czechoslovakia; 1938-
1939, Poland; then occupied by Germany);
Munkács (Carpatho-Ukraine; until 1918, Hungary;
1918-38, Czechoslovakia; from 1938 again Hungary);
Budapest; Kassa (since 1938 again Hungary);
Cluj, also known as Kolozsvár or Klausenburg; Oradea
Mare (since 1940 again Hungary);
Brasóv, Arad, Constanza (Rumania);
Bucharest (Rumania);
Zagreb (Croatia);
Sofia, Varna (Bulgaria).

For reasons of political wisdom, in order to promote the decontamination of the post-war political atmosphere, a combination of air-borne British and American troops should effect the "advance" occupation of those points situated in Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France, and Germany. The regular reoccupation of Norway, Holland, France, and Belgium by the troops of their governments-in-exile would, of course, follow just as soon as technically possible. Most other points

here mentioned should be occupied preferably by (airborne) American troops alone.

The reasons for the lightning occupation of these points differ.

In Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, Vienna, Budapest, Bucharest, and Sofia, the aim is to see to it that changes in the local regime are carried out in a relatively orderly atmosphere and are not accompanied by chaos, street fighting, and looting. The incalculable moral and material damage caused by similar events in Germany, Italy, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and elsewhere in the fall of 1918, many of which I witnessed, must be prevented this time. The almost legendary prestige of the U.S.A. in many parts of the old world, innumerable manifestations of which I have seen in many countries between 1917 and 1942, will make this job much easier than it seems if the air-borne occupations, chiefly by *American* troops, are carried out through lightning action.

In Norway, Denmark, Holland, and Belgium there is little danger that the just retribution which will be meted out to the German and local Nazi criminals who ill-treated the population will be accompanied by the dictatorship of some local extremist group and by a state of chaos and lawlessness. Whatever danger there is in this connection exists chiefly in harbor cities and industrial centers. Experience in the war-torn and post-war Europe of 1914-1919 has shown that in most countries sailors of the navies, and to a smaller extent also of the merchant marine, were the stormy petrels and shock troops of the social upheaval which preceded and followed the collapse of the various local governments. The collapse of Austria-Hungary really began with the great naval mutiny at Cattaro (or Kotor), the German

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collapse in 1918 with the mutiny at the naval base of Kiel.

The various industrial centers are equally dangerous. Therefore, while the Nazi and Fascist gangsters must be severely punished, there is a vitally important policing job to do to preserve order in notorious potential centers of anarchy.

The German ports and naval bases of Kiel, Emden, Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, Danzig, and Rostock and the German-held base of Gdynia should figure on the top of the list for air-borne lightning occupation. So should Brest, Cherbourg, Le Havre, Bordeaux, Marseille, and Toulon in France. There, and in the great industrial centers of Lille, Lyon, and Strasbourg, as in Paris, an air-borne occupation by the French patriots, assisted by British and American troops, can prevent chaos.

For purely psychological reasons it would be wise to use only French, American, and British troops in France, to avoid an unwarranted but none the less likely feeling of humiliation on the part of important sections of the population.

Most of the other cities in Germany and Western and Northern Europe included in the above list are either capitals or industrial centers and should be policed for that reason.

In the Sudeten country, the retreating German troops are sure to leave arms with the Sudeten Germans. Consequently, there is a danger of a full-dress civil war in that region. It should be prevented, to assist the Czech leaders in re-establishing orderly conditions in their country. A similar job must be done by American occupation of Teschen and of Oderberg (also known as Bohumin), one an important coal mining center, the other

an international railway junction. They lie near the former Czechoslovak-Polish frontier and have long been a bone of contention between the Czechs and the Poles. Today, Poles and Czechs both fight on the same side. We must assure that future co-operation between these two democracies is not torpedoed through ill-advised spontaneous action by local elements.

The danger of a full-fledged, four-cornered "post-war war" in Eastern Europe and the Balkans lurks along the Hungaro-Rumanian frontier. The prevention of this war is one of the most urgent and important jobs the United Nations must tackle when the shooting is over. The immediate dispatch by air of some five thousand American soldiers, plus a very small number of our bomber and fighter planes—perhaps twenty of each category—will do the trick. I have seen the magic of American uniforms in Rumania, Hungary, the Balkans, and Turkey after 1918 and am not emitting theories. But the action must be of the blitz variety, and the U. S. troops must occupy the Hungaro-Rumanian frontier, not merely the capitals of the two countries. The Hungarian frontier cities of Cluj and Oradea Mare and the Rumanian frontier towns of Arad and Brasóv should be occupied, while U. S. planes should patrol the Hungaro-Rumanian border day and night. One battalion per city is enough. No Rumanian or Hungarian commander would dream of attacking American troops or advancing over their bodies.

Air-borne American troops and planes should occupy and police also Bratislava and Zilina, strategic centers in Slovakia, and Kassa and Munkács, key points along the Hungaro-Slovak danger zone, to prevent a Slovak-Hun-

garian war. They should occupy and police the Black Sea ports of Varna, on the Bulgarian side, and Constanza, on the Rumanian side of the Bulgaro-Rumanian danger region. The potential source of a Bulgaro-Rumanian war is the Southern Dobrudja, situated between these two key cities.

Failing these vital measures of paramount urgency, the four-cornered Balkan war would probably start with a Hungarian attack against Rumania or a Rumanian attack against Hungary, probably with each party bombing the other's capital from the air. Rumania would try to grab Northern Transylvania, adjudicated to Hungary by German-Italian "arbitration" in 1940, on the grounds that that strip of land is predominantly Rumanian-inhabited. Hungary would try to grab Southern Transylvania, now Rumanian, claiming that, like Northern Transylvania, it had formed part of Hungary for centuries before both parts of Transylvania were given to Rumania in 1918.

While the fighting between Rumania and Hungary goes on, Hungary would probably be attacked in the rear by Slovakia, advancing from the northwest. Rumania would probably be attacked by Bulgaria, advancing from the south and southwest. To use the time-honored vocabulary of European politics, the Slovak and Bulgarian aggression would have the character of a "preventive war," which means that if the Slovaks don't attack the Hungarians and the Bulgarians the Rumanians while those two countries are busy fighting one another, the Hungarians might attack the Slovaks and the Rumanians the Bulgarians a little later.

In other words, we should have another full-fledged Balkan war, raging from the Polish frontier to the Aegean and the Black Sea.

It is naïve to imagine that little countries steeped in jingoism and long known as the "United Hates of Eastern Europe" will change overnight into models of cooperation and brotherly love. They must first be kept from mischief, then educated in cosmopolitan, supranational, democratic ways of thought. In the meantime, the benevolent but firm hand of the major United Nations must guide these pugnacious little countries along the road of world solidarity.

In August 1919 the Rumanian government decided to occupy Budapest, capital of Hungary. The Hungarian army was in a state of dissolution. As the country had gone through two revolutions within five months and was impoverished and threatened by famine, Georges Clémenceau, chairman of the Allied Supreme Council in Paris, addressed an order to the Rumanian High Command to desist from advancing against the Hungarian capital, where I was then representing the United Press and, through it, the British Exchange Telegraph news agency. Through a series of accidents, it fell to me to transmit the order of the Supreme Council of the Allied and Associated Powers to the Rumanian High Command, in the company of a Captain Weisz, of the United States Medical Corps, who was at that moment the only official representative of the Allied Powers in Hungary. We encountered the Rumanian division forming the vanguard in the village of Monor, one hour's distance from Budapest. The division commander received us with utmost courtesy and passed Clémenceau's order on to his government.

He probably added that the Allied order was not backed up by the presence of Allied troops. On the following day, the Rumanians occupied Budapest.

Hungary, Rumania, Slovakia, and Bulgaria will dis-

obey the Allies again unless they see American soldiers in their frontier cities and our planes policing their frontiers.

Even now, however, American representatives in Sweden, Switzerland, or some other neutral country where Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Slovakia still maintain diplomatic missions, might "cause those governments to be informed" that it is the firm advance decision of the democracies—including America—that any of these countries attacking another for any reason will be considered an aggressor and treated with the greatest severity. While this diplomatic *démarche* could precede and supplement the military measures here advocated, *it cannot replace them*. They and they alone can spare the war-torn world a "post-war war."

2. *Air-borne troops of the United Nations, led by Allied railway and other experts, should temporarily occupy the key railway junctions of France, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Germany, Italy, Bohemia-Moravia, Slovakia, Hungary, Croatia, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Greece. The Russian army probably will do the same in the Baltic countries, Poland, East Prussia, and Bessarabia.*

Important inland waterways, such as the Rhine-Main-Danube canal, the Kaiser Wilhelm canal connecting the North Sea with the Baltic at Kiel, etc., also should be temporarily occupied. All commercial shipping tonnage in European continental and North African ports should be temporarily seized. All this is to be carried out on the basis of detailed plans prepared in advance by the military, naval, and air staffs of the United Nations.

Relatively small detachments will probably suffice for

guarding most of these centers and arteries of transportation. Their job is policing, not fighting.

The reason for this lightning occupation of the transportation facilities of continental Europe is this: throughout the continent, the rolling stock is depleted even now. At the end of the war it will be in a deplorable state. If the millions of Axis soldiers now outside their home countries try to rush the railways, ships, and canal barges to get home from the front or the occupied countries, transportation facilities throughout continental Europe will collapse. The rolling stock and water craft will be ruined beyond hope of repair or replacement for years to come. Owing to the lack of transportation facilities, the famine rampant throughout continental Europe even now would then assume catastrophic proportions. It is to assure the speedy distribution of food and other forms of economic relief that every bit of the already depleted rolling stock and shipping space available in post-war Europe will be needed. The distribution of food and medical supplies throughout Europe must precede the repatriation of soldiers or civilians now outside their home countries for any reason whatever.

Temporary United Nations control of the rolling stock of continental Europe is important for another reason, too. In 1918, when the Habsburg Empire and a number of other countries collapsed, there was a general scramble for rolling stock among the jingoism-infested little countries that the volcanic eruption of a lost war had thrown up around the Habsburg crater. Throughout 1919-20, if one of these countries was naïve enough to allow any of its rolling stock to pass on into a neighboring country, that was the last it saw of it. Therefore, during almost three years, there was no such thing as a through train between Austria, Hungary, and a number

of neighboring countries. At the frontier you had to get out, usually carry your own luggage, and then scramble into the other train, waiting about fifty yards away on the other side of the border line.

This time, this all-round game of grabbing, nationalistic theft, and distrust among jingo gangsters must be prevented. Chaos will be big enough as it is.

3. *The occupation troops of the United Nations should immediately install "de-lousing" stations in Poland, Croatia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, and, in close co-operation with Russia, along the Finnish-German-Hungarian-Rumanian-Russian border.*

This border will be crossed by homeward-bound Axis soldiers and by civilians deported to eastern Europe by the Nazis. A major part of these people will carry typhus-infected lice.

It is said that between 1914 and 1920 more people were killed in Europe by that louse-borne scourge, spotted typhus, than by the fighting. Consequently, the measure here advocated needs no further comment.

4. *The four-motored cargo planes of the U. S. Air Transport Command should be used systematically for the wholesale transportation of dehydrated and concentrated foodstuffs and vitamins to Europe, for distribution in the famished countries.*

A good deal has been said and written about the necessity for immediate food relief to friend and foe alike when the European Axis armies have surrendered. But apparently one vitally important angle of this problem has passed unnoticed. Herbert Hoover and Hugh Gibson

estimate that thirty million tons of concentrated food-stuffs will be needed for relief. But it will take many months till shipping tonnage can be assembled and used in anything like the necessary quantities. Hundreds of thousands more children and adults would die before the first appreciable quantities of food would reach Europe and the Near East by sea.

Through the reduction of weight due to dehydration, one pound of dehydrated vegetables corresponds to eleven pounds of fresh vegetables. This means that a plane built to carry 4,000 pounds in bombs or other cargo can carry dehydrated vegetables with a total of calories corresponding to 44,000 pounds of fresh vegetables. It further means that a thousand big cargo planes or bombers can carry the dehydrated equivalent of approximately 200,000 tons of vegetables to the old world *in ten shuttle flights*.

In my estimation, concentrated and dehydrated food-stuffs representing the calories of *one million tons* of normal foods should be sent to Europe and the Near East by air, before the transportation of food by sea assumes major proportions. It should be remembered that the proportion in weight between many normal foods and the same foods in concentrated form is much smaller than 11 : 1, which applies only to vegetables. I estimate therefore that if the U. S. Air Transport Command and the R.A.F. jointly use two thousand four-motored bombers and cargo planes for this highly important humanitarian mission when the fighting is over, the job of carrying calories corresponding to one million tons of normal foods can be done in 25-30 shuttle flights. Figuring six days for each plane to make the round trip by the shortest route, including servicing, about six months would be needed for this job. Those six

months will be fully needed to set up large-scale, methodical food transportation to the nearer and more distant parts of the old world by sea.

It is a foregone conclusion that food relief will be extended to friend and foe alike. But particular care should be taken in Turkey and Arabic-speaking Asia to extend it in equal measure to Christians, Jews, and Mohammedans. In the first year or two immediately following the First World War, the Near East food relief was directed to the Christian but not to the Moslem population. Fortunately, this policy was abandoned later.

5. *Under the terms of the armistice all German troops fighting Russia should become prisoners of war in the U.S.S.R.*

The enslavement of millions of Europeans through forced labor in Germany will long be remembered as one of the major infamies of the Nazi regime. Yet, the suggested measure is not meant as a reprisal. There are four specific reasons for it.

First: Following the devastation carried out by the German armies in Poland, White Russia, and the Ukraine and also the Russian "scorched-earth" policy, many years will be needed to repair the damage. The labor represented by millions of German prisoners of war will be indispensable to the U.S.S.R.

It is not likely that the Russians will try to change these Germans into Communists. The reason is not any Russian love for the capitalist system. It is the simple fact that Russia, weakened for a number of years by the ravages of the Nazi hordes, will have to concentrate upon the gigantic task of reconstructing its economic life. American financial and industrial assistance and peace-

ful and orderly social and economic conditions in Europe are indispensable to Russia's recovery. Therefore the last thing in the world the Russian government will want to do is to antagonize the U.S.A. by encouraging Communist uprisings in post-war Europe.

Second: It will be of decided advantage for the economic reconstruction of the world, including Germany's, that millions of German men in uniform, suddenly without pay and work, are not thrown upon the economic and political scene of continental Europe. If they are engaged in reconstruction work in western Russia and thereby temporarily taken care of, their gradual repatriation can be made to keep pace with the methodical solution of the problem of post-war unemployment. As a result, only a small fraction instead of the vast majority of these repatriated millions will represent a desperate and turbulent social element at home.

The inertia of a full stomach is a great impediment to the motive forces of social and political extremism.

Third: For a period of several years, the United States will probably have to feed these Germans, whether they return to Germany right after the armistice or stay on in Russia for some time. But through the temporary substitution of these millions of Germans for the millions of Russian soldiers and civilians massacred by the Nazis, the fabulously rich Ukraine could regain its former food-producing capacity several years sooner than otherwise. This, in its turn, would considerably accelerate Russia's return to agricultural self-sufficiency. One of the effects of this would be that the tremendous strain on our own food reserves in America would be greatly eased.

Fourth: Even the installation of hundreds of "de-lousing" stations will not obviate the terrible danger that, with the collapse of discipline in the German army,

the one-time *Wehrmacht* once again carries a terrible epidemic of spotted typhus to the Baltic region, Poland, central and western Europe. In 1918-19 all "de-lousing" measures were disregarded by the undisciplined hordes of home-bound soldiery. On the other hand, if the Germans become prisoners of war, the Russians, with their military and sanitary organizations operating, can carry out the sanitation of the German soldiers in the same orderly manner as that of their own men.

6. *During the life of the Five-Year Peace Plan and until a formal peace treaty is drawn up, the territory of the Reich, without Austria, should be administered as a joint protectorate of the United Nations in fact but not in name.*

A great number of United Nations experts should actively participate in the administration of Germany under this provisional post-war regime. If necessary, they could have the title of advisers.

This is not meant as a humiliation. Humiliations are bad business. We shall have to cope with such problems as the reorganization of a healthy and long-lived world economy and a transition everywhere from war production to peace production without throwing many million people into the street. This cannot be done without a good deal of experimenting and of readjustment of our plans and projects as we go along. During this crucial period, a fully sovereign German government would be a daily headache to the peacemakers. Even if it tried to play the game it would be hamstrung by disgruntled Nazi, nationalist, and other elements in Germany. For similar reasons, no part of the Germany of 1937 must be left unoccupied. Any unoccupied part of the Reich

would promptly become a hotbed of "free corps," "*vehme*," and other covert or overt nationalist, Nazi, or other organizations.

On the other hand, it seems wiser to me not to call the German post-war regime a protectorate officially, although I am not at all sure that the temporary application to Germany of the derogatory term the Germans have applied to Bohemia-Moravia would not have a definitely sobering and salutary effect upon the Teutonic mind.

But in any event we must bring home to the average post-war German that his country has not been "stabbed in the back," has not "gone down undefeated," but has suffered a full-fledged, old-fashioned, crushing, melodramatic defeat by all rules of the game. He must be made to realize that the Aryan Siegfried did not slip on some Jewish orange peel planted in his path to glory by that democratic dragon, F. (for Fafner) D. Roosevelt.

It is of utmost importance for the psychology of future German generations that the formation of another legend of German invincibility be made impossible.

On the other hand it is not altogether impossible that, as a direct result of underground terror by reactionary German circles, no German government can be formed while the country is under Allied occupation. This would be a handicap, but a much lesser evil than leaving Germany unoccupied. So, in this event it will be necessary that for the time of transition Germany should become *de facto* a "Gouvernement-Général of Germany"—"Generalgouvernement Deutschland."

Again, for psychologic reasons, this official designation should be avoided if possible, while in this case the actual status of the country would be the same as that of Poland after September 1939 or of Belgium in 1914-18.

III

THE MACHINERY OF
THE FIVE-YEAR PEACE PLAN

“In applying principles to action, you should resemble the pugilist rather than the fencer. The fencer puts his sword away, then takes it up again; but the pugilist always has his hand with him and has merely to clench it.”

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus,
general, statesman, organizer.

Only a good cosmopolitan can be a constructive American. This motto may become the watchword of the post-war period.

In the last analysis, human history is psychologically predetermined. It knows only two alternative techniques for progress: *evolution* and *revolution*. Full realization of this truth will be necessary to face the gigantic problems of the international post-war world and the resultant need of fundamental changes.

Obviously, to enter the post-war period without any major plan, policy, or project worked out in advance would be inviting chaos. It would be equally foolish to go the doctrinary way and draw up some iron-bound plan, or a premature peace treaty, and then try to force post-war conditions into this Procrustean bed. There is no panacea for the ills of the world. We must have certain ideas ready, but then proceed empirically. Statesmanship is not an exact science but a creative art. Artists are born. That is why there are so few statesmen in the world.

This time, let's first make peace a healthy going con-

cern, then draw up its corporation charter and by-laws.

Peace must be built up in three closely interdependent fields: the political, the economic, and the spiritual.

Accordingly, post-war reconstruction should be carried out by three closely interrelated organizations. These three supra-national bodies, formed by highly qualified representatives of the United Nations, should be:

1. The United Nations Political Board;
2. The United Nations Economic Board;
3. The United Nations Education Board.

Each of these supra-national boards should be made up of a number of divisions, described in the following. Each should co-operate with the various domestic war agencies of the individual United Nations. These domestic war agencies should, of course, be kept alive throughout the post-war emergency period and certainly during the life of the Five-Year Peace Plan. They are indispensable instruments for the transition from war conditions to peace conditions. Some of their executives, with their priceless domestic experience acquired through handling war problems, will be ideally qualified members of the corresponding supra-national post-war United Nations board or of the corresponding division of such a board.

The three United Nations boards and the divisions of which they are composed should not have too many members. By no means should every member country of the United Nations be represented in every division of each board. But the U.S.A., Britain, Russia, and China should. India and the Pan-Arab Federation—described later on—should play an important part in these bodies.

The chairman of each board and the chiefs of its divisions should form its small, compact executive committee. In addition, each of the three boards should have

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its own liaison man on the executive committee of the other two boards.

The three boards should have their seat in the same city. Their executive committees should meet at least once a week, with additional meetings when necessary. At least once a month the executive committees of the three boards should have a joint meeting. Theoretically, it would be an advantage to have the boards in Washington, in an atmosphere of impartial detachment from nationalistic passions. But two factors make it appear wiser that the three boards have their center of operation in Europe.

1. By far the greatest number of post-war problems concern Europe, and it does not seem practical that they should be handled from an operation base 3,000 miles away.

2. American prestige, already great after 1918, will be unique after this war. If used wisely, it can be the decisive factor in building up a better world. But if the post-war reconstruction machinery is centered in this country, jealous nationalist elements elsewhere might use this as a welcome pretext for launching such catchwords as "American dictatorship," "Yankee imperialism," and the like. This, in turn, might impair this country's international prestige and therefore its *long-term* influence upon the evolution of the post-war world. It is much easier to poison a well than to keep it clean, and even the most obvious calumny will find willing ears among stupid people. True, stupidity is no crime. But it is a disease. And it is endemic throughout the world.

It would be a wise step to make Switzerland the seat of these three boards. In Geneva, the brand-new buildings and the still existing skeleton organization of the defunct League of Nations and of the International

Labor Office would provide these agencies with first-class technical facilities. Three major advantages would arise from placing the three United Nations Boards (Political, Economic, and Education Boards) in Geneva:

1. It would avoid a lasting feeling of humiliation and hatred in the defeated countries, caused by "running the world" from the capital of one of the victorious nations. The Axis criminals must be punished. The Axis nations must be taught an unforgettable lesson. But why perpetuate hatred by reviving the ghost of Versailles?

2. Peacemaking and cosmopolitan activities would once again become associated in many millions of minds with Geneva, and this may prove a powerful psychologic factor for injecting new life into the *remodeled* League of Nations.

3. The basically remodeled League could absorb the three United Nations boards and thereby create a direct transition from the *construction* of the peace to its *preservation*.

The operation of these three United Nations boards would probably be made easier if those economic war-time governmental agencies in the Axis countries which are not directly engaged in armaments production would be kept from disintegrating during the chaotic days and weeks following the "Cease Firing" signal. To assure their continuity, it might be a good idea that those men on these Axis agencies who are experts only and not branded as Nazis, Fascists, or Japanese militarists, stay in their places until they can be replaced by hundred per cent anti-totalitarian, democratically minded experts. With this qualification, for quite some time various war-time economic government agencies in the Axis countries may be indispensable. They could be the machinery for the distribution of food and other eco-

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conomic relief and for the application of most of the other pacificatory and reconstruction measures to the defeated countries.

When the day of Axis surrender comes, United Nations experts appointed in advance should accompany the air-borne "advance occupation" troops to the Axis capitals and promptly take charge of the direction of the various war-time agencies of the Axis, preventing sabotage through removal of funds, books, and statistical material.

Some of the major specific tasks awaiting the three United Nations boards and their divisions are described later. Here I want to enumerate the divisions of which these boards should be composed. It is hardly necessary to say that the actual names and designations of these supra-national post-war agencies are unimportant. Much better names may be found for them than those suggested here. What matters is their functions.

The United Nations Political Board should be made up of the following divisions:

1. Policy Division;
2. Disarmament and Policing Division;
3. Law and Arbitration Division;
4. Administration, Mandates, and Colonies Division.

The United Nations Economic Board should be composed as follows:

1. Trade Division;
2. Industrial Planning and Production Division;
3. Raw Materials and Agriculture Division;
4. Communications Division;
5. Labor, Employment, and Public Works Division;
6. Finance Division;

7. Statistical Division.

The following divisions should make up the United Nations Education Board:

1. Division for the Dissemination of Information, in short, *Information Division*;
2. Division for Training World-Wide Democratic Leadership, in short, *Leadership Division*;
3. Division for Educational Reform, Intellectual Cooperation, and Spiritual Advancement, in short, *Education Division*.

IV

THE POLITICAL ASPECT OF THE FIVE-YEAR PEACE PLAN

“Pass through life . . . making yourself neither the tyrant nor the slave of any man.”

“[My] . . . idea of the state is one in which all are equal before the law; a state administered on the basis of equal rights and equal freedom of speech; a government which respects above all the liberty of the governed.”

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus,
Roman Emperor, and democrat.

1. *In connection with the abolition of a standing army in Germany, care should be taken that the institution of so-called “tradition companies” finds no secret haven inside the German police or any militia that may replace a standing army.*

As far back as July 1921 a German major showed me round the Reichswehr barracks in Potsdam and pointed with pride to a number of old regimental flags kept in various groups in different rooms. Upon my question he explained that each room was reserved for one *Traditionskompanie*. He referred to the fact that the Versailles Treaty had restricted the Reichswehr to 100,000 men and went on to explain that the Reichswehr was so organized that every individual company would be the “cell” of a *regiment* as soon as Germany could throw off the restrictions of the peace treaty and create a big army!

Each company of the Reichswehr was taught the history and traditions of one of the regiments of the old German Imperial Army. It was the custodian of its regimental flags, relics, emblems, and traditions. In other words, each Reichswehr company was a "tradition company," a *Traditionskompagnie*. That is how the Wehrmacht, instrument of aggression and conquest, already existed in concentrated form twelve years before Hitler seized power!

2. *The only safeguard against clandestine German rearmament is the liquidation not only of Germany's actual armaments plants but of its entire steel and aluminum industries. Germany must be made to depend entirely upon its trade with other countries for the steel and aluminum it needs. The importation of steel and aluminum to Germany must be strictly rationed, its use supervised, bootleg importation and "black market" operations severely punished. No revival of Germany's steel and aluminum industries must be permitted.*

All plants affected by the measure here advocated should be dismantled, their machinery and equipment protected from sabotage and removed to countries specially designated for the purpose by the central, supra-national Industrial Planning and Production Division of the United Nations Economic Board.

One of the principal points in Hitler's program for his "New Order" was precisely this measure, applied to the United Nations! Let us take a leaf from the Führer's book and assure that Germany cannot become a world menace again.

3. *All anti-democratic elements must be methodically removed from post-war Germany's public life. This can be achieved with 100 per cent efficacy by applying a law made by the Nazis themselves.*

While the peace must be based upon constructive measures, it will never be durable unless it is accompanied by some "sanitary," preventive steps, among which the above measure should figure prominently.

The Republic of Weimar was doomed from the beginning because all the Junkers and their kin were left in the government jobs, the law courts, and the armed forces and sabotaged democracy ever since 1918. This time, Germany must be made to do a thorough job of house-cleaning. There is a simple and highly effective way to do this. A striking precedent was furnished by Benito Juárez, liberator of Mexico. Emperor Maximilian, good-natured stooge of Napoleon III, had been induced by his evil spirit, the French Marshal Bazaine, to decree that every Mexican found in possession of arms was subject to the death penalty. When Maximilian was captured at Queretaro, Juárez simply allowed this decree temporarily to remain on the statute books. Maximilian, captured arms in hand, had automatically sentenced himself to death.

When the day comes, those laws of the Nazi Reichstag creating the distinction between "*Staatsbürger*"—citizen of the state—and "*Staatsangehöriger*"—member of the state—must be allowed to remain in operation. Among other things, they provide that "members of the state" have no active or passive vote, cannot hold any public office, whether military or civil, and cannot exercise any executive, legislative, or judicial functions. By a *new interpretative law*, the status of "member of the state"

must then be applied, exclusively, and for life, to all members of the civilian, military, semi-military, and political organizations ever created or operated by the Nazi, German Nationalist, and other right-wing parties. It must be applied to all members of the Gestapo who are not otherwise punished. And it should be applied to the landed gentry, and the nobility generally; *in the first place to the Junkers of Prussia*. This legislation must become an integral part of the constitutional reorganization of post-war Germany. To avoid undue hardships and injustice, special committees should examine applications for personal exemption from the operation of this law. But the law itself should be sweeping and automatic.

In this connection, two points deserve attention:

First: today, the status of "*Staatsangehöriger*"—"member of the state"—applies chiefly to Jews. In connection with its new, post-war application to Nazis and other reactionaries, care should be taken to avoid any step which could be even remotely interpreted by reactionary elements in Europe as "the revenge of the Jews." It is important to assure that this vital and strictly practical measure for the consolidation of democracy in the post-war world is not misinterpreted and discredited.

Second: The United Nations should see to it that the above measure is enforced, but they should not make it a part of the peace treaty itself. Formally, the measure should be an internal German affair. Once again, the reason is to avoid any mistake which might give the gangsters who came to power in Germany on January 30, 1933, and the narrow-minded, scheming German nationalists who brought Hitler to power, the status of

national martyrs, thereby weakening the prestige of the democratic cause.

But the democratic German members of the provisional regime in occupied Germany would readily cooperate. A simple, private "suggestion" from the leadership of the United Nations to the post-war German regime would probably be all that is needed to see this "sanitary" measure enacted. A later democratic German government would probably keep it on the statute books with enthusiasm.

There is an effective way to guarantee the permanent operation of this "sanitary" measure without actually giving it the form of a provision in the peace treaty. The guarantee can take the form of a *warranty*, which the German government gives "of its own accord," and which (with possible other warranties) is recorded in a preamble to the treaty. As a warranty has the character of a prerequisite to the binding nature of an agreement, its invalidation releases the other party from his treaty obligations.

In other words, if some later regime in Germany rescinds the measure of excluding nondemocratic elements from German public life, such a step, although not forbidden by the treaty, would have the technical effect of a treaty violation by Germany, *and the democracies could promptly reoccupy the Reich.*

4. *The fortunes, including real estate, of all those newly classed as "members," i.e., not "citizens," of the post-war German Reich, should be seized by the state, except such a part in money (but not in land) as will assure them a minimum standard of living. To seize all*

hundred per cent would be morally justified but politically unwise. It is poor statesmanship to make many million people destitute and therefore desperate.

The seized property should go into a money fund and a land pool, to be used for the indemnification of victims of the Nazis, or their widows, orphans, parents, or other close relatives. This relates to Catholics, persecuted Protestant preachers, Jews, and other anti-Nazis.

5. *The voting age of German citizens must be raised to 24.*

In several central European countries the legal age of majority is 24, not 21, but the voting age is lower. Hitler rode to victory over the Weimar Republic on the backs of boys and girls just out of their teens.

6. *Austria should regain its independence and become part of a Danube Federation.*

The Austrians are no more German than the Chilenos or Peruvians are Spanish. Language is no indication of racial or even cultural kinship. The sole language of many Armenians is Turkish, of many Irishmen English. Ask the Austrians after the present war what they think about their German brethren, and your philological interest in the Viennese idiom will be rewarded by the most colorful expressions. Unless the new peacemaking repeats the mistakes of 1919, no Austrian will be tempted again to advocate his country's *Anschluss* to Germany, regardless of any particular regime in the Reich. *A plebiscite in post-war Austria* would prove this beyond the shadow of a doubt.

An independent Austria has a very important political, economic, and cultural mission to carry out. Probably never was the Austrian national creed given a more eloquent or dramatic expression than in the words of the late Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Engelbert Dollfuss, predecessor of Dr. Kurt von Schuschnigg, Austria's last Chancellor. On May 31, 1933, about a year before Dr. Dollfuss was assassinated by Nazi fanatics, he was my guest at a luncheon I gave at Vienna's Grand Hotel in honor of Karl A. Bickel, then president of the United Press. Among those present were General Anderson of the Anzac army and a number of diplomats and newspaper editors. After the luncheon, Dr. Dollfuss made a sensational speech against Hitler. During the private conversation which followed, the Austrian Chancellor dwelt at length on the mission which an independent Austria has to carry out in central and eastern Europe. When I referred to the tremendous numerical and technical superiority of the German army over the Austrian and the danger that the Germans may simply overrun Austria one day, Dr. Dollfuss replied, slowly but deliberately, like one who apparently had given much thought to that possibility:

"Overrun? Yes—that's quite possible. But what all these conquerors and would-be conquerors forget is that time is a factor in the lives of individuals but not of nations. Nothing can wipe out a powerful autochthonous culture like the Austrian, which is diametrically opposed to the German. Austria might be invaded, but she would outlive her invaders."

In my opinion, Chancellor Dollfuss will prove a good prophet.

7. *Prussia must disappear from the map, while the German Reich remains a sovereign political unit.*

Prussia is a permanent traffic obstruction on the road of human progress. It is the evil spirit of Germany and of the world.

Eight years of personal experience in Prussia and the rest of Germany have convinced me that, odd as it may sound, there is no such thing as a deeply rooted *Prussian* patriotism. While Bavaria and Saxony, under their dukes (later kings), were powerful states a thousand years ago, present-day Prussia is a relatively recent, artificial, administrative creation. It was Frederick the Great's grandfather, Frederick III, who, in 1701, with 300,000 subjects, proclaimed himself king of the nucleus of present-day Prussia.

There is, however, a very definite Saxon and Bavarian patriotism, marked by bitter, age-old hatred of the Prussians. Hitler's centralized form of government, upheld in Bavaria partly by anti-Catholic terror, cannot permanently counteract centuries of Bavarian national and Catholic feeling and Saxon national sentiment. The Saxons and Bavarians sided with Napoleon against Prussia. In 1866, Bavaria sided with Austria against Prussia. Until 1933, when free speech was abolished in Germany, the favorite Bavarian description of the Prussian was *Saupreuss*—"sow of a Prussian."

The administrative units that now make up Prussia must be remapped and become part of Bavaria, Saxony, and the former Hanseatic cities, such as Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck, which should recover their one-time hinterland, lost to Prussia by stages. (Both racially and in outlook, the population of the Hanseatic cities is much more akin to the Dutch and the British than to the Prussians, or even to the Bavarians or Saxons.) Prus-

sia's disappearance would establish a state of political equilibrium within the German Reich.

Until a few years ago I believed that the entire Reich should be broken up and disappear as a political unit and sovereign state if peace is to be assured in the world. I have become convinced since that to break up the Reich would actually intensify the feeling of national union among the Germans and lead to incessant strife, civil wars, "irredentist" conspiracies, open revolt, economic and political sabotage—in a word, it would make the pacification of the world impossible. But if the Reich is not broken up, Prussia's disappearance *would actually cause rejoicing* in the other parts of Germany.

As soon as the war and other external threats to Germany's existence as one nation are over, there will be a powerful revival of anti-Prussian feeling throughout the Reich, and especially in Bavaria.

Prussia, the stronghold of feudalism and militarism and the political preserve of the Junkers, the "Samurai of Europe," must go before any kind of a Germany can become a peaceful and productive element in world affairs.

8. *An appropriately modified replica of the American Constitution would be the most suitable form for a democratic Fourth Reich.*

In conformity with the German temperament, in the Reich even the democratic elements have more respect for the executive branch of the government if it is vested with a great measure of authority.

Among the contemporary forms of democracy it is the American which combines the relatively greatest power and stability of the executive with the relatively greatest

liberty of the citizen. Therefore, when the democratic elements in Germany are able to take over the government of their country again, they may find an appropriately modified German version of the U. S. Constitution psychologically most suited to their temperament.

Within the federated Reich, Bavaria, Saxony, and the other countries of Germany could be given a status resembling that of the individual states inside the U.S.A.

In Austria, Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, democracy on the American model would be an effective antidote against the stormy and sometimes tumultuous forms that parliamentary life in these countries so often assumed in the past, in contrast to the stable American two-party system.

Then, if certain European states should decide to form regional federations, and even if and when later generations should witness the creation of a universal *cosmopolitan commonwealth*, each state could keep its new "Americanized" constitution virtually unchanged. Just like the individual state constitutions inside the U.S.A., it could automatically function as a "state constitution" within the federation.

9. *The future form of the French state has become an issue of paramount importance among Frenchmen. Both a chaotic and a totalitarian France would be a permanent menace to the peace of the world.*

The most practicable solution of the problem in the case of France also is to transform the structure of the state into an appropriately modified replica of the American Constitution.

The monarchist trend in Vichy and inside certain

French groups in North Africa gives added importance to the problem of the future form of the French state.

Everybody familiar with political conditions in France knows that the royalist element represents an insignificant fraction of the population. Before the war, the royalists may have numbered two to five per cent. Their journalistic mouthpiece, the newspaper *Action Française*, edited by Charles Maurras and Léon Daudet, was regarded by the majority of Frenchmen rather as a curiosity than anything else. Their small but occasionally noisy squads of *Camelots du Roy* were an early and relatively harmless precursor of the "storm troops" idea and of the *squadri*, the strong-arm squads of the early phase of Italian Fascism. But the *Camelots* had long ceased to be an element of any importance in French public life.

The principal candidate for the throne of the Bourbons is the Count of Paris, son of the late Duke of Guise. There exists also a candidate for the throne of the Bonapartes, Prince Napoleon, a graduate of the University of Lausanne, who owns an estate in Switzerland, between Lausanne and Geneva. His camp is even smaller than the Bourbon faction.

There can be no doubt that in the first really free election in liberated France royalism will suffer a crushing defeat. On the other hand, any attempt to impose the monarchy upon post-war France by force is likely to result in bloody strife and probably in civil war. As in the days of the "Popular Front" in 1936, the democratically minded bourgeoisie, the Social Democrats and the Communists would probably unite in their opposition to the extreme right.

Perhaps 95 per cent of all Frenchmen oppose Vichy and royalism. But probably 75 to 80 per cent equally

oppose an *integral* return to France's pre-war form of administration.

There is a fundamental rule of democratic government throughout Europe that under normal circumstances all members of the cabinet must be members of the legislature and are directly responsible to it. This means, of course, that in European democracies cabinets are promptly turned out of office if the vote on a motion of censure, or just on a bill of major importance, goes against them.

In European democracies whose political temperament created a certain discipline in public life, as in England, Holland, Norway, or Switzerland, this provision has not interfered with an orderly conduct of public affairs. But in diametrical contrast to the operation of the two-party system in the U. S. Legislature, in such temperamental Latin countries of Europe as France, and also Italy before Fascism, parliament had disintegrated into fifteen to thirty parties and factions. This made the fate of the executive branch dependent upon the whims of ever shifting chance majorities in parliament. The resultant chaos in public affairs was ultimately responsible for democratic Italy's subjugation by Mussolini's hordes and France's defeat by Hitler.

It is a fact familiar to every student of government and every reader of the late Lord Bryce's classic, *The American Commonwealth*, that under the American Constitution the chief executive has more power than any constitutional monarch. It is equally true that no constitution, whether monarchist or republican, gives the nation and the individual citizen as much liberty as does the Constitution of the United States, including the Bill of Rights. What gives the American Constitution its grandeur and vitality is precisely this unique com-

bination of a strong and stable administration with the greatest possible liberty of the private citizen.

For these reasons, I firmly believe that if the project I suggest, viz., the establishment of an appropriately modified replica of the American Constitution, is put to a vote in post-war France, 70 to 75 per cent of the electorate will favor it.

In fact, I venture to think that this project might actually become the rallying point of the various French democratic groups, and might even obtain the support of genuinely patriotic and politically unselfish elements among French royalists.

The constitutional reform here advocated could be voted upon by the last French Chamber of Deputies and Senate, meeting in joint session as a Constituent Assembly, or it could be submitted to a plebiscite.

Critics who would point to the old Congressional problem of the "filibuster" should be reminded that no European legislature grants its members the right to speak for an unlimited period.

There were two features in the constitution of the French Third Republic which could be retained in the "Americanized" constitution I advocate for France's *Fourth Republic*. One was the centralized form of France's administration. I cannot see what could be gained for France by giving its *départements* the status of the individual states that make up the U.S.A. The other feature was the term of office of French presidents, which was *seven* years. This feature would give the weak and convalescent democratic system in post-war France (and Germany) more stability, because it would spare it the concussion caused by a presidential election every four years. The *status* of the president within this "Americanized" constitution should, of course, resemble

that of the American chief executive, not that of the president of the French Third Republic, who was made to play the role of an absolute political nonentity.

Neither in the case of Germany nor of France is my suggestion to emulate the United States Constitution meant to be "American propaganda." It would be bad psychology for us to propagate this idea in post-war Europe. Even less should we be tempted to use pressure to have it accepted. As a matter of fact, the advocated measure would be of no direct advantage to the U.S.A. Indirectly, however, it would be of equal benefit to this and to every other country, by giving nations as important in world affairs as France and Germany regimes both stable and democratic.

To critics of the American Constitution I would suggest that they compare it with the constitution of the French Third Republic and the Weimar Constitution of Germany. They will have to admit that the U. S. Constitution set up a much stabler form of democracy than did those European constitutions. In fact, in launching the idea that the latter be replaced by appropriately modified replicas of ours, I am led by the firm belief that this suggestion will meet with strong *spontaneous* support in both post-war France and post-war Germany.

10. *Post-Fascist Italy is another country where an appropriately modified replica of the American Constitution would greatly consolidate Democracy.*

It is my considered opinion, based upon fifteen years of local experience and personal contact with both Fascist and anti-Fascist Italians, that a replica of the U. S. Constitution, intelligently adapted to local conditions, would be welcomed by the leaders of post-Fascist

Italy as a harbinger of social stability and eventual economic prosperity under the aegis of democracy. We, who live in a country governed and kept stable by a time-honored two-party system, must realize that the *Consultà*, as the Italian pre-Fascist parliament was referred to, consisted of some thirty odd parties and so-called "parliamentary fractions," engaged in unending squabbles, when Signor Facta's cabinet was overthrown by the Fascist hordes. It was this sad caricature of democracy that helped the Fascist *squadri*, Mussolini's organized terrorist squads, to subjugate Italy.

What impressed me during my visits to Italy was the extent of American popularity and prestige among the population. One of the most convincing proofs of this was that despite the most rigid censorship and the Fascist regimentation of the press, I succeeded in persuading some sixteen leading Italian newspapers to buy the first American-made news service imported into the old world, to publish it daily in their news columns, credit the American source of the news items, and pay a real price for the service, in U. S. dollars. Among these newspapers were Milan's famed *Corriere della Sera*, Rome's well-known *Giornale d'Italia*, edited by Mussolini's mouthpiece, Virginio Gayda, and even the Duce's own paper, the *Popolo d'Italia* of Milan. Day by day, an honest-to-God news report of world events, seen with unbiased American eyes and presented with American impartiality, would be displayed side by side with, and often much more prominently than the fabricated propaganda stories and tendentious lies of Fascism—another paradox in a country rich in paradoxes. In June 1927, during an audience with Mussolini, at which our Rome manager and the Duce's principal assistant, Marchese Paolucci di Calboli Barone, also were present, Mussolini

spent an hour and a half asking me question after question about American public institutions, newspaper circulations, and the forms of popular reaction in the U.S.A. to discussions in Congress.

Among the anti-Fascist elements in Italy interest in things American is particularly intense. I have no doubt that, as in post-war France, the huge majority of the population, which now detests the Fascist regime, would favor the adoption of a post-war constitution fashioned after American concepts of democracy.

There arises, of course, the question: how can Italy, a kingdom, adopt a replica of the U. S. Constitution?

Count Carlo Sforza, former Italian Foreign Minister, distinguished democratic statesman, and head of the anti-Fascist movement, favors the substitution of a republic for the kingdom in Italy. Once the forty-five million people of that country are freed from the plague of Fascism they can, of course, freely decide whether post-war Italy shall be a kingdom or a republic. But even if the country remains a kingdom, a modified application of American political forms would be both possible and advantageous.

In this event, the role of the King should remain just as purely representative and symbolical as it has been since Mussolini came to power. Since Italian royalty has been content to play an utterly passive part in public affairs for twenty years, there is no reason to reward it by giving it power. The power should be vested in the people. A constitutional reform could confer upon the prime minister of democratic Italy a status resembling that of the President of the U.S.A. This would remove the king entirely from politics. That, in turn, might actually raise the prestige of the royal family, which has sunk.

Instead of being appointed by the king, the prime

minister could be elected by the people for a certain term, four years, for example. He should appoint and dismiss his fellow ministers. Among other American concepts of government applied to democratic post-war Italy there could be the provision that the members of the cabinet are no longer members of the legislature but are subject to its authority through the medium of potential impeachment. The prime minister should enact laws through his signature and have the right of veto. If left to the Crown, this prerogative might give the kings of Italy a chance to disregard the will of the people, as exercised through their freely elected prime minister.

If the Italians prefer a republican form of government, a constitutional reform along American lines would be greatly simplified, of course. But whatever form it gives its country, the Italian people should remember the lessons of the past. Italian democracy must be given strength and stability. Political chaos inside and outside the legislature on the 1919-22 model must be avoided, if a new generation of castor-oil and gun-toting rabble is not to be swept into power.

11. *Poland's right to direct access to the sea should be recognized by giving it not a "corridor" cutting Germany in two but a strip of land more to the east.*

This would probably remove the principal source of German-Polish friction. If the U.S.S.R. agrees, the new Polish access to the sea should include the Memel territory, with the city and port of Memel. If Russia objects to this or if Lithuania obtains sovereignty or autonomy and needs Memel, which then would be its only outlet to the Baltic, Poland's new access to the sea should

be carved out of Germany's present province of East Prussia. In this event, it should include the cities of Tilsit, in the northern part of East Prussia; Pilkallen, Eydtkuhnen, Gumbinnen, and Goldap, in the eastern part of East Prussia; Gerdauen, Insterburg, Wehlau, and Friedland, in Central East Prussia; and above all, the city and port of Königsberg, with the peninsula to the west of it which separates the two deep indentations of the Baltic known as the Kurisches Haff and the Frisches Haff. The narrow opening between the Baltic and the Frisches Haff which gives access to Königsberg also should be Polish.

The territory representing the remaining two-thirds of the present province of East Prussia should be left to the Reich. Germany should be given the territory of the present "Polish Corridor" and of the Free State and city of Danzig, and the port of Gdynia.

The entire German and Lithuanian population of the new Polish land strip, including Königsberg and the other cities, and the entire Polish population of the territory left or returned to Germany, should be transferred to its own country, and the remigration of these Germans, Lithuanians, and Poles to the areas of their previous residence should be prohibited.

12. *The Irish question, another potential source of periodically recurring conflicts in Europe, should not, of course, be stirred up while the war lasts; but it might perhaps be solved after the war by giving Ulster the status of a "canton" on the Swiss model, inside a federated Irish Free State.*

One of my earliest newspaper assignments was to report on the "preparations for civil war" in Ulster in

1914, when only the outbreak of the First World War prevented a bloody civil war in Northern Ireland. I got an early foretaste in life of the typical atmosphere of impending civil war, with its fierce hatreds and fanaticism.

We have learned since how civil wars and seemingly "localized" conflicts can precipitate world-wide slaughter. Moreover, the Spanish Civil War of 1936-38 has opened our eyes to the tragic consequences of such diplomatic farces as "non-intervention." It has shown how civil wars can be used as a military and political testing ground by anti-democratic forces scheming for world conquest. In the turmoil of the Second World War we are apt to forget that the cynical massacre of the women and babies of Guernica, Valencia, and Barcelona by the Luftwaffe was staged by Hitler with the cold-blooded "scientific" object of studying his Heinkels and Messerschmitts in action. The babies and women of democratic Spain were the Führer's guinea pigs.

Since we know today that civil wars are *not* an "internal affair" but a menace to world peace, democracy must show its teeth in the post-war world and nip impending civil wars in the bud.

Why not emulate the admirable example of the Swiss in solving the Irish problem? Why could not a cantonal constitution be set up in Belfast, with a cantonal legislature representing the six Protestant counties of Ulster? The *Canton of Ulster*, which would consist of those six counties, could be linked to the Irish Free State through federal union.

Most people are unaware that a Swiss canton is a full-fledged republic, a "state within the state" of the Helvetic Federation. The canton system has worked

wonders, and as we shall see later, it should be applied to more than one country.

13. *Those old-world armies that are retained after the war should be thoroughly democratized.*

In pre-Hitlerian Germany, in Hungary, Rumania, Poland, Spain, Japan, and to a certain extent in England and France the aristocracy and certain nationalist and reactionary elements almost monopolized the commissions in the standing armies. Except in England and pre-Fascist Italy, they represented a military caste which did not view democratic progress too enthusiastically. The influence of such elements upon the attitude of the troops under their command in political emergencies is obvious. It would not be amiss to devote attention to this post-war problem confronting democracy, which should not be taken lightly.

Among the measures that may help to democratize such standing armies in the old world as will survive this war, should be: honorable but early retirement of as many aristocratic and reactionary officers as possible from the active list when the war is over; opening the doors of such exclusive war colleges as Saint-Cyr in France and Sandhurst in England to as many sons of the people as possible, especially through the medium of numerous scholarships; abolition of all restrictions of the right to rise from the ranks.

14. *Methodical transfer and exchange of national and racial minorities throughout Europe.*

In a lecture delivered before a graduate class at New York University's School of Education in March

1942 and copyrighted at the Library of Congress on October 2, 1941, I advanced the idea of this vital measure of lasting pacification and referred to the edifying example set up by the Greeks and Turks in 1922-24 through the methodical exchange of their respective national minorities. It is highly encouraging that this measure of peacemaking should find adherents among such statesmen as Herbert Hoover and Hugh Gibson, who refer to it favorably in their book, *The Problems of Lasting Peace*, published in June 1942, if only by the phrase: "Consideration should be given even to the heroic remedy of transfer of populations." They also point to the Turco-Greek precedent of 1922-24.

In an interview published in the *New York Times* in February 1943, Dr. Eduard Beneš, President of Czechoslovakia, went on record as favoring a measure such as the one here referred to.

Hitler has taught us the danger of national minorities as an instrument in the hands of a scheming conqueror. In 1922-24, Greece and Turkey gave the entire civilized world an admirable lesson. Having then just terminated the most recent and most bloody of their many wars, in the Peace Treaty of Lausanne (July 1923), they agreed upon the compulsory exchange of their respective Greek and Turkish minorities. At first regarded as a terrible hardship to both, it soon turned out to be a blessing. Both the Turks of Greece and the Greeks of Turkey proved highly valuable citizens of their "new," i.e., old, countries. And above all, Greece and Turkey removed forever the chronic source of their hatred and their periodically recurring wars. They soon became staunch friends, even allies in fact if not in name.

That historic enterprise was carried out under the personal leadership of the late, great Dr. Fridtjof Nan-

sen, Norway's famed arctic explorer and one of the greatest humanitarians of the century. During an unforgettable evening in Constantinople's celebrated "Péra Palace Hotel" in January 1924, the powerful, fine-looking old man with the six-foot figure of an athlete and the leonine features gave me a detailed account of the job of Homeric proportions which he was about to bring to a successful conclusion—a twentieth-century migration of tribes.

The actual cost of moving the Greek minority from Asiatic Turkey to Greece and the Turks of Greece to Turkey was not more than one English pound per person, or about four dollars today!

During the years following the present war, a total of about eight million people should and *can* be transferred to the countries of their racial or cultural allegiance. The job could be accomplished within three years and would eliminate the cause of who knows how many sanguinary wars of the future! The third, fourth, and fifth years following the end of the fighting might be the right time for the measure, because by then the repatriation and demobilization of millions of soldiers and the repatriation of deportees and refugees would no longer clog the means of communication. As the greater part of the rolling stock of continental Europe will be in a deplorable state for several years after the war, wherever possible the repatriation of soldiers and civilians and the transfer of national minorities should be carried out over the sea lanes and inland waterways of Europe.

The transfer of minorities should apply to:

A. All German racial minorities and groups living anywhere in Europe outside Germany. Today we know that they are dynamite outside the Reich.

B. The solution of the problem of Poland's access to the sea, with which we have dealt in the foregoing pages, entails the transfer of various minorities. The Germans now living in the eastern part of East Prussia, including Königsberg and Tilsit, and in Memel, should be transferred to Germany. The Lithuanians of Memel, to Lithuania; and the Poles of Gdynia, Danzig, and the present Polish Corridor, to Poland.

C. The "Ruthenians" (who are actually Ukrainians) should be transferred from northeastern Hungary to the Ukraine. Some future Hitler could use them as a spearhead for the disruption and conquest of the Russian Ukraine.

D. The Finns of Karelia should be transferred from the U.S.S.R. to Finland. They might otherwise be used as an anti-Russian fifth column.

E. Dissident minority groups of Hungarians, Rumanians, Slovaks, etc., should be transferred from plebiscite areas, according to the outcome of the vote. I am dealing with these plebiscites later.

F. The Slovenes left in Italian territory following the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire after the First World War belong racially to the South Slavs. They are oppressed by Italy, and should be transferred to Yugoslavia.

If, for the sake of argument, we assume that the average cost per capita of the transfer of the eight million souls concerned is four times higher than that of the Greco-Turkish populations exchange of 1922-24, viz., \$16, the measure would cost about \$130,000,000. This is less than what the U.S.A. alone spent on the war effort daily in the spring of 1943!

The methodical transfer of minorities would involve much suffering and hardship for many innocent people.

But that would be a premium paid for saving uncounted millions of equally innocent people, including the children, grandchildren, and more remote descendants of those transferred, from the horrors of a series of future wars. Isn't that worth the sacrifice?

15. *The political stability and progress of the post-war world demand the creation of several regional federations of states.*

They are:

the Danube Federation;

the Balkan Federation;

the Pan-Arab Federation;

the French Commonwealth of Nations;

the United States of India;

the Dutch East Indian Federation.

The Danube Federation is necessary for imperative economic reasons. The Balkan Federation, both for economic reasons and as one of the most effective pacificatory measures anywhere on earth. The Pan-Arab Federation is a vital political and cultural necessity. The reorganization of the French Empire, British India, and the Dutch East Indies on a federal basis is in keeping with the fundamental change in the white man's approach to peoples of other color, which should be one of the most important lessons taught us by our past mistakes. Besides, the creation of the latter three federations will prevent a number of otherwise inevitable bloody uprisings.

Unfortunately, Europe and the world in general are not yet sufficiently advanced spiritually to accept the

creation of a world federation, or a federal Europe. Nor is the time ripe for regional federations other than the above. If the projects advanced by a democratic statesman are too far ahead of the spiritual limitations of those behind him, he will be overthrown. He might then be replaced by some "totalitarian" desperado, who caters to those very limitations. That adventurer, in his turn, would probably nullify the hard-won fruits of the previous stage of evolution along cosmopolitan lines.

Therefore, we must chart the post-war course of cosmopolitan evolution with both idealism and prudence.

Super-nationalism has led to disaster. *Inter-nationalism* has been a failure. Now let us build up *supra-nationalism*, which operates *not between* but *above* the nations. To give supra-nationalism strength and stability, it must be built up not as fast as desirable but as fast as *possible*.

On the other hand, the supra-national regional federations created after this war will fit automatically into a general pattern of continued supra-national, cosmopolitan evolution. Then, as the political maturity of mankind grows, perhaps three or four generations hence, the dream of a world federation of states, a single cosmopolitan commonwealth, may become a reality.

In the meantime, as soon as possible after this war is over, all these supra-national regional federations, like all other sovereign countries, must become members of a world-wide, all-embracing, powerful democratic organization for the preservation of peace. Nothing can replace such an organization. Its structure, status, and scope form the subject of Chapter VII of this book.

With the creation of supra-national regional federations and the setting up of a healthy economic metabo-

lism throughout mankind's collective body politic, local nationalisms will automatically lose much of their poisonous virulence. But it would be a fatal mistake to underrate either the disruptive force of unsolved nationalistic problems or the constructive force of the various local cultural traditions.

Therefore, as we shall see later in this chapter, the creation of most of the regional federations after the present war should go hand in hand with three pacificatory measures of supreme importance:

a. *Plebiscites, wherever necessary.*

In each case the region under plebiscite should be cleared of local troops and authorities and occupied by Allied, but preferably U. S. troops, even if it is merely a "token occupation." America has a unique prestige of impartiality and humanity in the old world. It can be used to the benefit of mankind.

b. *Transfer or exchange of those ethnic, national, or lingual groups which the outcome of the plebiscites condemns to the role of a minority.*

c. *Where plebiscites are impracticable, application, where necessary and possible, of the canton status, on the Swiss model, to certain ethnic, national, or lingual areas inside individual states, before those individual states join a regional federation.*

A. THE DANUBE FEDERATION

Austria, Bohemia-Moravia, Slovakia, Poland, and Hungary are naturally suited to form this regional

federation. Through Poland it would have access to the Baltic. The peace treaty should assure it unrestricted access to the Adriatic through the Italian port of Trieste. The Federation should be entitled to the unhampered use of Trieste, including maintenance of its own merchant marine, docks, quays, shipyards, repair shops, dry docks, and storehouses. It should have unrestricted use of the railways and roads between its territory and Trieste, free of all tariffs.

To avoid strife between certain Czech and Polish groups, Teschen, with its rich coal mines, and Oderberg, also known as Bohumin, an important railway junction, could be given autonomy inside the Danube Federation. They should belong neither to the Poles nor the Czechs, and might be given the status of one small canton, on the Swiss model, with direct membership in the Federation.

The Hungaro-Rumanian quarrel over Northern Transylvania, now a part of Hungary, and Southern Transylvania, at present Rumanian, must be solved before the Danube Federation can be set up. It should be solved by plebiscites in both disputed territories. To forestall future wars, the plebiscites should be followed by the mandatory transfer of the dissident minorities to their ethnic homeland.

No real and lasting democratization of Hungary and Rumania is possible without a sweeping agricultural reform. Like Prussia and Spain, Hungary and Rumania have a social structure that still is largely feudal. Political, economic, and social life in these countries is influenced by the landed gentry. Unless the land is taken from this group—against compensation—and given either to the peasants or the state, no real modernization of

political and economic life is possible in these countries.

Vienna is the logical capital of a Danube Federation. Ever since Vindobona, the Vienna of today, became an important and flourishing frontier city of the ancient Roman Empire, it has preserved its dominating cultural and economic influence throughout eastern and south-eastern Europe. Austria has a "geopolitical" key position of the first magnitude. Talleyrand is supposed to have said that if there were no Austria one would have to invent one.

That is true. And it would be a brilliant invention.

The constitution of the Danube Federation could provide that the post of federal president must rotate among nationals of all member states.

The problem of the restoration of the Habsburgs is extremely delicate. If raised, it would cause great agitation and animosity among the Czechs, who used to be the underdogs of the Habsburg regime. It would create turmoil in Hungary. There, three groups would fly at each other's throats: those who favor the automatic return of the Habsburgs; those who propagate the free election of a king for Hungary, preferably a non-Habsburg; and those who want to avoid a fight between the first two factions by keeping the present Regent, Admiral Nikolaus de Horthy, in his job as long as possible and having his second son, Nikolaus, Jr., succeed his father as Regent of Hungary.

The revival of the Habsburg problem would also rouse great fears in Yugoslavia, Italy, and Rumania. These countries fear that a Habsburg restoration, no matter how restricted territorially, might turn out to be the forerunner of another big and powerful Habsburg empire.

B. THE BALKAN FEDERATION

Yugoslavia, Albania, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Greece would render the greatest service to world peace and to themselves by uniting in a Balkan Federation. The major democracies should use their influence in this sense.

Turkey is primarily an Asiatic power. There exist no actual points of friction between the Balkan countries and Turkey. By joining the Balkan Federation, or even a Balkan Alliance, Turkey might be dragged into a number of wars that do not concern it. On the other hand, no group of Balkan nations could effectively protect Turkey's hold on Constantinople and the Dardanelles against a big power, once it has overrun the Balkans. Participation of the Turkish army in the defense of the Balkans could hardly tip the scales in such an all-out fight against a powerful invader. Turkey's best protection lies not in participation in the Balkan Federation but in friendship with Russia.

Theoretically it would be ideal if the Balkan nations and Austria, Poland, Bohemia-Moravia, Slovakia, and Hungary could form one single federation, extending from the Baltic and the Swiss border to the Black Sea. Unfortunately, fundamental differences in temperament, outlook, and culture, caused by widely differing traditions, stand in the way of such a project. One among these obstacles, and by no means a minor one, is the difference in religion. Many Albanians and Bosnians are Mohammedan. The Montenegrins, Serbs, Rumanians, Bulgarians, and Greeks belong to the Greek Orthodox church. The Austrians, Poles, Czechs and Slovaks, and two-thirds of the Hungarians are Catholic, one-third of Hungary's population being Protestant. It

is quite possible, though, that perhaps a generation hence, when political maturity in eastern Europe has made further progress, the Danube Federation and the Balkan Federation can merge into a single federated group of nations.

The Balkan Federation would be probably the biggest single political peace factor in Europe because the Balkans have long been the dreaded powder barrel of the European continent. Bulgaria will probably voluntarily join the federation if its "corridor" to the Aegean, which was taken from Bulgaria by the Peace Treaty of Neuilly in 1919, is returned to it.

Another tremendous advantage of a Balkan Federation would be economic. Albania is mountainous and poor but Greece produces the world's finest cigarette tobacco. Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Bulgaria have a gigantic combined output of cereals and livestock. Whatever form international trade may adopt after the war, it stands to reason that the federated agricultural countries of the Balkans will get much better terms for their products through "collective bargaining" than by competing against each other.

One aspect of the project of a Balkan Federation is the problem of royalty. Each of the five countries involved has a king. It is obvious that the personal interests of five royal families must not be permitted to stand in the way of the greatest good of the greatest number—in this instance, of some 44 million people. But it is not necessary to remove these five royal families. To try to make one of the five kings the head of the whole federation would promptly lead to a couple of full-dress Balkan wars. The best solution is to put an outsider at the head of the federation. In fact, there is no reason at all why the head of the Balkan Federation

should not be a commoner with the title of Federal President, while the members of the federation continue to have kings at the head of their countries.

Napoleon's famed "Confederation of the Rhine" consisted mostly of kingdoms, yet Napoleon bore the title of President of the Confederation.

C. THE PAN-ARAB FEDERATION

A Pan-Arab Federation is the most effective instrument for the permanent pacification of western Asia.

The federation would be "Pan-Arab," not "Pan-Islamic."

There is no such thing as a Pan-Islamic, i.e., Pan-Mohammedan *political* movement. The only methodical attempt to set up such a movement was made by the Turkish Sultan, Abdul Hamid, about forty years ago. From 1517 to 1922 the Sultans of Turkey were also Caliphs, i.e., spiritual heads of the dominating sect of Islam, the so-called *Sunna*. For strictly political reasons Sultan Abdul Hamid tried to propagate a Pan-Islamic movement in order to extend his influence over followers of the Moslem faith outside Turkey, but without success. In 1914, when Turkey went to war against the Allies, the Turkish government declared the conflict a *jihad*, a Moslem "holy war" against infidels. But this political move, intended to align British- and French-governed Moslems against the Allied cause, backfired. Since Turkey itself fought in alliance with "infidel" powers the propagandistic effect of the *jihad* was nil. And that was the last flicker of the "Pan-Islamic movement" in so far as any ever existed.

A common error in the West, which haunts newspapers and the radio, is the belief that the Turks of

today are a factor in an actual or potential political Pan-Islamic movement. First, as I have said, there is no such thing as a political Pan-Islamic movement. Second, contemporary Turkey would be violently opposed to any project of a Pan-Islamic movement with Turkish participation in it.

Religion, not national feeling, is the real line of distinction between the population groups of the Near East. The Turks, however, have always been an exception to this rule. With them, national feeling transcends religious allegiance. Moreover, since the downfall of Abdul Hamid in 1908-9 a powerful "Turkistic" movement has sprung up in Turkey. "Turkism" emphasizes the racial and cultural characteristics of the Turks as distinct from those of the Arabs, and propagates the cultural but not the political solidarity of all peoples of common Turkish origin, from Chinese Turkestan to the Tartar-inhabited parts of Russia. The late Kemal Ataturk, founder and first president of the new Turkey, was an enthusiastic devotee of "Turkism," being violently opposed to any Pan-Islamic movement, let alone Turkish participation in it. During the conversations I had with Ataturk in Aleppo, Syria, in 1917, and in Ankara, capital of the new Turkey, in 1923, he was emphatic on this point.

Like the late Ataturk, the men who determine Turkey's policies today are enthusiastic "Turkists" and oppose Turkish participation in any international policy based upon the Moslem or any other religion. In addition, many of the leaders of modern Turkey are agnostics, let alone devout followers of Islam! Yet, without Turkish participation, and, in fact, Turkish leadership, no Pan-Islamic movement would be effective.

Iran will never take part in an attempted Pan-Islamic movement because, like more than half of the people of

Iraq, its population belongs to the *Shia* sect of Islam. Implacable, fanatic religious hatred separates the *Shia* from the much more powerful orthodox *Sunna* sect, and since any Pan-Islamic movement would consist mainly of *Sunni* Moslems, no further comment is necessary in this connection.

While Pan-Islamism as a political factor is a myth, there exists a genuine Pan-Arab movement, aiming at the creation of a Pan-Arab Federation.

Ever since Britain promised the Arabs independence in 1916, the idea of a Pan-Arab Federation grew in popularity among both the orthodox and the westernized part of the Arabic-speaking intelligentsia of the Hejaz, Palestine, Syria, and Iraq. The creation of a Pan-Arab Federation will pacify western Asia and change the anti-French and anti-British attitude of its Arabic-speaking population to one of friendship and co-operation. Until a few years ago the classic imperial doctrine in British politics opposed the idea of an Arab Federation and of a fully sovereign Egypt. This school of thought did not desire any fully independent country to be the neighbor of the strategically important Suez Canal, the classic pre-war "gateway to India." But following the revolution in modern warfare through air power, the future strategic role and value of the Suez Canal have completely changed. Whoever dominates the air in the Mediterranean holds the key to Suez. On the other hand, an Arab Federation is far too sparsely populated for its huge size and economically far too weak ever to become a military power, and certainly not one that can even remotely approximate the air power of Britain or any other power of the West. So, the only reason the one-time British imperial doctrine had for opposing an Arab Federation is gone. In fact, it will be

a sign of great wisdom actually to help the Arabs to form their Federation after the war.

The Pan-Arab Federation should consist of: Iraq; Syria; Saudi Arabia (which includes Hejaz, Nejd, and the land of Asir); and Palestine, if and when the problem of that country's future administration is solved in a manner satisfactory to all parties concerned.

Egypt has too firmly established traditions of quasi-independence and, in recent years, of actual independence, to join a Pan-Arab Federation; but it will almost surely co-operate with it.

The most influential leaders of Moslem public opinion seem to be agreed on the candidacy of King Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud, ruler of Saudi Arabia, for the leadership of the Pan-Arab Federation. King Ibn Saud is the only fully independent, really sovereign head of a Moslem state today, with the exception of the King of Afghanistan and, of course, the President of the Turkish Republic. He is the head of the puritan Moslem religious confraternity of the Wahhabites, one of the most fanatic sects of the Moslem world. Personally, however, Ibn Saud is progressive-minded. He is and always has been on good terms with the British—oddly enough even while he was successfully waging war against their other protégé, the late King Hussein of Hejaz, in 1924.

Iraq and Syria and Palestine are incomparably more evolved culturally, economically, socially, and politically than Saudi Arabia. Their economic value and wealth are very much greater than that of Ibn Saud's present territory. Their combined population is about eight million, as against Saudi Arabia's five million. They have nothing to gain from a federal union with Saudi Arabia except the cultural and spiritual advantage of the much-desired closer union between the Arabic-speaking peo-

ples of Asia. In a Pan-Arab army the citizens of Iraq, Syria, and Palestine would outnumber those of Saudi Arabia almost two to one. So it is actually Ibn Saud who has almost everything to gain from the federal union of his country with Iraq and Syria, and, possibly, with Palestine. Therefore, he will go very far in meeting the demands of those regions.

On the basis of twenty-six years of personal contact with leaders of various Arabic-speaking groups, I visualize the structure of the Pan-Arab Federation along the following lines:

The head of the Federation would probably be King Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud. He could either assume the title of King of Arabia, or, besides being King of his own Saudi Arabia, could be President of the Pan-Arab Federation. Reference has already been made to a precedent: Napoleon, Emperor of the French and King of Italy, was President of the "Confederation of the Rhine."

Saudi Arabia is a feudal structure. A parliamentary regime is unknown, but the government is patriarchal and not ruthlessly dictatorial in character. If asked to put his government upon a parliamentary and democratic basis, Ibn Saud would hardly object. The reason: in view of the age-old authority of Moslem chiefs in Arabia proper, a Saudi Arabian legislature would be a legislature in name only.

But in Iraq, Syria, and Palestine the position is different. Each of these countries can go through genuine elections and create a legislature in fact and not just in name. Owing to the dominating position of these countries in any Arab federation, and their relatively much more westernized, democratic, and progressive character, their leaders would rightly insist on a far-reaching autonomy for their countries within the Fed-

eration. In my opinion this could best be achieved through a viceroy who, however, should bear the more democratic title of Governor for the North. He should not be appointed by King Ibn Saud but elected jointly by the voters of Iraq and Syria, and of Palestine if the latter is a member of the Federation. His tenure of office could be either four or seven years. The office should rotate, on a mandatory basis, among an Iraqi, a Syrian, and a Palestinian. Damascus or Aleppo (in Syria) would offer the best location for the seat of the governor.

Before the Pan-Arab Federation can be set up, however, the following problems must be solved:

- a. Dynastic problems in Iraq and Transjordan;
- b. The inner structure of Syria;
- c. A well-defined attitude concerning the question of the Caliphate.

a. *Dynastic problems.*

Iraq.

Iraq has a boy king, Faisal II. He belongs to the so-called Hashimite dynasty, being a grandson of the late King Faisal of Iraq. The latter's father, King Hussein of Hejaz, was defeated by King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia when the latter conquered Hejaz, with its famed holy cities, Mecca and Medina, in 1924. Subsequently, Hussein died in exile.

Hussein's family, the Hashimite dynasty, and Ibn Saud and his family are hereditary enemies. The rest of the question presents itself in the light of these hard facts: 1. The pacification of Western Asia involves the post-war creation of a Pan-Arab Federation. 2. By the common desire of those native leaders directly interested, the creation of the Federation probably involves Ibn

Saud's leadership. 3. Ibn Saud's leadership might involve the removal of the Hashimite family, and therefore of the boy king Faisal II, from the throne. The rest is a matter of simple tact and statesmanship. When the war is over and the Pan-Arab Federation about to be set up, and it should then actually prove necessary, the boy king of Iraq could probably be persuaded to resign in exchange for a life pension, just as Shah Mirza Riza Pahlevi of Iran agreed to resign for the common good of world democracy in 1941. Then, the democratic and pro-British elements in Iraq, under Nuri Pasha Es-Said, England's trusted friend, should continue to be in actual charge of Iraq's public life, with King Ibn Saud the supreme head of the Pan-Arab Federation.

Transjordan.

A similar dynastic problem exists in Transjordan. This land, with its 37,000 odd square miles and 300,000 inhabitants, is under the nominal rule of the Emir Abdallah, another member of the Hashimite dynasty. He is a brother of the late King Faisal I of Iraq and therefore a grand-uncle of Iraq's present boy king, Faisal II.

When the Pan-Arab Federation is constituted, Transjordan, which is a totally artificial creation set up between 1919 and 1924, may disappear and become a part of either Palestine or Saudi Arabia, i.e., not an autonomous member of the Federation. In such an eventuality the Emir Abdallah also might be willing to abdicate in behalf of himself and his heirs, and to accept a life pension.

b. *The inner structure of Syria.*

Under the French Mandate Syria was broken up into four parts: the "Republic of Syria" proper, with Damas-

cus as capital; the "State of Great Lebanon," with its capital in Beirut; the region mainly inhabited by the Alaouites, termed the "Government of Latakiyeh"; and the "Government of Jebel Druse," land of the Druses, some of whom live in the Lebanon, however.

In Syria, as in Palestine, differentiation is religious, not national, in character. This age-old local principle of differentiation was the basis for the French policy of dividing Syria into four sub-mandates. In certain instances, however, as in the case of the "Government of Latakiyeh," this policy was unwarranted. When Léon Blum became Premier of France at the head of the Popular Front in 1936 he promptly adopted a policy of wisdom and co-operation in Syria. The right-wing groups in France, however, soon reverted to imperialistic policies.

In the case of the Lebanon and the Druse region their segregation was justified. The population of the Lebanon is predominantly Christian, and ever since the wholesale massacre of Christians by the Druses in 1863 the Lebanon has had a status of its own. Under Turkish rule, i.e., until 1918, this status took the form that the Turkish Sultans always appointed Christians as governors of the Lebanon territory. The Jebel Druse is inhabited by the warlike Druses, who have a religion of their own and are separated from the Moslems and Christians by age-old mutual hate. It was not amiss to segregate the administration of their territory from that of the Moslem-dominated rest of Syria.

If and when the Pan-Arab Federation becomes a fact, the present regions of the Lebanon, the Jebel Druse and Syria proper could be given the status of cantons on the Swiss model, inside Syria.

The same status could be given the Alaouite, i.e., the

Latakiyeh region, if a plebiscite in that territory clearly indicates that that is the desire of the major part of the local population. Should the latter decide in favor of a canton status inside Syria, future local friction could be radically eliminated by transferring those non-Alaouite minorities inside the new Alaouite canton which belong to the various Christian sects, to the Lebanon, those of Moslem faith to Syria proper, and the few Jews of this region to Palestine.

It would be thoroughly characteristic of the peculiar nature of Syria that it should be composed of cantons on a religious instead of a racial or lingual basis. Since religious differences are the age-old source of tension in Syria, the fundamentally new concept of a canton system based on religion will probably assure peace inside that economically, politically, and strategically important country.

c. A well-defined attitude concerning the question of the Caliphate.

Peace among the 200 million Moslems of the world, and therefore peace in general, will be strengthened if attempts to proclaim or elect a new Caliph after the war are discouraged.

From 1517 to 1922 the Caliphate, i.e., the spiritual leadership of the world's 185 million Moslems belonging to the *Sunna* sect, had been invested in the Sultans of Turkey. The last of the Caliphs, Abdul Medjid II, exiled from Turkey in 1924 by the late Kemal Ataturk, was given the Caliphate without the Sultanate, i.e., he had spiritual but no temporal authority. When the Caliph was exiled the Turkish legislature "abolished" the Caliphate altogether. But it still exists because, in the light of the tenets and traditions of the *Sheriah*, or Moslem

religious law, which still holds sway over 80 per cent of the world's Moslems, the legislature of the Turkish Republic had no authority to abolish the Caliphate. Therefore practically all *Sunni* Moslems of the old school outside Turkey, i.e., the bulk of the *Sunna*, still regard Abdul Medjid II as the rightful Caliph.

As long as Abdul Medjid holds the Caliphate there is no danger of a *Pan-Islamic* movement being launched to embarrass the West. And without the Caliph's co-operation no really effective *Pan-Islamic* movement is possible.

Abdul Medjid is a direct linear descendant of the Turkish Sultans, Mohammed II, Conqueror of Constantinople, and Soliman the Magnificent. He is a man endowed with both a western and an eastern education, speaks six languages, loves Beethoven, Mozart, and Bach, and is a painter whose works were repeatedly exhibited in the *Salon* of Paris. He is a firm believer in democracy and parliamentary forms of government. In 1922, when I wrote a newspaper serial about the Moslem East, in a preface to the serial Abdul Medjid warmly advocated co-operation between East and West. And in October 1939, when I met him on the eve of my return to the U. S. A., the Caliph entrusted to me a letter to President Roosevelt which clearly shows to which camp the spiritual head of the Moslem world belongs.

It is unlikely that the Moslem world will allow the sacred traditional institution of the Caliphate to disappear. But as long as Abdul Medjid II lives it would be unwise to encourage anyone to contest his title to the Caliphate. First, no more peaceful, well-meaning, and democratically minded candidate for the post could be found than its present holder. Second, by allowing claimants for the office to raise the standards of their ambitions, the powers would rouse the evil genius of discord

and unrest inside the Moslem world. Once roused, the controversy might spread from Morocco to India, and endanger peace and other hard-won fruits of a democratic victory.

Later, whenever the Caliphate becomes vacant, the two logical contenders for the post would be King Faruk of Egypt and King Ibn Saud. Moslem tradition demands that the Caliph be a fully independent temporal ruler. This is also indicated by the traditional title of the Caliphs in Arabic, which is *Emir El Mumeneen*—"Commander of the Faithful." The claim of the King of Egypt to be a "fully independent ruler" is incontestable. But Ibn Saud also enjoys complete independence and sovereignty. His prestige throughout the Moslem world is much greater than that of the Kings of Egypt. If he becomes the head of a Pan-Arab Federation, his prestige will soar even higher. Moreover, his temporal rule extends over Islam's holiest cities, Mecca and Medina. For all these reasons it is more than likely that when the post of Caliph becomes vacant it will be filled by Ibn Saud and his descendants.

D. THE FRENCH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

By transforming the French Empire into a commonwealth of nations on the British model, tremendous unused energies can be released and French genius and culture can once again decisively influence human progress.

In *Algeria*, the status of the native Moslem population was unsatisfactory under the Third Republic and is equally unsatisfactory under the present French regime.

The southern part of the country, which includes great stretches of the Sahara and of the Atlas and Ahoggar

mountains, is divided into four military territories. This administrative structure is necessary because various unruly tribes inhabit the area. For the same reason, it will probably have to be maintained.

Emulating France's own administrative structure, the fertile northern part of Algeria consists of three *départements*, those of Algiers, Oran, and Constantine. Algeria is not considered a colony. It has the administrative status of an integral part of France. For the same reason, each of the *départements* of Algeria used to send one senator and three deputies to the French national legislature in Paris. But the native Moslems of Algeria have never had the vote. And of the six and one-half million inhabitants of the three Algerian *départements* well over five million are native Moslems. When the war is over, French statesmanship can replace native antagonism by native loyalty by giving the Moslems of Algeria the vote.

Normally, *Tunisia* is nominally governed by the Bey of Tunis but actually run by the French Resident General. Its population is generally peaceful, but some occasionally turbulent nomad elements inhabit the far south. Besides, the present war has shown how defenseless Tunisia is against invasion from Europe. For both these reasons, it is a foregone conclusion that France will have to maintain an adequate military force in post-war Tunisia. But it would be a wise measure to replace the present hybrid regime there by a treaty of military alliance between France and Tunisia, along with the recognition of full Tunisian sovereignty; or, alternatively, by admitting Tunisia to the French Empire in the form of a full-fledged dominion, emulating the status of Canada, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand in the British Empire.

There are some hundred thousand French and prac-

tically as many Italian residents in Tunisia. Dominion status for Tunisia would greatly reduce the chances of the local Italian element to form a powerful, disruptive anti-French bloc inside the country. If Tunisia gets full sovereignty, this side of the political picture will be less favorable to France, even if it continues to garrison the country.

There is no reason why Tunisia should not retain its ruling dynasty of Beys while assuming the status of a dominion. It is true that it is without precedent that a dominion should be headed by a hereditary ruler instead of an appointed governor. But there is absolutely no reason why a wise measure should be withheld on grounds of precedent. It is sad but true that in international affairs wise measures almost always are without precedent.

Whether Tunisia resumes full sovereignty and becomes France's ally, or assumes dominion status inside the French Empire, the Beys of Tunis should transform their country into a genuine constitutional monarchy after the war, and the French should see to it that the monarchy *remains* constitutional.

In *Morocco*, a French protectorate since 1912, the position is more difficult than in Tunisia. Major parts of Morocco are inhabited by fierce warrior tribes of Berbers. The Berbers hate foreign domination. In the nineteen-twenties, the French had to fight the native tribes of Morocco on five different fronts. The last tribe submitted as late as 1933. Even today a native uprising can flare up at any time in the less accessible mountain regions of the country.

Morocco is not ready for real self-government.

The *Senegalese* are among the most loyal subjects of France and have lost hundreds of thousands of their best men on France's battlefields.

Senegal should be rewarded by the dominion status. It has all the men with a first-class western education it needs to run its affairs on a dominion basis.

Including the city of Dakar, Senegal has a territory of seventy-seven thousand square miles with 1,800,000 inhabitants. It is one of seven French colonies which were consolidated into "French West Africa" some years ago. The others are Mauritania, French Guinea, Niger, Ivory Coast, Dahomey, and French Sudan. The last six are not ripe for self-government.

As a dominion inside the French Empire, Senegal could maintain direct diplomatic relations with the United States, Brazil, and other powers interested in protecting the Americas from European aggression. There could be an American legation at Dakar, with military, naval, and air attachés and their staffs. This, in its turn, would greatly facilitate the permanent military cooperation between America and France in and around Dakar.

Madagascar could become another dominion inside a French Commonwealth of nations. It has a highly intelligent and evolved population. In 1896 it was demoted from the status of a protectorate to that of a colony. If it is promoted to that of a dominion, France will greatly increase its popularity in this large and rich island. The indifference of the native population of Java during the Japanese invasion of that island should be a lasting lesson to all western powers. On the other hand, the attitude of the Filipinos demonstrated that native liberty breeds native loyalty.

Should *French Indo-China* revert to France after the

war, it also should become a dominion inside the French Empire. In the nineteen-twenties there was a violent, bloody native uprising against French rule in Indo-China. It was put down with severity. Here, too, a change in methods of administration would undoubtedly result in a change in the native attitude.

There is no reason why *Martinique* and *Guadeloupe* should not be made one dominion. They have a very definite class of negro intelligentsia, many of whose members are graduates of France's famed Sorbonne university. These islands have all the native leaders they need for self-government inside the French Empire.

Here, as in the case of Senegal, the dominion status would entail great incidental advantages for the Americas. We could establish direct diplomatic relations with these islands, which are so important for the defense of the Western Hemisphere. They could have an important American legation, including military, naval, and air attachés and their staffs. The dominion of Martinique-Guadeloupe could even make direct treaties with us regarding common defense against aggression and could grant us the use of its naval bases and airfields.

The islands of *St. Pierre and Miquelon* and the territory of *French Guiana* are not ripe for self-government.

I have dealt with *Syria* in the previous section of this chapter.

The rest of the French Empire should retain its present form of administration, which is best suited to the present state of evolution of the great bulk of its population.

It should be said in justice to France that whatever mistakes it made in its colonies in the past were part and parcel of the traditional technique of colonial conquest and administration which all European powers have had in common. Probably not one of France's mistakes in colonial administration was typical of France alone. On the contrary, France of the Third Republic was in some ways a brilliant colonial administrator. It made many of its colonial possessions rich—not only for the French but also for the natives. Much of North Africa and most of the other French colonies are traversed by magnificent roads, have been pacified and made accessible to the traveler. France has shown greatest tolerance for native religions and customs everywhere.

It is inherent in human nature to learn only through failure and to apply basically new policies only under the influence of a catastrophe or near-catastrophe. This truth applies by no means to France alone but to every human community. By reorganizing its empire along new lines, France will merely act in keeping with the inevitable general post-war trend in international policies.

France can and will be rejuvenated. The energies needed for that rejuvenation are right there, in the tremendous economic possibilities and manpower of its empire. Those energies can be used more effectively by transforming the hostility of the natives into loyalty.

With its two-thousand-year-old civilization, France has a great and glorious mission in the world. Its democratic elements will undoubtedly appreciate the signs of the times. And everywhere in the East and in Africa the times demand the substitution of the white man's *co-operation* for the white man's *domination*.

E. THE "UNITED STATES OF INDIA"

The only practicable permanent solution of the Indian problem after the war seems to be that, inside the British Commonwealth of Nations, the "Dominion of India" takes the form of a federation of states, a "United States of India" in fact though not in name.

We are not here concerned with the fortunes of war and military events which may or may not involve India. We are dealing with India's principal post-war problem in its ultimate form. That form is equally unaffected by individual phases of the war, their repercussions inside India, Anglo-Indian war-time problems and crises, and any war-time working arrangements that may relate to India.

In April 1942 it was proposed that after the present war India should gain not only freedom with a dominion status but even the right to secede from the British Empire altogether. This goes too far.

India's freedom, in the form of a dominion on the Canadian or South African model, should be complete; but it should not be entitled to secede from the British Empire until twenty years after it has obtained dominion status. Then, the question can be decided by a plebiscite. Incidentally, by that time India may have found that so long as its liberty is respected it is more profitable for it to be inside than outside the British Commonwealth of Nations.

It was further suggested that any of those administrative units inside India known as provinces, and any of the present native states inside India, should be entitled to stay outside the new Indian dominion. This also seems impracticable.

The provinces of India are administered directly by

the British. Of India's 1,800,000 odd square miles and 353 million inhabitants no less than 1,300,000 square miles and almost 289 million people form the provinces. This means that there is a possibility of up to 82 per cent of India's population staying out of the new India!

The right solution seems to be this: the provinces of India should become autonomous states inside the Indian Federation. Their legislature and executive, including their governors, should, of course, consist entirely of Indians, freely elected on the basis of the universal secret ballot. In this event, even the most extreme Indian nationalist will have to admit that these states or "ex-provinces" have become genuinely Indian and that a plebiscite held in them will truly reflect native opinion. Then, twenty years after the emancipation of India, each member state of the Indian Federation should be entitled to a plebiscite, to decide whether the state is to remain a member of the "U.S. of India," or should secede. A demand backed by at least 10 per cent of the qualified voters of a state should be enough to assure such a plebiscite in that state. A two-thirds majority should be needed for secession. This right to a plebiscite should be given every state inside federated India, whether it is at present a native state under some Rajah or a province, i.e., a region administered directly by the British.

This arrangement will give the Indian native leaders a chance to show what they can make of an independent India. Besides, the arrangement takes into account the demand that the various native states and provinces have the right to decide for themselves whether they want to be a part of independent India. Therefore, it seems to me that the solution here suggested is fair to all parties concerned.

I propose twenty years as the period which should precede possible plebiscites because that allows a generation to grow to manhood which retains no vivid memory of the pangs of national birth and the strife that preceded it. Consequently, it will feel less, if any, of that hatred which is so great an enemy of calm reflection.

As for the vital problem of the 80 million Moslems of India, the predominantly Moslem-inhabited regions, such as Baluchistan, Sind, the "North-West Frontier Province," Kashmir and Jimmu, and the Punjab, could be amalgamated in a single Moslem state within the Indian Federation. This Moslem state should have either the same status as has an individual state within the U.S.A. or the status of a canton inside the Swiss Federation. But in both cases this autonomous Moslem region should remain a part of the United States of India for the time being.

The time for setting up new small states is past. The rest of the twentieth century will be characterized by states fewer in number and bigger in size. *Federation, not separation*, is the watchword of the future. Economic exigencies are leading us inexorably to the twilight of nationalism and of other forms of ethno-centrism.

Quite aside from the right of each of federated India's member states to demand a plebiscite, the new Moslem state or canton should have a *mandatory* plebiscite to decide whether or not to remain inside the federation. Here, too, the "cooling-off" period should be twenty years. The mandatory character of this plebiscite should be guaranteed to the Moslems by the constitution of the "United States of India."

This provision will obviate the danger that the Moslem plebiscite is sabotaged by terroristic or other methods. Such methods might try to prevent the Moslems

from collecting the number of signatures requisite to assuring the plebiscite.

Through the irony of fate the relationship between the four and one-half million Sikhs and the Moslems resembles that between the Moslems and the Hindus. The Sikhs dislike, and are disliked by, both the Hindus and the Moslems. Most Sikhs live in the Punjab, which would become a part of the Moslem state.

The only fair and reasonable solution of the Sikh problem is the same as that of the Moslem question. There should be a Sikh state or canton inside the United States of India. It will have to be a so-called "enclave," i.e., an administrative island inside the Moslem state. That is a perfectly workable solution. In Switzerland, the canton of Appenzell is completely surrounded by the canton of St. Gallen, inside which it forms an enclave.

Like the Moslem state or canton, the Sikh state or canton also could have a mandatory plebiscite twenty years after its foundation, to decide the question of further federal membership or secession. But the coming generation of Sikhs may find that it suffers no disadvantage from Hindu rule. In fact, surrounded as the Sikh enclave would be by a state of 80 million Moslems, the Sikhs may find that the presence of some 268 million Hindus just outside the Moslem state and inside the same federation to which both the Sikhs and the Moslems belong creates a welcome state of political equilibrium.

Another important problem is the democratization and consolidation of the numerous little feudal states

inside present-day India. There are not less than 561 major and minor feudal states governed by Rajahs and Maharajahs. Most of these should disappear and be consolidated into major units. For example, a big part of the 129,000 square miles of Rajputana, now dotted with petty medieval autocracies, should be made into one single Rajput state or canton inside the "U.S. of India."

Such major and well-governed native states as Hyderabad, with 82,700 square miles and fourteen million inhabitants, or Mysore, with 29,000 square miles and six and one-half million inhabitants, could simply assume the status of states inside the Indian Federation.

Each member state of the federation should be given a democratic structure, with a legislature and a governor, both freely elected by universal suffrage. In those states where the present feudal ruler should be retained, as in Hyderabad and Mysore, the ruler should give his state a democratic constitution, thereafter governing hand-in-hand with a freely elected state legislature. Mysore, by the way, is virtually a constitutional monarchy today.

The Indian Federation should have its central authority vested in a federal legislature and a federal chief executive at New Delhi. It would be a sign of very great wisdom to grant India the right to elect its chief executive. Conversely, it would show wisdom on the part of the Indians if they gave their federal chief executive the title of either viceroy or governor. This would symbolize their adherence to the British Empire and would sound better than "president," which smacks of complete secession from the empire. But these considerations are, of course, secondary in political significance and have mainly psychologic value.

When *Burma* is taken back from the Japanese it

should become a full member state or canton inside the "U.S. of India." It would be an economic mistake to leave Burma outside India. Its separation was effected by a simple stroke of the pen in April 1937. That should be rectified. Burma will prosper as a part of a federated India but would be in a difficult political and economic position outside the Indian colossus. The Burmese, who would form a solid Buddhist minority inside India, and the Moslem minority in that country, could then greatly strengthen their respective positions by co-operating inside India's federal legislature.

Neither Buddhists nor Moslems have the caste system. Inside the rest of India, however, the untouchables and all other low castes should be given the vote, and should have the same access to all public offices as the members of the higher castes.

Some Indians may object to this that caste discrimination is hard to abolish because it is centuries old. So is British rule in India, yet the Indians desire its abolition! Other orthodox Hindus may say that the Indian masses would not follow their leaders in such drastic reforms as the abolition of caste discrimination. I do not agree with this contention. The late Kemal Ataturk, founder and first president of the new Turkey, abolished polygamy in his country, outlawed the veil for women and Moslem headgear for men, completely revolutionized the social status of women, gave them the vote, introduced the Latin script, and even replaced Friday, the Moslem holy day, by Sunday as the legal business holiday! The reverence of the Turks for their leader Ataturk was greater than their reluctance to abolish age-old institutions.

Men like Mohandas K. Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru have the necessary prestige in India to reform the caste

system. The leaders of the All-India Congress party assert that modern India is mature politically. Let them show that it is equally mature socially, and they will win the admiration of the world.

F. THE DUTCH EAST INDIAN FEDERATION

If and when restored to the Netherlands, the Dutch East Indies should form a federation, governed entirely by natives.

In such parts of Borneo, Sumatra, etc., where the natives are primitive, local tribal councils could rule, assisted by permanent federal (*native*) advisers, delegated by the native federal administration in Batavia.

Remembering the general mistakes of the white man's colonial policies, the Dutch should put the relations between themselves and the natives upon a fundamentally new basis. Relations between the Netherlands and the new Dutch East Indian Federation could take one of two forms:

a. The Dutch East Indian Federation could have the same status within the Dutch Empire as the Dominion of Canada or the Union of South Africa has within the British. The federal chief executives, however, should be elected by the native population, not appointed by the Dutch Crown.

Or, b., the relationship between the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indian Federation could be that of a so-called "personal union." This was the relationship between the two sovereign kingdoms of Iceland and Denmark up to Hitler's invasion of Denmark in 1940, and nominally still exists. It was also in force between the sovereign Kingdom of Norway and the sovereign Kingdom of Sweden until October 26, 1905, when it was

voluntarily dissolved. In these so-called "personal unions" each partner is a fully sovereign state, with only the person of their ruler and the management of their foreign affairs being common to both. In other words, the Dutch East Indian Federation would be a sovereign kingdom or empire. Its royal or imperial crown would be hereditary in the present Dutch royal family.

In this event, too, however, the Dutch East Indies should be governed solely by natives. Its international status should be equal to Holland's, there being a number of Dutch East Indian natives in the joint diplomatic service of Holland and the Dutch East Indies. Just like Holland, it should have a full-fledged (native) cabinet, with a (native) prime minister.

As a symbolic action of great psychological importance, in the event of a "personal union," the queens or kings of Holland should reside in Batavia for a few months every two years or so.

16. *To consolidate democracy in post-war Japan and keep the militarist Samurai element, the "Junkers of Japan," in check, I recommend the revival of the Shogunate on a modern, democratic, electoral basis.*

In other words, in a democratic post-war Japan the emperor should be just as completely removed from politics as his ancestors were right up to 1867. Post-war Japan should have a democratic, freely elected de facto president, who is nominally under the emperor and bears the ancient, time-honored Japanese title of "Shogun."

In Japan "democracy" was an importation from the West. It had no deep roots in the population. On the other hand, the feudal ideology has had almost two

thousand years to entrench itself in the Japanese mind.

Since the emperor is "divine" he cannot err. In other words, on no account must he be allowed to expose himself politically and risk committing some political blunder. Such an occurrence would shake the Japanese social system to its foundations.

This means that the emperor cannot actually take sides in public affairs, cannot publicly favor or oppose any policy.

That leaves the militarist Samurai nobility masters of the country's public life. There are two additional reasons for the dominant position of the military caste. First, the militarists are infinitely more aggressive than their democratically minded countrymen. Second, the ethical code of the military caste, the *Bushido*, is the ethical ideal of the whole nation, a fact which imparts actual glamour to the political maneuvers and adventures of the military group in the eyes of the people.

In a country as deeply devoted to tradition as Japan such factors are decisive. That deep devotion to tradition is the key to the Japanese mind. But that same key can be used to unlock and reach the Japanese mind from without.

It is one of the real secrets of constructive statesmanship and higher political wisdom to disarm opposition to vitally important reforms by using forms hallowed by local tradition as a cloak for the essentially new idea which is to be applied.

A democratic post-war Japan needs an institution which is both sufficiently aggressive and sufficiently respected to rally the adherents of civic liberty and lead them in the fight against militarism and Fascism. For such an essentially modern democratic institution, Jap-

anese history and tradition offers an ideal autochthonous Nipponese form on a silver platter—the Shogunate.

The grandfathers of the present Japanese generation of soldiers still saw the last Shogun, a member of the Tokugawa clan, in 1867. In the collective memory of the Japanese people the Shogunate is inseparably associated with a constant struggle against the *Daimyo*, the feudal lords, and their noble retainers, the Samurai. Through the centuries, and until its abolition in 1867, the Shogunate sided with the people against the nobles. This tradition would be a great psychologic asset for the revived and modernized Shogunate. Like his predecessors, and unlike the emperor, the Shogun would be the real political leader of his nation. He could, and should descend into the arena of public life and fight—for democracy. The emperors should again become purely symbolical figureheads. The cabinet should be appointed by the Shogun. Should the country retain an army, *he* should be its commander-in-chief, like the old-time Shoguns before him. In that event the militarist clique can no longer use the emperor as a screen for its political intrigues. The Diet, the Japanese legislature, should cooperate directly with the Shogun, not with the emperor.

The Shogun should be elected by the people. To assure greater stability to the democratic regime, his term of office should be seven years, like that of the pre-war presidents of France and Czechoslovakia. On the other hand, again in the interest of democracy, in a traditionally feudal country like Japan, the Shogun should not be able to succeed himself. Should he stay in power too long he might be tempted to emulate the late Porfirio Díaz in the presidency of Mexico by going over to the reactionary camp and no longer considering himself the servant of the people.

V

THE ECONOMIC ASPECT OF
THE FIVE-YEAR PEACE PLAN

“What is not good for the swarm is not good for the bee.”

“Are you afraid of change? Yet, what can materialize without change? What is more pleasing or more suitable to Nature? . . . Can anything . . . be accomplished without change? Don't you see that change *inside yourself* falls under the same law, and is equally indispensable to Nature?”

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.

More and more students of post-war problems agree that the remaining assets of the bankrupt economy of the post-war world can be consolidated and increased solely by thinking of the world as one single economic unit. Planned world economy may be desirable or undesirable. It is inevitable. But to “plan” world economy is not enough. It must be constantly co-ordinated. Co-ordination is a broader term than planning. Therefore I prefer to speak of the economic post-war picture not as *planned* but as *Co-ordinated World Economy*. This form of economy will prevail not only during the life of the Five-Year Peace Plan but probably for many years thereafter.

Co-ordinated World Economy will be based upon the recently crystallized, fundamentally new concept that world economy must be complementary, not competitive.

The supra-national agency which should be in charge of Co-ordinated World Economy must be set up by the United Nations. It should have an American chairman. The reasons:

1. The greatest sacrifices involved in putting world trade upon its feet again will have to be made by the U.S.A.

2. America should have an important voice in the councils of the world's economic experts, to see that the American taxpayer's sacrifices are not made in vain.

3. Few Americans are aware of the almost legendary moral prestige which the U.S.A. enjoys in practically every country in Europe, the Near and Middle East. An American chairman will automatically create that atmosphere of confidence and absence of suspicion which is indispensable to economic and political reconstruction.

The supra-national agency here advocated can produce important results only if it has mandatory powers. If it is merely of an "advisory" character its work will be sabotaged to the right and left. The U.S.A., Britain, the U.S.S.R., and China should first agree on its major policies, then give it mandatory powers and back them up by their influence. Without moral pressure from the principal United Nations, every attempt by this body to overcome national jealousies in the interest of mankind as a whole will be doomed to failure from the beginning.

The agency should permanently co-operate with *democratically minded* experts from the defeated Axis nations, so that the latter's economic needs and activities can be integrated into world economy. As suggested in a previous chapter, the agency could be known as the

United Nations Economic Board, or as the World Economic Board, or under any other suitable name.

When the reorganization of the League of Nations along new lines, discussed in a subsequent chapter, is completed, the United Nations Economic Board should automatically become one of the permanent bodies inside the reorganized League.

As suggested in a previous chapter, the Economic Board should consist of the following divisions:

- A. Trade Division
- B. Industrial Planning and Production Division
- C. Raw Materials and Agriculture Division
- D. Communications Division
- E. Labor, Employment, and Public Works Division
- F. Finance Division
- G. Statistical Division.

Let us take a look at each.

A. THE TRADE DIVISION

In the post-war world, Free Trade will be possible only in the sense of trade without tariff barriers. In the sense of generally unrestricted trade, Free Trade will be impossible, for a number of years at least.

If Britain, the Latin American countries, the other non-American democracies, and the rest of the world are to survive economically, post-war international trade must be conducted on a barter basis. But even barter trade cannot operate bilaterally, between two governments at a time. It can restore world economy only on a multilateral basis, through one centralized, supra-nationally conducted pool and clearing house. This clear-

ing house should be operated by the Trade Division of the United Nations Economic Board.

We all know that for a long time after the war no country will have money to pay for our goods. If we loan them the money for this purpose without interest, we shall get our own money back in return for our goods. This means that we gave our goods away for nothing. Then why complicate the process? Why not just give them the goods? As a matter of fact, we can, and will do that for a while, and call it economic relief, but we cannot do it permanently and call it trade.

If we lend them the money on interest, the situation will be the same as before, with the difference that the old world is sure to default on the interest. Moreover, debts might again create ill feeling between the hemispheres, as they did last time.

So, the simple fact is that, for a number of years at least, the whole world except the U.S.A. *can pay for goods only in goods*. The foremost problem of each country will be how to dispose of its export surplus, because no country will be able to buy unless it can sell, and it will be able to buy only in the same proportion in which it sells. But if two countries enter into bilateral trade negotiations they may find that neither of them has a demand for the specific kinds of goods in which the other party is able to pay. Such situations would arise constantly.

Another trade problem will be caused by the depleted and restricted international transport facilities of the post-war period. To get a "transport priority license," every ton of goods will have to be certified as really urgently needed.

It will be manifestly impossible for private firms and individuals to dump goods on the world's docks and rail-

way storehouses and ask them to be shipped to a destination determined by the sender's or recipient's personal desires, preferences, or interests. Let us suppose, for example, that during the first post-war years Poland needs all the American cotton and agricultural machinery it can get, and that some Polish importer feels he can make a lot of money by importing all the American frigidaires, motorboats, automobiles, and trailers he can get. Would it be a good thing for Poland, for world trade, and even for the U.S.A., to allow a lot of frigidaires, motorboats, automobiles, and trailers to take up the precious shipping space needed for cotton and agricultural machinery, from which not just some Poles but Poland as a whole would profit? It must be agreed that for quite some time after the war there must be some sort of "priority rating" for the international distribution of goods. And it must be further agreed that that rating must follow the democratic principle of the greatest good of the greatest number, instead of the greatest good of the individual exporter or importer.

It follows from the foregoing that in the post-war world, at least for a number of years:

1. Trade must be conducted on a barter basis.
2. Barter trade must be multilateral and centrally conducted.
3. Information about the specific demand and supply picture in all countries must be constantly available and kept up to date. This information must be centralized in one world-wide, supra-nationally operated pool and clearing house.
4. Temporarily disregarding the interests of private trade, the supra-national agency operating the central pool of raw materials, foodstuffs, and industrial prod-

ucts must regulate world trade on the basis of priority rating. This must be done in conformity with the constantly changing market pattern of the world, as composed by the shifting demand and supply picture of the individual nations.

5. During the transition period, inside each country the national import and export trade must be regulated by a local government agency. These agencies must cooperate directly with, and solely through, the central supra-national pool and clearing house.

As I have said, this central, supra-national pool and clearing house should be operated by the United Nations Economic Board, through its Trade Division.

Through close co-operation with the Board's Communication Division, the Trade Division would assure that the goods are moved to the place where they are needed, from the nearest place where they are available. This would assure the most economical use of shipping space, cargo plane space, trucking space, and rolling stock.

It goes without saying that the goods would not be actually stored at the seat of the central clearing house. That organization would merely ascertain and assure that the goods are available at the most favorable production centers, where the Communications Division can take charge of their loading, shipping, and delivery.

The Trade Division would *ascertain* this by co-operating with the Statistical Division.

It would *assure* it by co-operating with the Industrial Planning and Production Division for the procurement of industrial products, and with the Raw Materials and

Agriculture Division to obtain raw materials and food-stuffs.

Each nation would have a current credit account with the central, supra-national clearing house. The still extant skeleton organization of the Bank for International Settlements in Basle, Switzerland, is naturally fitted to handle these various national credit accounts. This should be done under the supervision of the Finance Division of the United Nations Economic Board.

Through the Finance Division, the Trade Division, which would be in direct charge of the clearing house, should credit and debit the various national accounts by the value of the goods supplied and received by each nation concerned.

It goes without saying that, in contrast to the criminal, cynically dishonest spirit of the barter trade as conducted in the "New Order" of the Beast of Berchtesgaden, barter under the auspices of the United Nations will follow the principles of customary commercial probity. This must apply in particular to the methods of evaluation underlying the barter.

When the barter system can be replaced by another form of world trade, or international private trading can be resumed on a great scale, Free Trade, in its orthodox meaning, as trade free from tariffs, should be established by legislation everywhere. But this action will have a purely formal character: there will be no tariff problem during the barter period, so that, when the latter ends, there will be no tariffs to abolish in fact.

The idea underlying the barter system is that each nation receives goods which it needs. In exchange, the country where the goods came from also receives goods

which it needs. These needs are determined by the local agencies of the respective national governments. Would it not be asinine if those same local governments rendered the importation of the goods which they need without regard to private interests, more difficult by clamping an import tariff on them? Besides, unless each local government feels that its own goods are evaluated by the same standards as the goods it imports, it just won't barter! So, while the barter system lasts, it automatically dispenses with the tariff problem.

B. INDUSTRIAL PLANNING AND PRODUCTION DIVISION

This agency has a vitally important task. It is to rationalize, consolidate, and co-ordinate the industries of the various nations in conformity with the democratic, cosmopolitan, supra-national watchword of the post-war world: World economy must be *complementary, not competitive*.

It is now known that Hitler's "New Order" implied the liquidation of all actual and potential armaments industries outside Germany and their monopolization by the German *Herrenvolk*, so that the "slave nations" should be unable to revolt. As we have seen in a previous chapter, we should take a leaf from Hitler's book and apply his own idea to Germany, not in a spirit of blind vengeance but as a wise precaution against secret or open rearmament by Germany. The Industrial Planning and Production Division of the Economic Board should cooperate in this connection with the competent military and political organizations of the United Nations. This includes the expert dismantling of all German machinery concerned, its allocation and transportation to countries best fitted for the purpose, installation of the

machinery there, and supervision of the steel and other production assured by that machinery.

This measure cannot, of course, be applied to all potential armament industries in Germany, because, in the broad sense of the term, nowadays almost any industry is a potential armament industry. Moreover, Germany cannot exist without at least some big industries and a big industrial export business, because that is virtually its only means of subsistence. To disregard this merely means to drive 80 million Germans to despair and straight into the arms of another Hitler.

Consequently, while completely removing certain industries from Germany, we must allow that country to continue to specialize in others which will ensure it a living without threatening the peace and security of the world.

The selection of these industries would be one of the tasks of the Industrial Planning and Production Division of the United Nations Economic Board, within its general activity of assigning certain industries to certain countries. This general activity would be intended to assure that the asinine and suicidal trend toward "autarchy" and the senseless duplication of each other's industries by the nations ceases. It should be replaced by their industrial specialization along centrally planned supra-national lines.

In line with this fundamental change in the economic pattern of the world, this rationalization and humanization of world economics, there should be a sweeping, centralized, *world-wide*, uniform, closely co-ordinated *standardization of industrial products and means of locomotion and communication*. It should apply to *commercial* airplane types, including commercial cargo planes and cargo-carrying gliders; *commercial* ship

types; rolling stock; automobiles; trucks; and as many industrial products as possible. This world-wide standardization should, of course, extend to all spare parts of the standardized products.

All subsequent improvements in industrial products and means of transportation also should be standardized and made available to all affected industries of the world, against a fair royalty or other compensation to the owners of the patents involved.

In this connection, certain important uniform legislation will be necessary in all civilized countries. All countries should closely co-operate in fighting all forms of restraint of international and national economy by private interests. They should enact co-ordinated and uniform anti-trust and anti-cartel laws. International trusts and cartels should be forbidden. Those existing should be dissolved.

All international arrangements covering joint exploitation of patents should be registered with the governments of all countries covered by the arrangements. They should be closely scrutinized by the justice departments of all the countries concerned. If found contrary to the public interest they should be invalidated.

It appears from all the foregoing that after the war world economy needs a combination of a centralized *world-wide* replica of the U.S. War Production Board and of a centralized *world-wide* replica of Washington's "Combined Production and Resources Board," with supra-national, *mandatory* powers and geared for peacetime economy. Following close consultation and agreement among the economic experts and political leaders of the U.S.A., Britain, the U.S.S.R., and China about

the general economic policies to be pursued, there should be no difficulty about giving that supra-national body mandatory powers.

In connection with the U.S. war effort, American administrative and industrial genius shows us day by day how centrally directed co-ordination of trade and of industrial planning, production, and standardization can fully reconcile public interest with the principle of private economy. After the war this close co-operation between private property, private economy, and public supervision, if magnified to world-wide proportions, would be decisive in building up a healthy democratic world order.

The cumulative saving through world-wide industrial co-ordination and standardization would be tremendous. The values thus saved from wastage caused by international competition could be led right back into the metabolism of world economy. Instead of being broken up into total or partial "autarchies," the world would become economically one single *democratic* "Lebensraum."

For my definition of the democratic variety of "living space" is a space inside which nations *live and let live*.

C. RAW MATERIALS AND AGRICULTURE DIVISION

In the democratic post-war world the classic doctrine of the "Open Door in China" should be supplemented by the "Open Door in Central Africa."

By Central Africa I mean the former German colony of Togo, now British; the French colony of Dahomey; the British colony of Nigeria; the former German colony of the Cameroons, now a part of French Equatorial Africa; the French colony of Gabon; the Belgian Congo;

Portuguese West Africa; the British Uganda Protectorate; British Kenya; the British Tanganyika territory, formerly German East Africa; and Mozambique, also known as Portuguese East Africa.

Regardless of the political ownership of these territories, their raw materials should be at the disposal of the whole world without distinction, on equal terms and without discrimination based either on tariff, "empire," or any other considerations. The Raw Materials and Agriculture Division of the United Nations Economic Board should have absolute priority over the entire raw material output of Central Africa, as geographically defined above. It should also have complete priority over the raw material output of such other mandated territories as New Guinea, etc.

In co-operation with the Labor, Employment, and Public Works Division and the Finance Division, the Raw Materials and Agriculture Division should systematize, intensify, and supervise the raw material, agricultural, and food production in all territories assigned to it for this purpose by the United Nations Economic Board.

After the defeat of Fascism and the emergence of a democratic Italy the existing organization of the International Agricultural Institute in Rome, and the highly important world-wide statistical material at its disposal, should prove of great value to the Raw Materials and Agriculture Division.

D. COMMUNICATIONS DIVISION

In the post-war world this division should play the role of the present Allied "Combined Transportation Adjustment Board" on a comprehensive, world-wide

scale. It should organize a *world-wide, supra-national shipping, rolling-stock, cargo-plane, and cargo-glider pool*, without affecting the ownership of the material.

The Division's supervision should extend to the world's inland waterways.

This agency should play a decisive part in the Allied food and economic relief action immediately following the war. Thereafter, for a number of years, it would be a vital factor in world economics. In view of the dearth of international transport facilities during the first few post-war years, one of the jobs of the Communications Division would be the allocation of licenses for "international transportation priority."

E. LABOR, EMPLOYMENT, AND PUBLIC WORKS DIVISION

When the war is over unemployment will once again become a grave social and economic problem.

The secret of eliminating unemployment permanently, and perhaps forever, is to regard it no longer as a national question but as one indivisible, world-wide, supra-national problem, and to fight it centrally, with an utter disregard for national frontiers and citizenships.

The fiendish Nazi policy of forcible importation of labor to Germany naturally meets with hostility everywhere. But I have no doubt at all that the international migration of labor *on a purely voluntary basis* will assume great proportions in the democratic post-war world.

The Labor, Employment, and Public Works Division of the Economic Board should be set up by the United Nations before the war ends, under the above or any other name. It should be held in readiness to enter into immediate world-wide, supra-national action when the

shooting is over. It should be in charge of the fight against unemployment both in its immediate post-war and in its later, chronic aspect. During the former phase of world-wide unemployment this supra-national agency should concentrate upon Europe. Later, when the immediate grave social and political dangers resulting from mass unemployment in Europe have been neutralized, the Division should extend its operation to the whole globe.

The International Labor Office (Bureau International du Travail) in Geneva is fully equipped to assume the role of the Labor, Employment, and Public Works Division. In this capacity, it should become an integral part of the organization of the United Nations Economic Board.

Both in its immediate post-war work and its later fight against chronic unemployment, the Labor, Employment, and Public Works Division should maintain *permanent central supra-national labor exchanges*, where track is kept of all vacancies regardless of national frontiers.

The Division, and its various supra-national labor exchanges, should permanently and closely co-operate with the various local national employment agencies, such as the U.S. Employment Agency in this country. These national organizations would provide the central supra-national labor exchanges with up-to-date statistical material regarding vacancies. For the purpose of combating unemployment, the world should be divided into several regions. Inside those regions which include more than one country, unemployment should be fought, as I have said, with an utter disregard for national frontiers and citizenship. Some of these regions could be:

1. The U.S.A.
2. The British Empire, including Britain.
3. The whole European continent (without Russia)

as a single unit. 4. The U.S.S.R. 5. The Pan-Arab Federation, or the territory corresponding to it.

Inside continental Europe, both agricultural and industrial labor should be permitted to move freely across national frontiers wherever it is needed. Free transportation should be assured to the workers, and also to their families if they desire to accompany their breadwinner. Transportation home after the expiration of the contract, or of a certain minimum period of employment, also should be free.

Since all countries would equally benefit from the free migration of labor, all should be made to guarantee to the foreign laborer equal treatment with their own nationals in regard to wages, hours, and all other privileges. Conversely, no foreign worker shall be paid or allowed to accept less than the local minimum wage for the work concerned. He shall have no right to work more hours per week than local labor of the same kind, or to accept terms otherwise less favorable. Where the closed shop is obligatory, the foreign worker shall automatically become a temporary member of the union concerned, the duration of his membership being limited to that of his employment in the host country.

An important part of the Division's work could be the creation of overseas settlements for unemployed who desire to go in for tropical farming. It could also help to settle overseas those refugees who wish to leave Europe. It could, moreover, co-operate with Zionist organizations.

The Division should study and supervise living conditions and other hygienic problems relating to workers.

Obviously, *public works* on a systematic basis, *both on a national and supra-national scale*, will be instrumental in combating unemployment. In the U.S.A. and various other countries detailed plans are already being worked

out in this connection. But international, supra-nationally planned and conducted public work projects, carried out through internationally recruited labor, will be particularly important for fighting both the immediate, transitory, and the subsequent, chronic, phase of post-war unemployment. In this connection the Labor, Employment, and Public Works Division of the Economic Board could sponsor huge supra-national public works. Some of these projects were first advanced in Europe two generations ago. Others were discussed at Oxford's "Union Debating Society" as far back as my undergraduate days well before the First World War. They were then opposed for strategic reasons. Today, in the light of modern air power, those arguments fade away into nothingness.

The Nazis are known to have borrowed most of these old ideas, and there is no reason at all why the non-Nazi world should not reclaim its right of authorship over them and carry them out. These projects include the tunnel between England and the Continent; a tunnel connecting Europe and Africa near Gibraltar; another, connecting Europe and Asia under the Bosphorus; and another tunnel between Helsingor (Hamlet's "Elsinore") in Denmark and Helsingborg in Sweden.

During many years such projects, along with international road-building on a great scale, could give employment to many hundreds of thousands of people. Besides, when completed, these tunnels and roads would be tremendous assets to world economy.

F. THE FINANCE DIVISION

The supra-national public works just mentioned could be financed by the Finance Division, which would

be in effect, or could be even in name, a world-wide, supra-national "Reconstruction Finance Corporation" operating with U.S. capital.

A financial agency of this kind is already being organized in this country. It will play a vital part in the economic reconstruction of the world.

But no economic reconstruction is possible, whether on a barter basis or otherwise, without a *stable world-wide standard of evaluation*. What hurts international trade is not the relatively high or low level of standards of value, such as the exchange rates, but their *fluctuation*. That is why the stabilization of the world's currencies is inseparable from the revival of world trade, although trade on a barter basis does not, of course, involve the actual use of currency.

The stabilization of international evaluation standards can take the form of an international currency based upon the U.S. dollar, or else it can consist of the stabilization of the various currencies by pegging them to the dollar.

The Keynes and Morgenthau plans deal, of course, with these problems, and I am mentioning them here only because I believe they should not be left out of a book about vital post-war measures.

In the spring of 1942 the U.S.A. owned nearly 75 per cent of all above-ground gold in the world, viz., about \$22,700,000,000. It has been officially proposed that a part of this gold be used as a stabilization fund to assure the success of the stabilization of currencies. I believe this suggestion to be of the greatest importance. But all attempts to protect the stability of the world's currencies must be unavailing if cynical international speculation in currencies is not curbed.

*There should be a world-wide abolition, or at least a rigorous supervision of the money exchange divisions of the world's stock exchanges, known in French-speaking countries as *marchés des devises* and in Central Europe as *Devisenbörsen*.*

Similarly, let us prevent sabotage of the world's economic recovery through selfish speculative maneuvers in industrial stock. Therefore, all stock exchange organizations throughout the world should be put under the direct and permanent supervision of *government-sponsored agencies on the model of the S.E.C. in the U.S.A.*

Many countries prohibit gambling, but almost all allow the stock exchange to operate.

In visualizing the problems of post-war reconstruction it will be useful to remember what happened after the last war. We should contrast the war-time spirit of heroic sacrifice with the temptation for reckless gambling and speculation after the war.

It may be true that a hero seldom dies in bed. But a gambler seldom dies in his own bed.

G. THE STATISTICAL DIVISION

The influence of this organization upon world economy will not be spectacular, but its importance will be tremendous. None of the other divisions of the Economic Board can function without comprehensive, world-wide, up-to-date statistical material. It will be the task of the Statistical Division to provide this material, in close co-operation with various national agencies and scientific institutions.

This Division can derive great benefit from the important statistical material in the possession of the still existent skeleton organization of the League of Nations.

VI

THE SPIRITUAL ASPECT OF
THE FIVE-YEAR PEACE PLAN

“I seek the truth, which has never yet hurt anybody. What hurts is to persist in error and ignorance.”

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.

THE AMERICAN ASPECT

In appearance, the defeat of the Axis will be followed by an Anglo-Russo-American peace. In reality, it will be an American peace. *Not* because America will attempt to dictate the peace but simply because the whole world will need American help and credit and therefore nobody will be either able or willing to decide a major issue without contact with Washington.

In an international atmosphere permeated with nationalism, militarism, and imperialism, American prestige and general confidence in American impartiality will be all the greater as the U.S.A. can point to three eloquent proofs of its disbelief in conquest:

1. American policy in the Philippines.
2. American respect for Cuba's desire for full independence following its liberation through our help.
3. President Roosevelt's "good-neighbor policy" in Latin America, which pays such high moral dividends today.

Any fool can be guided by greed for power. Real greatness and wisdom lie in self-abnegation. Says Lao-Tse in that Chinese classic, the *Tao-Te-King*, "He who

restrains others, is strong. He who restrains himself, is mighty."

But if American public opinion is to co-operate intelligently with the U.S. Administration in helping to build up a peace based not upon foxiness but upon wisdom, it must train itself for the job. Because of the fundamental difference between the American's, the European's and the Oriental's approach to the major and minor problems of life, care must be taken to interpret the post-war world and its problems truthfully to America, and America's problems truthfully to the post-war world.

No organization is more of a "natural" for this two-fold-job than the Office of War Information. It is important for the understanding and harmony between America and the rest of the world after the war that this institution continue to function at least during the whole life of the Five-Year Peace Plan.

The "Office of the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs" also should continue to function at least throughout the life of the Five-Year Peace Plan.

Before the present war, some members of the United States embassies and legations in the various foreign countries were usually assigned to maintaining contact with the local press. This contact was more or less casual. But American contact with the foreign press and radio chains must be close and methodical. The United States must facilitate its own pacificatory mission by making itself understood to mentalities basically different from its own.

Every United States consulate general, legation, and embassy should have a full-time "press attaché." To strengthen his moral status and resultant social standing, prestige and entrées, according to the size and im-

portance of the local U. S. mission his rank, or at least his title, should be that of Consul, Consul General, First Secretary, and, in the following important news and diplomatic centers, Minister: Buenos Aires; Rio de Janeiro; Santiago de Chile (in Chile and Brazil he will always have to cope with the influence of powerful local German elements); Tokyo; Chungking; New Delhi; Batavia; Damascus and Cairo (the two great cultural centers of the Arab world); Vienna (cultural center of seven to nine Danube and Balkan states); and, of course, London, Paris, Berlin, Rome, and Moscow. One thing that must be clearly understood in the U.S.A. is the psychological importance of titles in Europe and Asia. This odd but undeniable fact, which no wars will remove, should not be taken lightly. If you were sure that your wheat crop will be actually bigger if people call you not a farmer but a "Super-Crop-Councilor," or address you as "Your Exalted Agricultural Excellency," you would laugh, but would let them do it, wouldn't you? Well, the crop of American prestige and resultant constructive influence in Europe and certain parts of Asia and Africa will be bigger if the press liaison men have imposing titles.

By training, the local United States press-radio liaison men should be professional newspapermen. This is important. In disciplinary respects, they should be under the highest United States diplomatic representative on the spot. Since his is the supreme local responsibility, and also in order to avoid working at cross purposes with the official local United States policy, important material involving United States policies should be submitted to the head of the local mission before being locally disseminated. But aside from this, the liaison men should be directly under the Office of War Infor-

mation and, in Latin America, the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs. In this way alone can a balanced, centrally planned, and rationally conducted publicity for American ideals and constructive policies be carried out and covert or overt nationalistic and totalitarian post-war propaganda counteracted.

The most effective method to counteract foreign propaganda is to spread the truth. Public opinion abroad has a profound distrust for the news disseminated by the various local governments. This relates to peacetime as it does to wartime. The average old world newspaper, newspaper reader, and radio listener is avid for "straight," honest news. I speak from personal experience. Just after the First World War it was my privilege to organize and supervise the first American-made news service intended for continental European, Near and Middle Eastern consumption, including also the Netherlands East Indies. I had the honor of placing that American-made daily news and feature service on a permanent basis in some 220 newspapers of the old world, including some sixty in Germany and Austria and about a hundred and sixty in Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, Holland, Scandinavia, Finland, Iceland, the Balkans, the Netherlands East Indies, and other countries. I sold it also to the national radio chain of democratic pre-Hitlerite Germany, the *Reichs-Rundfunkgesellschaft*. Subsequently, during the three years which preceded the seizure of power by the Beast of Berchtesgaden, all German radio stations carried American-selected and American-composed, in other words, "honest-to-God," "propaganda-less" world-wide news three times a day.

My principal fight throughout those years was against the various government-subsidized old world "official" news services, such as the German "D.N.B."—*Deutsches*

Nachrichtenbureau—and its two predecessors, the Wolff Bureau and the Telegraphen-Union; the Fascist Stefani Agency, and the rest of them. At all costs these national propaganda machines tried to prevent the newspapers of their countries from opening up their columns to an American news service, which had no ax to grind. But in the years immediately following the last war there was a genuine hunger for truthful news throughout the old world. It proved stronger than all the combined efforts of the propaganda agencies to keep the truth out of Europe.

The next post-war period will be characterized by a similar world-wide receptiveness for truth. Millions, sick of their governments' lies and propaganda, will welcome American-handled news. They will trust its integrity.

But in this connection, and also in connection with the suggested work of the Office of War Information's local liaison men, I must sound a note of warning. And I am emphatic about this warning, because here again I have the good fortune to draw upon personal experience: for more than ten years it was a part of my job to train European and Oriental professional newspapermen in American concepts and methods of news gathering and dissemination and American professional newspapermen in European and Oriental ideas of journalism. I cannot sufficiently emphasize that the American press and radio liaison men cannot do a good job abroad *without being trained in European and Oriental ways of thought*, newspaper methods, news interest, news taste, and news presentation in the press and on the radio. This is vitally important.

It can be taken as axiomatic that in five cases out of ten, a news story which would earn an American reporter a bonus or special praise for good news judgment

might lead to a warning or the dismissal of a European reporter, for complete lack of news judgment, and vice versa. Moreover, in nine cases out of ten the diametrically opposite approach becomes manifest not only in the *selection* but also in the *presentation* of the news.

It would completely transcend the scope and object of this book to give here a detailed list of suggestions of specific steps to be taken in connection with world-wide post-war publicity for American ideals and reactions. Therefore, here I can make just a few suggestions at random.

In the major part of the Near, Middle, and Far East good short-wave radio receiving sets are practically nonexistent. In large parts of these areas newspapers either do not exist or are poor, uninformative, or mercenary. As for continental Europe, the last thing the impoverished Europeans will think of buying is an expensive short-wave receiving set. But only the most expensive European sets have good short-wave reception facilities. Yet, world-wide interest will be focused upon the United States.

So, our government agencies should ship *hundreds of thousands* of short-wave sets to Europe, Asia, and Africa. The local United States press and liaison men should give them away to prominent local citizens, newspapers, schools, colleges, and social institutions. There is no reason to fear that this step will be received coldly, being looked upon as "American propaganda." People will *scramble* for the sets and a chance to hear "the voice of America" every day without the risk of facing a Nazi firing squad. Following years during which it was a capital offense to listen to foreign broadcasts, the law of contrast will operate once again. It is my considered opinion that, for years, it will be a favorite pastime in

continental Europe to listen to overseas, and especially American broadcasts. This is a unique opportunity.

American short-wave programs in all of the major languages of Europe and Asia, and even in African Negro dialects, can be instrumental in keeping up the morale of the bankrupt, bleeding, war-torn post-war world engaged in a process of fundamental economic and political transformation.

Film "shorts," showing cross-cuts of American life, would be equally effective democratic and cosmopolitan morale-builders. If offered free, they will be gobbled up by local motion-picture distributors throughout Europe, Asia, and Africa, and will obtain greatest popularity among movie-goers. To give them away free will not impair their moral effect upon continental European and Oriental minds.

One of these film shorts could illustrate recent methods of self-government among groups of Indians of our Southwest, as instituted by the Roosevelt administration. It would show democracy in action among our Indians, who are still a big "human interest" topic for *adults* as well as children in the old world. And it would show the difference between Uncle Sam's and Adolf Hitler's methods of handling autochthonous populations entrusted to the care of a big power.

Another "short," which should be accompanied by commentaries in every major language, and should circulate even in European villages, should show the President at one of his semi-weekly press conferences at the White House. Here your servile German, who hardly dares to breathe the same air as his Führer, Kaiser, or even democratic Chancellor, and your other European and Asiatic "subjects," who hardly dare to look at the head of their state with the naked eye, will see the head

of the most powerful nation on earth practicing democracy. He will be seen answering questions put to him by newspapermen who, odd as it may seem, are not members of the nobility but products of a simple middle-class marriage; making wisecracks; and laughing out loud over some remark made by one of his "subjects." If ever there was a "pictorial sales talk" for democracy, this is it.

THE GENERAL ASPECT

The foregoing section of this chapter dealt with the task of interpreting the post-war world to America and America to the post-war world. This section deals with the job of interpreting the post-war world to itself.

The economic, political, and social problems of the post-war period constitute the *effects* of the grave illness that has befallen humanity. Its *cause*, however, is wholly and solely spiritual.

Man's spiritual atavisms make the wars. Only Man's spiritual unfoldment will overcome them.

The foregoing parts of this book deal with a number of short-term and medium-term jobs that confront the democracies when the shooting is over. To encourage spiritual unfoldment, especially on a mass scale, is a long-term job. This long-term job of spiritual reconditioning of a fear- and poverty-ridden world should be in the hands of the United Nations Education Board. In a previous chapter I suggested that this organization consist of the following divisions:

A. Division for the Dissemination of Information; in short: Information Division.

B. Division for Training World-Wide Democratic Leadership; in short: Leadership Division.

C. Division for Educational Reform, Intellectual Co-operation, and Spiritual Advancement; in short: Education Division.

It is obvious that the work of these bodies should be permanent, i.e., should permanently continue after the conclusion of the Five-Year Peace Plan. As soon as possible, the Education Board and its three divisions should become an integral part of the revived and reformed League of Nations, as suggested in the next chapter.

Nothing could be more misleading than the thought that the fight for democracy will be over when the shooting stops. The "Cease Firing" will mark the end of the shorter and more dramatically spectacular phase of the war for democracy. Its second, long, grim phase will then only begin. It will be trench warfare and the battlefield will be the souls and minds of a whole generation. In these souls there will be secretly entrenched the spiritual poison which Nazism, Fascism, and militarism have poured into them. The moral atmosphere of the old world will have to be decontaminated. An entire generation of Germans, poisoned by sadistic perversity masquerading as a school of thought, will have to be gradually brought back to sanity and elementary ethics.

In the following will be found a few specific suggestions relating to this work.

A. THE INFORMATION DIVISION

Among the tasks of this organization should be a systematic, centrally conducted world-wide publicity cam-

paign. Its object should be to popularize the ideals of democracy and "de-bunk" the pseudo-scientific propaganda theories of the Axis which, as we have said, will continue to haunt millions of minds. This campaign should include:

Extensive use of the short- and long-wave radio, both through "live programs" and electric transcriptions made in all major languages and distributed throughout the world.

Extensive use of the world press.

Lectures, both locally arranged and through traveling lecturers.

A "Democratic Hour" at least once a week on every major radio station and network in the world outside the U.S.S.R., which cannot, of course, be expected to run such a program.

A "Democratic Hour" at least once a week in every grammar school, high school, and college throughout the world outside the U.S.S.R., to be used for lectures, film shorts, discussions, and other material relating to democracy. Attendance should be obligatory. The Information Division should, of course, carry out this part of its campaign in co-operation with the Education Division.

In the major countries local "Museums of Democracy" should be set up and *traveling* "Democracy Expositions" organized. The latter also should be permanent, constantly touring the five continents. To remain interesting, they should renew their exhibits from time to time.

Each of these museums and expositions should consist of two divisions. One should be consecrated to democracy proper and to the refutation of the doctrines of Nazism, Fascism, and militarism through appropriate

exhibits. The other should have the same character as the usual educational exhibits showing the ravages of venereal diseases, alcoholism, and the like—i.e., its material would be unavoidably repulsive but highly salutary. It should show evidence of the crimes of the Nazis and Fascists, the atrocities of the concentration camps, the Gestapo horrors committed against Catholics, Protestant preachers, Jews, and the populations of the occupied countries.

It is of the greatest psychologic importance to give the world, and above all, the German people, tangible proof of the wholesale corruption and dishonesty of the men to whom it chose to entrust its fate. The suggested museums and expositions of democracy should therefore exhibit proofs and details of their embezzlements and thefts. These will be easily obtainable.

B. THE LEADERSHIP DIVISION

Good generals do not hesitate to learn from the enemy. The Germans have learned the idea of parachute troops from the Russians. We have learned the full tactical value of the dive bomber and the tank from the Germans. There is no reason why we should not adopt another idea of our enemies, and turn it against them: the systematic training of future leaders—of world democracy!

Let us be honest: has not the word "politician" a definitely derogatory meaning in the U.S.A.? And in such one-time democracies as France, Germany, and Italy, and in many others, one's reputation as a shrewd lawyer and talker was often the highest qualification for becoming a legislator. But democracy must learn from the mistakes of the past if it is to build up a world in which

man's savage instincts and selfish cunning are increasingly neutralized. For a young man with genuine spiritual interests the career of a legislator or other political leader in a democracy should be at least as desirable and morally satisfying as becoming a great artist, scientist, or business executive.

The Leadership Division of the United Nations Education Board and of the latter's successor inside the reformed League of Nations should, in conjunction with the Education Division, maintain a "School of Democratic Leadership" at the future central seat of the revived League. If the school is what it should be, progressive groups inside and outside the legislative bodies of the various democracies will soon solicit the membership and even the leadership of the school's alumni.

The Leadership Division and the Education Division should closely co-operate with all national governments in developing methodically the institution of *special school classes for the gifted in every country*. In each country a number of grammar schools and high schools should have these special classes for particularly gifted boys and girls, picked from all schools in the country concerned. Each year, there should be a nation-wide contest in each country among the pupils of those special classes for the gifted which are made up of fourteen-year-olds. They should write an essay on some such subject as, "Why I want to become a front-line worker for democracy"; "What I should do if I were my country's Minister of Foreign Affairs"; "What kind of laws should a democratic legislature concentrate upon, and why?" and the like.

Each year, those six boys and six girls in each country whose essays get the best rating should be "taken over"

by the "School of Democratic Leadership" and brought to the seat of the school at the latter's expense.

The leadership school should consist of a High School Division and a University Division. To assure that the students get systematic training in cosmopolitan and democratic ideals, the members of the University Division should be recruited solely from the graduates of the High School Division. Both institutions should be *boarding schools*. This feature is important. Invariably, an Occidental and an Oriental boy and an eastern and a western girl should be roommates, or neighbors if the school has dormitories. Preferably, roommates should be chosen from widely different races, so as to train them to discard instinctively all national, social, racial, and religious prejudices. For the same reason, while of course each student should have every facility for attending religious services of his faith, wherever possible roommates or neighbors should represent different religious or ethical systems, such as Catholicism and Confucianism, Islam and Brahmanism, Protestantism and Judaism, Catholicism and Buddhism, the Greek Orthodox faith and Confucianism, etc.

This, and much else should be done to create a cosmopolitan spirit and life-long friendships among these future leaders of their countries' public life. In this connection, the American institution of school and college fraternities and sororities, unknown to Europe and the East, should be introduced. There should be one single fraternity and one sorority connected with the High School Division and one fraternity and sorority with the University Division of the School of Democratic Leadership. On joining either the High School or the University Division, the student should automatically become a member of the fraternity or sorority concerned.

In other words, there should be no discrimination of any kind, and membership should not be decided by ballot.

The School of Democratic Leadership should never lose contact with its alumni. Moreover, through its fraternities and sororities, it should systematically encourage lifelong contact among them. They all should automatically remain life members of their fraternal organizations. Fraternity publications, regional and central anniversary meetings at certain regular intervals should be instrumental in fostering these life-long friendships.

The lasting value of emotional links forged inside fraternal organizations of this kind should not be underrated. We all know that the older we get the more we value friendships that go back to our youth. In addition, every Odd Fellow, Kiwanis, Freemason, and Knight of Columbus is either consciously or unconsciously aware how symbolic actions jointly performed by a group of people help to foster solidarity and friendship among them. Many people think of symbols and symbolic actions with a skeptical smile, but every human being is either consciously or unconsciously susceptible to their emotional effect. Every day of our lives we use dozens of symbolic gestures and other symbolic actions. Saluting the flag, singing the national anthem, folding our hands in prayer, holding out our hand as a sign of friendship, taking our hat off as a mark of respect, shaking our fist in anger—every one of these gestures and actions is symbolic.

By encouraging friendships among its students and wisely surrounding those friendships with an atmosphere of symbolism, the School of Democratic Leadership will systematically create lasting spiritual and emotional

links between thousands of prominent democrats and cosmopolitans of the future in all countries. It is unnecessary to emphasize what this may mean for human progress.

The tuition fees, board, and living expenses of the poor students should be borne by the Leadership Division. Students whose financial position is slightly better but not very good, might get *loans* from the Leadership Division, more or less along the lines of the students' loans enacted by the United States Congress in the second week of July 1942. Congress then appropriated \$5,000,000 to provide United States college scholarships for 10,000 college men and women in 1943. These scholarships involve loans of \$500 a year, on certain conditions stipulated in the public interest.

In addition to imparting a sound general educational background to the pupils, the High School Division should have a highly specialized curriculum. It should teach, for example, a *combined, joint history* of American, British, French, Chinese, Hindu, Mohammedan, and other civilizations. This subject should be *obligatory* for all these future democratic and cosmopolitan leaders.

The students of the University Division could attend certain classes of such European institutions of higher learning as the Ecole des Hautes Etudes Internationales in Geneva or the Ecole Supérieure des Sciences Politiques in Paris, but the major part of their curriculum should be furnished by the University Division of the School of Democratic Leadership itself. This curriculum must be basically novel in character, off the beaten academic track, and closely adapted to its specific objectives. It would lead too far to go into its details here.

But its guiding principle should be systematic training in a democratic and cosmopolitan approach to every major political, economic, social, and cultural problem.

With the University Division of the School of Democratic Leadership there should be connected a debating society on the model of Oxford's famed "Union." The usages and rules that govern the debates of that body are modeled upon those of the House of Commons. Members of the British cabinet often go up to Oxford to take part in the debates with the students. Similarly, everything should be done to increase the prestige of the students' debating society here recommended, including the participation of international celebrities in its discussions. This should be all the easier as the seat of the School of Democratic Leadership would be the same as that of the revived and remodeled League of Nations.

Such a debating society would be of very great value in developing the poise and eloquence of the students.

The High School Division of the school should have its own, separate debating society.

Boys and girls should, of course, equally participate in the discussions and hold office in the debating societies.

After graduation, two climactic features should complete the students' training. First, one year's post-graduate work in the student's favorite subject at some renowned university. Orientals should pursue these studies at some occidental college, such as Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, Chicago University, the University of California, Stanford, Oxford, Cambridge, the Sorbonne, or Vienna. For Americans, any of the European universities mentioned or Istanbul or one of the Indian or Chinese universities would be best. For Europeans, any of the major American or Asiatic universities.

Those students with no means to support themselves

during that post-graduate year should receive financial assistance from the funds of the Leadership Division.

The second feature completing the "finishing touches" should be an extensive voyage, combined with the students' journey home—in the case of poor students, again financed by the Leadership Division.

My careful estimate of the total annual expenditure of the School, resulting primarily from its financial assistance to *several thousand* among its students each year, is \$7,000,000. This means that the school, which would symbolize the dawn of a new cultural era, would need \$140,000,000, for example, to operate for *twenty* years. During those twenty years it would give humanity 100,000 highly evolved and trained souls as trustees of its destiny, peace and progress.

By the end of 1942, the U.S.A. alone spent exactly \$140,000,000 *per day* to fight the war for the preservation of democracy.

Would it be a good investment to endow the School of Democratic Leadership of the United Nations Education Board with the equivalent of *one day's* American war cost?

I leave the answer to you.

I have just suggested that, following his post-graduate work at some renowned university, each graduate of the school should combine his home-bound journey with an extensive voyage, to see the world and establish more cosmopolitan contacts. If the graduate is an American, the itinerary should include Europe, and some culturally evolved Moslem country, like Syria or Egypt; India; China; and a "redemocratized," i.e., defeated and "nor-

malized" Japan. An Oriental should visit Europe and the United States, a European the U.S.A. and the Orient. No cosmopolitan's spiritual training should be considered complete without personal contact with the fundamentally different cultures and mentalities of those three major ethno-psychologic units, the United States, Europe, the Orient.

The enormous importance of closer contact between East and West for human progress is fully understood by some of the most influential Orientals. In the summer of 1933, for example, I had a chance to discuss the idea of a systematic exchange of oriental and occidental students with Prince Azam Jah, son and heir of the famed Nizam of Hyderabad, most powerful among the native rulers of India. The Nizam, considered the world's richest man, is a progressive-minded ruler. He is the founder and patron of an important, highly modern college, Osman Ali University in Hyderabad, and Crown Prince Azam Jah shares his father's interest in modern education.

My suggestions included the organization of a local branch of the League of Nations' "Committee for Intellectual Co-operation" in India, under the sponsorship of the Nizam of Hyderabad. In the fall of 1933, when I presented Prince Azam Jah to Joseph Avenol, Secretary General of the League of Nations, this plan was examined. Later, at a luncheon which I gave in Prince Azam Jah's honor in Geneva, the project was further favorably discussed with Messrs. Pilotti and Don Pablo de Azcarate, then Deputy Secretaries General of the League, and M. de Montenach, Director of the League's Section for Intellectual Co-operation. But 1933 and the succeeding years were not propitious for projects of a cosmopolitan nature. The times will be more propi-

tious for them when the Axis-conceived nightmare of the modern slave-state has been "liquidated" by the victorious democracies.

C. THE EDUCATION DIVISION

(Division for Educational Reform, Intellectual Co-operation, and Spiritual Advancement)

Like the other two divisions of the United Nations Education Board, the Education Division also has a *permanent* mission.

One of the major tasks of this division is to sponsor a series of *systematic world-wide educational reforms*.

The first among these should be a far-reaching reform in the tuition of history in schools and colleges.

The ideas underlying such a reform were discussed at an international congress of liberals, held in Amsterdam's famous *Concertgebouw* in the summer of 1929, during which I was chairman of the committee of authors and journalists. To the plenary session of the congress, presided over by Henri La Fontaine, member of the Belgian Senate and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize for 1913, I submitted a memorandum outlining my idea of a world-wide reform in the tuition of history. Here, I shall briefly describe the essence of the memorandum.

The European is systematically educated to glorify war. The basis for his picture of his own country, its problems and relations with other countries is, of course, the history of his country and the rest of the world, as taught in his schools and colleges. But national and world history, as taught in the schools and colleges of the various nations, is little more than a simple

chronology of events. It is almost nothing but a list of kings and emperors and of the wars they fought.

Where explanations are given or any attempt is made at a pragmatic, coherent, psychological explanation of events, it is saturated with "ethno-centrism" and jingoism. It is full of traditional lies and time-honored misrepresentations, tending to prove that the kings and emperors of one's country were invariably right, the enemy invariably wrong, and the aggressions committed by one's own country holy crusades.

This method of tuition caters, of course, to every child's and adult's deeply ingrained, ineffaceable, life-long urge for hero worship—whether its object is Achilles, Mohammed, Pasteur, Emerson, Buffalo Bill, or James J. Corbett. It caters to it in a narrow-minded, fanatically jingo spirit. A French boy, for example, is brought up to admire Louis the Fourteenth; therefore he is bound automatically to hate the Duke of Marlborough, who fought Louis. That French boy has never been honestly told that those two men were engaged in a silly dynastic war, provoked by Louis' whims. He has never been told that his other hero, Napoleon, wantonly plunged the world into wars and misery. On the other hand, a Spanish or German boy is automatically brought up to hate Napoleon. He has not been told that, in diametrical contrast to the mentality of the Beast of Berchtesgaden, one of the first things Napoleon did on entering any conquered country was to decree the liberation of the serfs. Neither has that Spanish or German boy been told that the luxurious life at the Spanish Court and the various German Courts which opposed Napoleon was rendered possible only by the "blood, sweat, and tears" of millions of Spanish and German serfs.

As we have seen, one of the main psychologic reasons for wars is that the nations are taught the history of kings and wars, with occasional references to some achievement of civilization. Instead, they should be taught the history of civilization, with those occasional references to kings and wars that are unavoidable.

Those references, in turn, should truthfully describe wars as what they are—disastrous interruptions of cultural evolution.

In the new form which the tuition of history in all countries should take, emphasis should be laid upon *world history*, i.e., *the collective history of human civilization, rather than on national history.*

As for national history, it should not picture a nation better than all the others combined, virtuous and infallible through the ages, but should frankly admit the mistakes and unjust institutions of the past, as also the merits of other nations, and should truthfully present the history of the nation as that of gradual emergence and emancipation from medieval forms of society and government.

Then, by and by, there will be less jingo morons in the world, and more people who will be guided by what should be the watchword of the post-war world: *only a good cosmopolitan can be a constructive patriot.*

The Education Division should take the initiative in creating completely new school and college history textbooks for all nations along the above lines. It should arrange for some authors or historians of world fame to write three model textbooks on world history. These three textbooks—for grammar (yes, grammar!) schools, high schools, and universities—should present world his-

tory in its new form, as the collective history of civilization, with equal regard for eastern and western civilizations.

These basic textbooks would be intended for use in every country. They should be discussed in detail by a congress of officially delegated democratic educators from all civilized countries, convoked by the Education Division. Once they have been approved by the congress, the Education Division should not meekly "recommend" their use to the various governments, in the manner of the defunct League of Nations. Most of the jingoism-ridden governments would throw them into the wastepaper basket with a polite "so sorry," and would keep their old jingo history textbooks.

The use of the new textbooks should be made *obligatory*. Then, in behalf of the United Nations and, later, of the revived and reformed League of Nations, the Education Division must assure, through unannounced local visits of its inspectors and through other measures, that these and only these textbooks are regularly used everywhere. This will be particularly important in Axis countries.

As for *national history*, the Education Division should commission famed and widely respected *democratic* authors or historians of French, German, and Italian nationality to write drafts for textbooks in each language, for the use of grammar schools, high schools, and colleges. These textbooks on *national history* should be submitted to the respective national governments before they are actually used. After they have been freely discussed with the local governments, they should be given their final form and their *mandatory* use *mutually agreed upon* by the Education Division and the local governments. Subsequently, no change should be made in the textbooks, and no other books on the same subject

used, without a new formal agreement between the Education Division and the local government concerned.

Just as soon as enough experience has been obtained through the use of the textbooks on the national histories of France, Germany, and Italy, the Education Division should arrange that similar textbooks are written in every country, and should discuss them with the various local governments.

In countries such as England and the United States, where education is not centrally directed and supervised by a "Ministry for Public Instruction" or some other special government department for education, the Education Division should discuss the subject matter of these textbooks on national history with representative groups of competent educators, or a joint committee of the various national educational associations. Then, by mutual agreement between the Education Division and the local governments, or educational associations, as the case may be, the use of the history textbooks should become mandatory.

Throughout, the Education Division would act, of course, in behalf of the United Nations, and later, in behalf of that permanent supra-national body for the preservation of peace which the democracies will set up.

Among the other objectives of the Education Division should be a world-wide drive against illiteracy, undertaken on a gigantic scale, in close co-operation with the various local governments. *The fight against illiteracy must henceforth become a supra-national concern.* The "World War Against Illiteracy" must be conducted centrally, under a unified command. That command should be the Education Division.

In addition, through the Division's efforts grammar and high school education should be made generally obligatory throughout the world. This would kill two birds with one stone—serve humanity's cultural evolution and reduce unemployment.

In co-operation with the Administration, Mandates, and Colonies Division of the United Nations Political Board, the Education Division should initiate and supervise the creation of thousands of grammar schools, a great number of high schools, and several colleges for various groups *among the Negro population of Africa*, including nomad tribes.

The latter can be operated on the model of the schools in Lapland. In Sweden the percentage of illiteracy is nil, even the Lapps, who lead a nomad life near the arctic circle, being literate. Their government-paid school-teachers live and move with them from place to place.

It is high time to disprove the hypocritical and asinine statement that the African Negro is unable to acquire an education. The fact is that the white man does not want him to acquire one. Most travelers are impressed with the intelligence of many Negro tribes. As for their ethical standards, our western criminal statistics clearly prove that ethically most African Negro tribes tower above great sections of the populations of our occidental cities. The average African tribe lives under a strict moral code, set up by age-old usage and tradition, whereas the mobster of the average occidental city has no such code or tradition.

The white man must apply the Atlantic Charter to the so-called "primitive" peoples of Africa and the South Seas, instead of keeping them in ignorance and virtual serfdom.

There is another field where the Education Division

can do work of truly historic importance. Before discussing the specific task involved, I shall try to describe that problem of supreme spiritual significance to which the specific task relates.

In the last analysis, all post-war measures of pacification are mere sedatives. They seek to alleviate humanity's economic, political, and social misery. But a lasting curative effect can come only from reconditioning the human mind itself, which is the ultimate cause of economic, political, and social misery.

Our ethical impulses spring from our religious, i.e., our metaphysical beliefs. They are deeply rooted in our conception of the Cosmos. But if our attitude toward the Cosmos, our metaphysical concepts, are wholly rational, they can no longer be the source of ethics, which are essentially of an emotional character and origin. If, then, our rationalistic and our ethical urges, our scientific interest and our religious instinct could be brought into harmony, the whole aspect of modern life would change.

Humanity in the West actually lives in a state of collective schizophrenia; it has a split collective personality. Reason and ethics have become two hostile entities inside the western soul. Humanity has developed into a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, but the academic title should be conferred upon Hyde. The overbearing, rationalistic Dr. Hyde has acquired complete ascendancy over the timid, ethically inclined, emotional Mr. Jekyll. While Mr. Jekyll is in a state of apathy and confusion, the practical, "amoral" Dr. Hyde, D.Sc., is busy inventing poison gases, Stukas, flame throwers, Blitzkrieg tactics, and totalitarian "New Orders."

Not until the schizophrenic, the split collective per-

sonality of mankind, is reintegrated, can wars be eliminated. But the reintegration of mankind's collective personality can be achieved only by recreating harmony and direct interaction between reason, which is the mainspring of that technical and scientific condition known as civilization, and ethics, which is the mainspring of that spiritual condition known as culture; between the intellect, which is the handmaid of science, and religion, which is the flywheel of ethics.

In other words, the paramount spiritual issue of the coming age is the reintegration of mankind's collective personality through the reconciliation of science and religion.

But that has been tried and proved impossible, hasn't it? Hardly two years ago, for example, a conference of educators, scientists, and theologians met at Union Theological Seminary in New York and tried to find a common basis for scientific and religious thought, to reconcile science and religion. Their efforts failed. So, it seems that science and religion cannot be reconciled?

They can. Most of the participants in the conference were apparently unaware that they were trying to reconcile science and *theology*. No wonder they failed.

What cannot be reconciled is science and theology, not science and religion. Scientific thought, in its highest, speculative aspect, and religious thought, in its highest, nonsectarian, nondenominational, metaphysical aspect, not only can be but already are being reconciled. And significantly, the initiative comes from the scientific camp.

While democracy is fighting for the preservation of those elementary standards of decency which it has taken

centuries to reach, a revolution is in progress in the field of scientific thought. Its results will take another generation to become generally known, and probably two or three generations to become the common property of thinking people in the West. But the ultimate effect of this revolution in human thought will dwarf that of the war and of all post-war measures of economic, political, and social consolidation. It will be as significant for the evolution of human thought as was the Reformation. That is why, in an article, in the June 1941 issue of *The American Mercury*, entitled, "Modern Science Discovers God," I called this revolution in scientific thought the *Scientific Reformation*.

The fact is that exact science, notably, atomic physics and astro-physics, is openly adopting a religious conception of the Cosmos!

Says the famed British physicist, Sir James Jeans, in *The Mysterious Universe*:

"Mechanics (i.e., the mechanical approach to the problems of the Universe) has already shot its bolt and has failed dismally. . . ."

"The Universe shows evidence of a designing or controlling power . . . a universal mind of which your mind and mine are units or even excrescences."

In another passage, Sir James actually refers to the Cosmos as the creation of a "Great Architect of the Universe."

Says the famed British philosopher, C. E. M. Joad, in his *Guide to Modern Thought*:

"Modern physics . . . suggests, if it does not actually require, a religious interpretation of the universe."

Says that great physicist, Sir Arthur Eddington, in *The Nature of the Physical World*:

“The idea of a Universal Mind or *Logos* * would be, I think, a fairly plausible inference from the present state of scientific theory; at least it is in harmony with it.”

Says the eminent American astro-physicist, Dr. Gustav Strömberg, a distinguished member of the staff of the Mount Wilson Observatory of the Carnegie Institution of Washington at Pasadena, Cal., in his book, *The Soul of the Universe*, published in the fall of 1940:

“The (present) study leads to the inevitable conclusion that there exists a World Soul or God.”

Sir James Jeans calls *energy* the fundamental entity of the universe. And Professor Carl Gustav Jung, the world-famous Swiss psychologist and thinker, writes in his *Modern Man in Search of a Soul*:

“We might be tempted to call energy God, and thus blend into one spirit and nature.”

So, while tanks and “Flying Fortresses” make military, and eventually, economic, political, and social history, a new era in spiritual history, that of the synthesis of science and religion, is dawning in observatories and laboratories.

But modern scientific thought still is in search of a comprehensive, clear conception and definition of the Deity, in its highest physical and metaphysical aspects. Is Universal Mind, or Logos, or the Great Architect of the Universe, or God, energy, as Professor Jung suggests? Or is He Universal Thought?

There *is* an answer to this question.

That energy, i.e., electricity, is the vehicle of thought,

* During the first centuries of our era, *Logos* was the cultured Greek's and Roman's accepted term for the concept of a World Soul, a Universal Mind, or cosmic thought-force.

has been rendered manifest and visible in black and white by the *encephalograph*, a scientific apparatus invented by Dr. H. Berger. It applies to the human brain the principle underlying the well-known electro-cardiograph, in general use for heart examinations. The encephalograph, which is currently used for experiments at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, registers in visible form the electromagnetic waves which our brain cells emit through the process of thinking.

During the past ten or twenty years the physicists of the western world have arrived at the recognition that there is only energy and no matter. In other words, the latest western scientific conception of the universe is one of energy, in the form of electromagnetic vibration. However, one further cognition is necessary, namely this:

Energy, or call it electricity if you prefer, is merely a *vehicle*. It is the vehicle of which creative and perceptive thought, which exists both within and without the brain cells of living creatures, avails itself. In fact, electricity is the sole form in which intra-individual and extra-individual, or human and nonhuman thought—that is, Universal Thought in its two aspects—propagates itself. But energy, or electricity, is merely the vehicle of Universal Thought.

Universal Thought, which propagates itself through electricity, and through electricity alone, not only moves the universe; it *is* the universe, just as electricity *is* the universe, because it is generally accepted by science today that the universe consists entirely and exclusively of electromagnetic phenomena. *But let us remember that electricity and energy are two words for the same thing. Universal Thought is the spiritual aspect of energy, i.e., of electricity.*

Conversely, energy, i.e., electricity, is the dynamic aspect of Universal Thought.

*I conceive of the Deity as an all-pervading, indivisible Universal Mind, operative inside and outside living creatures and inanimate objects and inside and outside individual cells and atoms. Universal Mind has two simultaneous aspects: as all-pervading, indivisible universal thought and all-pervading, indivisible universal energy, i.e., electricity. Just as a vibration of a certain frequency will manifest itself simultaneously as heat and light, but is none the less one single kind of vibration, so does all-pervading, indivisible Universal Mind manifest itself simultaneously as thought and electricity. And what we call the subconscious, or more recently, the unconscious mind (as distinct from C. G. Jung's "Collective Unconscious"), is the direct link between Universal Mind's human and nonhuman aspects. It is the channel through which Universal Mind projects individual thoughts into the focus of our consciousness.**

As we have seen, science, through some of its most celebrated spokesmen, is actually effecting a reconciliation, not with theology, but with religious thought in its highest metaphysical aspect. *Scientific and religious thought now can be brought down to the common denominator of a totally nonsectarian form of pantheism.*

Centuries ago, advanced souls of the East and the West already met on the common ground of pantheism. These men were philosophers, like Giordano Bruno and Baruch Spinoza; Christian mystics, like Jacob Boehme,

* For a further discussion of this, see *Of the Meek and the Mighty*. An Autobiography, by Edward J. Byng (London, November 1939), pages 314-320.

Meister Eckhardt, Juan de la Cruz, and Raymond Lully; Jewish mystics, like Moses de León, author of the Kabalah's famed book, the *Zohar*; members of the *Sûfi* school of Mohammedan mysticism, like Jelaleddin Rûmi, Ferideddin Attar and Omar Khayyam; and masters of the Vedantic-Tantric school of Hindu mysticism, like the great Shankarâcharya. Pantheism has also its "Bible": the famed *Bhagavad Gîta*, glorious gem of Sanskrit literature. I firmly believe that the common religion of the future leaders of humanity in the East and West, and later probably of the major part of humanity itself, will be a nonsectarian form of pantheism. Today, as we have seen, it is already the creed of many a modern scientist and philosopher, and, of course, of the *true* mystic—not the dabbler in "mysticism."

But how about ethics?

Ethics, of course, belongs to the domain of philosophy and religion. It is entirely outside science's scope and field of research. But the pantheistic conception of the Cosmos allows modern man to unite his scientific and religious approaches to life and the universe, to create harmony and a close interdependence between his reason and his ethical impulses. In fact, there is a strong incentive for ethical conduct in the pantheistic conception of God. To realize that we are *identical* with indivisible Universal Mind, i.e., with God, is a particularly valid reason for a constant effort to refine and improve our ethical fabric, to make ourselves, i.e., the human aspect of Universal Mind, or God, increasingly homogeneous with the fabric of His extra-human, transcendental aspect.

I have dealt with the *Scientific Reformation*, the revolution in modern scientific thought, in some detail because of its tremendous influence upon the reintegration

of humanity's collective personality, upon the synthesis between scientific and religious thought, between human reason and ethics. I have already expressed the belief that this new trend of thought will probably prove to be the greatest single influence upon the cultural aspect of the world in which our children and grandchildren will live.

In this connection, more frequent and more regular contact between scientists, philosophers, and educators would be of obvious importance in the post-war era.

Ethical issues, and the *practical* aspects of the synthesis of scientific and religious thought, should form the subject of *international congresses* and *regular periodical publications*.

The revived "Committee for Intellectual Co-operation" of the former League of Nations could do excellent work in this field. It was one of those League organizations which succeeded in building up prestige for themselves. As an autonomous agency inside the Education Division of the United Nations Education Board, and later, inside the organization of the revived and reformed League, this institution could perform a task of tremendous spiritual importance along the lines indicated.

VII

THE "UNION OF NATIONS"

“It makes no difference whether a man lives here or there, as long as he looks upon himself as a citizen of the world.”

“Socially, as Antoninus, I consider Rome my city and country; but as a human being, the world. These are the communities whose advantage alone can be my advantage.”

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.

The following specific suggestions concerning a fundamental reform of the League of Nations and its affiliated organizations, and their revival on a completely changed basis, are, of course, based on strictly personal views. But it may not be amiss to mention that these views are based upon some fifteen years (1924-1939) of first-hand observation of the League and its operation; personal attendance at many of its public council meetings and several of its general assemblies; frequent personal contact with members of its permanent staff and with delegates attending its meetings; five years of continuous residence in Geneva; and personal participation in the League-sponsored international press conferences in Geneva in 1926 and 1927 as a member of the United States delegation.

THE NAME

The League is discredited. Therefore, when it is revived in a new form, it would be a psychologic mistake to retain the name of the discredited institution. The new start should be made under a new name.

President Roosevelt has coined the highly expressive and symbolic term, "United Nations," to describe the community of nations fighting for liberty, democracy, and progress. But that fight will continue after its military phase is over. And if the Axis countries become sincerely and truly democratic after their present regimes have been liquidated, they should be proud to be received in the fold of the United Nations.

For both these reasons, I suggest that the joint, permanent post-war organization of the United Nations for the preservation of peace be known as the Union of Nations. (In French: Union des Nations. In German: Völkerverein.)

THE STATUS OF THE UNION: INTERNATIONAL OR SUPRA-NATIONAL?

The well-known reasons why the League failed are:

1. The League was strictly *inter-national*, i.e., it had no actual *supra-national* authority.

2. A provision in the League Covenant prescribed unanimity for the decisions of the League Council. This was a standing invitation to sabotage of every important decision by any one of the nations represented on the council.

3. The delegates to the League assemblies, the members of the League Council, and, actually, though not officially, even the more important employees of the League Secretariat, *were expected to act primarily as the representatives of their respective countries*. This meant of necessity that the interests of their countries were expected to transcend all considerations of justice and fair play whenever there was a conflict between the two.

Almost always there was a conflict between the two.

If the new permanent democratic organization for the preservation of peace, to which I will henceforth refer as the *Union of Nations*, is given *unrestricted supra-national* authority, many countries, especially the big

ones, will probably defy its authority and thereby render its machinery ineffective.

On the other hand, if the Union of Nations is merely *inter-national* in character, with no authority over individual nations, its machinery will be just as ineffective as was the League's.

Well then, how is the problem to be solved?

The Union of Nations must have supra-national authority. Its status must transcend the national sovereignty of its members. At the same time, however, the supra-national authority, the supra-sovereignty of the Union must not be of a general, sweeping nature but must be positively restricted to clearly defined specific fields.

These fields are political, economic, and spiritual in character. They derive directly from the political, economic, and spiritual aspects of the post-war era. They are clearly indicated in the previous chapters devoted to these three aspects of the Five-Year Peace Plan.

Subsequent extension of the Union's supra-national authority to other fields must then be left to human wisdom, "if any." A big tree grows gradually round a healthy core. And in the last analysis, human institutions have just as much or just as little prestige and authority as have the men who run them.

What poisons relations between nations as between individuals is *fear*. This truth is the key to the understanding of world affairs.

Fear breeds suspicion. Suspicion breeds hate. Hate breeds war.

Conversely, absence of fear creates confidence. Like fear, confidence also can become a habit. But great historical institutions grow and are shaped primarily by habit.

Of course we must police the post-war world. Of course

the Union must have "teeth." But if it is run with impartiality and wisdom, it will probably never have to bare them. Let the men who run the institution create the habit of trusting the Union of Nations. Then, as world-wide confidence in the Union's integrity grows, it will become possible to extend its supra-national authority by stages to more and more new fields.

In my opinion "Union of Nations" is a much more suitable name for the permanent post-war institution for the preservation of peace than "United Nations Council" or "Council of the United Nations." In the first place, as I have said, "Union of Nations" is a logical derivative of the term "United Nations." It clearly conveys the idea that the institution is the continuation in permanent form of the war-time association of peoples known as the United Nations. In addition, I believe that the word "Union" carries more weight than "Council" because it implies an association of states with supra-national authority over the individual states of which it is made up. For example, the United States are often referred to as the "Union," as in the Presidential reports "on the state of the Union." The federation of Russian Socialist Soviet republics is known as the Soviet Union. Let us recall that the Union of Nations, as described in these pages, would have supra-national authority over its members, although that authority would be restricted to specific fields.

The term "United Nations *Council*" automatically conjures up the picture of an association of states merely *inter-national* in character, with no authority over its members. In other words, "council" smacks of the spirit of the defunct League of Nations.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNION OF NATIONS

The Union of Nations should be set up as soon as post-war conditions have been sufficiently normalized and stabilized. Barring unforeseen accidents, that should be the case about two years after the "Cease Firing" has sounded. Then, a Constituent Assembly of the Union could be convoked, the Union's Constitution adopted and its operations begun.

For the reasons set forth in the chapter entitled, "The Machinery of the Five-Year Peace Plan," I believe that Geneva would be the most appropriate seat for the Union of Nations.

Representatives of the democratized Axis countries could participate in the Union's activities from the beginning, in a consultative capacity, unless the Constituent Assembly should decide to give them equal status with the other delegates *before formal peace* between the democracies and the Axis is concluded. In any event, after the conclusion of a formal peace treaty the status of the delegates of the *democratized* Axis countries should, of course, automatically become normal.

While humanity is not yet sufficiently advanced to form either a European or a world-wide supra-national federation of states, it is not unreasonable to assume that such a super-state may materialize at some time well within the next 150 years. Therefore, the Constitution

of the Union of Nations should be drafted with as much foresight as was the American Constitution, which has survived 150 years in vigorous health. The Constitution of the Union of Nations should be able to take care of the Union's present tasks and also automatically fit that organization if and when it becomes the nucleus of a major or even of a world-wide federation of states.

Consequently, I suggest that in certain respects the status of the Union of Nations resemble that of the sovereign District of Columbia. More precisely, *the Union should have the status of a sovereign state, superior in sovereignty to the other states of the world in certain restricted, clearly specified fields, and equal to them in sovereignty in every other respect.*

It is hardly necessary to point out what a tremendous source of prestige for the Union of Nations such a status would be. And the Union will need every bit of prestige it can get.

In keeping with the sovereign status of the Union, its head should have the title of *President*. "Secretary General" is not enough. It is too colorless and sounds too subordinate, with no symbolic appeal to the emotions. It is no prestige-builder for the Union.

The presidency of the Union should be a full-fledged political office, with the full status of the head of a state. The president should be elected by the Assembly of the Union, for a term not of four but of seven years (on the pre-war continental European model, which assures greater political stability). On the other hand, he should not be entitled to succeed himself.

In many respects the United States Constitution should serve as a model for the constitution of the Union of Nations, because it gives the executive more authority and stability than do the various European constitutions.

The status of the Union President should resemble that of the President of the United States. It should not be modeled on the status of European presidents, who are more or less figureheads—let alone of the pre-war presidents of France, who were rubber stamps in human form.

The post of Secretary General should be retained, but given the combined status of the United States vice-president and of a prime minister on the European model. The Secretary General should relieve the President of all duties not directly concerned with the shaping of major policies. He should not be in direct charge of any department of the Union's Administration, being generally responsible to the President for the smooth operation of the entire Union of Nations machinery. He and the President could share the task of attending the many important international meetings, deliberations, and functions which will take place outside the seat of the Union.

As soon as the Union has been set up, the United Nations Political, Economic, and Education Boards, described in previous chapters, should be absorbed by the Union of Nations and automatically continue to function as Departments of the Union.

The Administration of the Union should consist of the Political Department and the Economic, Education, and Interior Departments. As we have seen, the first three would be the simple continuation, on a *permanent* basis, of the United Nations Boards operating during the immediate post-war period.

The Interior Department is necessary because, as we have further seen, the Union of Nations would be a sovereign state operated by a small but full-fledged administrative machinery, which must be supervised.

As apparent from the chart accompanying this chap-

ter, the various divisions that make up the individual departments of the Union Administration also constitute an automatic continuation of their counterparts on the United Nations boards on a *permanent* basis.

Having previously assumed the role of the Labor, Employment, and Public Works Division of the United Nations Economic Board, the "I.L.O.," or International Labor Office (Bureau International du Travail, or "B.I.T.") in Geneva now should automatically become the permanent "Labor, Employment, and Public Works Division" of the Economic Department of the Union. The present "I.L.O." can do a much more effective job by becoming an integral and formal part of the Union of Nations organization, thereby co-operating much more closely and effectively with the latter's other economic agencies, whose work is inseparable from the problems of labor. On the other hand, under its new status under full Union authority, the present "I.L.O." should permanently extend its work to the *supra-national fight against the permanent, chronic phase of unemployment*, discussed in previous chapters, including the operation of *supra-national labor exchanges* and the *free international, centrally and supra-nationally conducted migration of labor*. It should initiate and operate the *supra-national public works*, and be active in all other fields described in a previous chapter in connection with the Labor, Employment, and Public Works Division of the United Nations Economic Board. The close connection between the problems of public works, labor conditions, and hygiene is the reason why the I.L.O., in its new role as a division of the Economic Department of the Union, should also take over and operate the excellent "Hygiene Section" of the former League of Nations.

Like the Raw Materials and Agriculture Division of the United Nations Economic Board, its successor, the permanent Raw Materials and Agriculture Division of the Economic Department of the Union of Nations, also should include the International Agricultural Institute, now in Rome. This same division should, of course, have jurisdiction over all supra-national problems of agriculture, forestry, and mining.

All permanent supra-national aspects of commercial aviation should be under the Communications Division of the Union's Economic Department.

As for the job of the "Personnel and Interior Administration Division" of the Interior Department, its name is self-explanatory. The reason for the existence of the other division of this department, which is to be responsible for the government of the "Sovereign Union District," is explained later in this chapter.

The *Executive Branch* of the government of the Union of Nations, then, would consist of the President and the Cabinet. The full cabinet would include the Secretary General, the four department heads, and the heads of the divisions that make up the departments. This gives us a total of twenty-one without the President.

There should not be more than one national of any country among these twenty-two members of the Executive Branch of the Union.

The smaller cabinet, a kind of executive committee of the cabinet, would consist of the President, the Secretary General, and the four department heads. While the smaller cabinet would meet with the President as often as necessary, the full cabinet should have at least one regular meeting per month, under the Presi-

dent's chairmanship, to assure the closest co-operation among all the administrative branches it represents.

The Secretary General and his cabinet should be nominated by the President but formally appointed by the Union Assembly.

And here we come to the salient point in the whole Union organization, the organizational basis for the Union's independence from nationalism, political barter, lobbying, high pressure diplomacy, and power politics:

Once the cabinet appointments have been confirmed by the Assembly, the appointees shall be free from any authority over them except that of the President of the Union of Nations.

The President and the twenty-one members of his cabinet should take the place of the one-time League Council. They should decide the problems submitted to the Union for arbitration, with complete independence and supra-national authority, and free from the former ominous League provision requiring unanimity on League Council decisions. A simple majority of votes shall suffice for decisions, the Union President having the casting vote.

These men must not receive instructions from any government as to how to vote. They have ceased to be representatives of any individual nation. They shall act solely *ad personam*, as free individuals, owing allegiance to the sovereign Union of Nations and nobody else.

The Union's Constitution should provide that cabinet members cannot be recalled or removed by the governments to which they originally owed allegiance, and that the President of the Union of Nations alone can remove them from their posts. Special provisions, to be accepted by all member states upon entering the Union, shall

protect the members of the Union Executive, as also all minor employees of the various departments, divisions, and other institutions of the Union, from pressure or vengeance on the part of the governments to which they originally owed allegiance.

In all matters submitted to the Union for arbitration or decision, the "Law and Arbitration Division" of the Union's Political Department should be competent to handle the preparatory stages of the case. It would then be submitted to the full cabinet of the Union, under the President's chairmanship. If one party or both parties to the dispute refuse to accept the Union cabinet's decision, they should have the right to appeal to the Permanent Court of International Justice, with which I shall deal later. The Court's decision should then be final.

The Union should, of course, be given "teeth" to enforce its supra-national authority in the fields specifically allotted to it. A *joint* "world police force," made up of military units of various nations, is highly desirable. Unfortunately, the idea is two or three generations ahead of the present stage of humanity's political maturity. Therefore, it is utopian in character. This means the "policing" of the peace *by the big powers* in behalf of the Union. The policing powers will probably be:

The U.S.A. in the Western Hemisphere, in the Atlantic and the Pacific.

Britain in western and central Europe, in and around the Mediterranean, and in Africa.

The U.S.S.R. in Eastern Europe, including the Baltic and the Balkans, and in the Near East.

India in the Middle East. Until the time when India has an army of its own, its place should be taken by Britain.

China in the Far East.

If any decision has to be enforced by the force of arms, the Union, through the "Disarmament and Policing Division" of its Political Department, should instruct the policing power of the geographical region concerned, or all the policing powers, to intervene. These instructions should be mandatory.

The Union would demand the intervention of the policing powers either upon its own initiative or upon the demand of the Permanent Court of International Justice, according to whose decision is being disregarded.

In an extreme emergency the big powers may have to do the policing jointly. Normally, each should look after the geographical region assigned to its care. Every member nation in the Union shall have the obligation to assist the policing power or powers in every way, including free passage of the powers' policing forces through its territory and their use of its airdromes and airfields, docks, repair shops, and other installations.

The costs of a punitive action should be borne jointly by all members of the Union, in proportion to the amounts of their membership fees in the Union.

The *Legislative Branch* of the Union of Nations should consist of the one-chamber Union Assembly, composed of the delegates of the member states. The Assembly should meet regularly once a year, or more often if necessary. The functions of the Assembly should include the ratification of treaties negotiated by the Executive. Other political and economic decisions of the Executive, and agreements which the Executive enters into but which are not given the form of a formal treaty, shall not need ratification by the Assembly. The general tendency should be to encourage and strengthen the initiative,

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authority, and powers, i.e., the "punch," of the Executive. Solely along that line can the Union of Nations become a living, fast- and hard-hitting instrument of democratic and cosmopolitan action, instead of being either an international debating society on the model of the defunct League of Nations, or a "packed" jury, engaged in swapping "justice" for jingo national advantages.

The budget of the Union must be approved by the Assembly. The Assembly should also be entitled to raise and discuss any question of policy, any conflict between nations, and any other problem, and to pass resolutions relating to these. *Actual decisions*, however, should be within the authority of the Executive alone.

Each year, the Assembly should appoint the following eight committees chosen from its members:

1. Political and Disarmament Committee.
2. Law and Arbitration Committee.
3. Administration, Mandates, and Colonies.
4. Economy, Trade, and Industry.
5. Labor, Employment, and Public Works.
6. Finance.
7. Education.
8. Interior Affairs, including government of the Sovereign Union District.

The first three committees should, of course, maintain contact with the Union's Political Department and its various divisions; the fourth, fifth, and sixth, with the Economic Department; the seventh, with the Education Department; and the last with the Interior Department.

The committees could meet regularly every three months, and more often if necessary. Like the Assembly itself, they should meet at the seat of the Union.

THE PROPOSED ORGANIZATION OF THE UNION OF NATIONS

THE EXECUTIVE

PRESIDENT

Secretary General

Secretaries and Their Departments

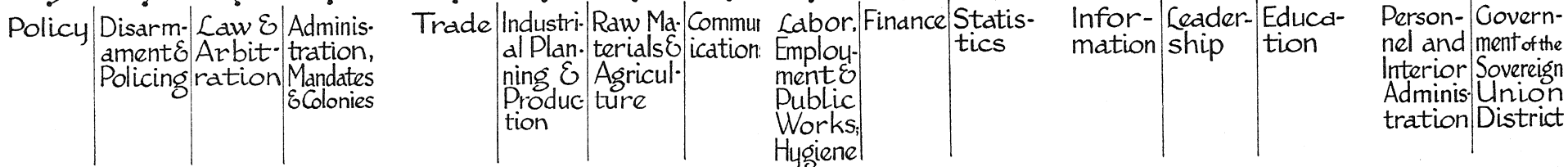
Political

Economic

Education

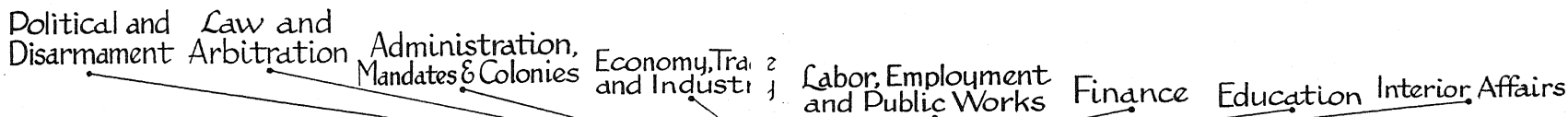
Interior

Under-Secretaries (or Chiefs of Divisions) and Their Divisions



THE LEGISLATIVE

Permanent Committees of the Union Assembly



UNION ASSEMBLY

THE JUDICIARY

PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

Eleven Judges

Four Deputy Judges



Through them, the Assembly would keep in permanent touch with the Executive and keep informed about its activities. The committees should be entitled to demand information on both the current activities of the Executive and any other matter in their province. Those members of the Union cabinet active in the fields permanently assigned to the individual Assembly committees would have to appear before them and give them the information desired. The committees also could pass resolutions and communicate them to the Executive, but the latter should not be bound by these committee resolutions.

The *Judiciary Branch* of the Union of Nations would be represented by the Permanent Court of International Justice, hitherto at the Hague. Like the International Agricultural Institute in Rome and the Bank for International Settlements in Basle, solely for reasons of the greater efficiency of the Union organization as a whole, the court should be transferred from the Hague to the seat of the Union. Its role within the Union of Nations should resemble the Supreme Court's within the United States. It should have the right to interpret the provisions of the Constitution of the Union of Nations. If called upon, it should pass upon the constitutionality of any action of the Union Executive or Legislative. Further, it should function as an appellate court in regard to arbitrational and other decisions of the Union.

I see no need to change the present regulations governing the composition of the court. It could continue to consist of eleven judges and four deputy judges, who elect the president and vice-president of the court from among themselves.

SYMBOLIC ATTRIBUTES OF UNION SOVEREIGNTY

Nothing should be left undone to increase the prestige and authority of the Union of Nations. This can best be done by symbols and symbolic actions that appeal to the imagination of those same millions who have seen the prestige of the League of Nations collapsing.

Symbols and symbolic actions usually appeal to the emotions. The loyalty of the masses to certain political institutions is best assured by creating an emotional link between the masses and those institutions. It is one of the secrets of statesmanship to appreciate this fact and therefore to popularize political institutions by surrounding them methodically with impressive symbols and symbolic actions. This is one of Hitler's greatest secrets, and it is high time that we devotees of democracy and liberty woke up to its importance.

I have already suggested the symbolic action of providing the Union of Nations with the status of a sovereign state. *I further suggest the additional symbolic action that the Union be given its own sovereign territory, as was the Vatican State through the "Lateran Treaties" of 1929.* What matters is not the extent of the territory but the symbolic significance of the action.

Negotiations with the Swiss government and the Canton of Geneva might lead to the purchase of the land on which stand the fine new building of the former

League of Nations and the building of the International Labor Office. By agreement with the Swiss and the Genevese, this land should become the sovereign territory of the sovereign state known as the Union of Nations. The former League owns a modern high-power short-wave radio station at Prangins, in the Canton of Vaud, about twenty minutes by car from Geneva. Through negotiations with the Swiss Federation and the Canton of Vaud, the land on which stands the building of this radio station could perhaps be purchased and also become Union territory. It would form a Union "island," or "enclave," inside the Canton of Vaud, and the Union should acquire the perpetual right of three-way access to, and between, its buildings in Geneva (the present League and I.L.O. buildings) and the building at Prangins.

Should the negotiations with the Swiss Federation and the Cantons of Geneva and Vaud fail, a democratic post-war France would probably cede the necessary land in or near Thonon-les-Bains or Evian, both situated on the French shore of the Lake of Geneva.

The sovereign territory owned and governed by the Vatican State since 1929 is known as Vatican City. The sovereign territory owned and governed by the Union of Nations could be called the Sovereign District of the Union of Nations; in short, the Union District.

One day, if and when the dream of a major federation of states becomes reality, the *Union District* could automatically become the "District of Columbia" of such a federation, or even of the United States of the World.

If the Union has the status of a sovereign state, it could have also its own citizenship. Owing to the Union's

unique supra-national character, however, it might be considered permissible, and might be generally accepted by the member states, that Union of Nations citizenship be cumulative with the citizenship of another country, the latter being merely inoperative, or "dormant," so long as the former is held by the person concerned.

On this basis, the President of the Union, the members of the Union's Executive and Judicial Branches (but not of the Legislative), and all permanent employees of the Union's administrative machinery, with their families, would be Union citizens during their tenure of office or employment. Upon its termination they, and every member of their families individually, should be entitled to decide whether to give up their Union citizenship and automatically resume their "dormant" previous citizenship or whether to remain a Union citizen. This provision would protect these people and their families from the pressure or vengeance of their original national governments, should any of the governments concerned consider the activities of those men in the Union to be too impartial.

Temporary or permanent Union citizenship and a Union passport would be a boon to the periodical waves of refugees forced into exile and rendered "stateless" by civil wars or dictatorial governments. In this connection, the famed "Nansen passports" of the last post-war period still are favorably remembered.

Before I conclude, I must emphasize once again the magic effect of symbols and symbolic actions, which most of our contemporary statesmen totally fail to appreciate because they think of *statesmanship* as a rational science.

In reality, however, as I have said earlier in this book, statesmanship is not a science but an art. As such, it is chiefly operative in the field of the emotions, constantly contends with imponderables, draws upon the creative aspect of intuition, and scores its greatest triumphs when it transcends the classic rules of rationalism.

We should never forget the suggestive and constructive power of symbols!

Among the psychologically important attributes, i.e., the "prestige-building symbols" of the Union's territorial sovereignty should be the following, which the Vatican State also has adopted:

Own stamps.

Own coinage.

An own "army" of perhaps fifty men, in reality a police force to protect the buildings and property of the Union, replacing the policemen hitherto put at the League of Nation's disposal by the city of Geneva.

Along the same line of thought, I further recommend that the Union of Nations have its own flag.

If this suggestion is accepted, I am sure many good ideas and suggestions will be forthcoming in this connection. I personally make the following suggestions of detail for what they are worth.

The Union's flag might be entirely white, the symbolic color of peace and traditional color of flags of truce. In the middle, there might be a circle, i.e., a symbolic chain, of stars. Each star should stand for one member nation in the Union of Nations. As the membership grows, the circle or chain could consist of more stars, just as the stars in the American flag first formed a circular chain and gradually grew in number.

Again for the same psychologic reasons as before, the Union should also have an anthem of its own.

Finally, I suggest a further symbol of the Union's sovereignty, with an important appeal to the emotions. It would furnish a great individual incentive to work for world peace. Let the sovereign Union of Nations create an order to reward individual efforts in the cause of peace, with the usual five classes that many orders have. Don't underrate the healthy effect of decorations upon human vanity and ambition! The Soviets, which had originally abolished all orders and decorations, soon found this out, and created not only military decorations but several orders for efficient labor, including even the very high-ranking title of "Hero of Labor."

People get scores of different decorations for merit on the battlefield. Let us give them an order rewarding *various degrees of merit in promoting peace!* It will be good psychology. Peace will greatly gain by it.

The Nobel Prize for Peace, granted to one person each year, is too high, too rare, too difficult to get. Therefore it is no incentive to the simple mortal. Let us keep the Nobel Peace Prize as the highest reward in this field, a kind of "Victoria Cross" of Peace. But let the President of the Union of Nations confer upon less prominent but equally enthusiastic workers for peace an "Order of Peace"—*Ordre de la Paix*—so that humbler souls can covet the letters "O.P." after their names.

Vanity can be a constructive force. If properly used, it can pay high moral dividends.

The most important long-range task of the Union of Nations will be to convince humanity that there is no contradiction between the ideal of patriotism and Alphonse de Lamartine's glorious concept of the universe as "one single homeland."

Another great soul, Ludwig van Beethoven, thought along similar lines. He set his creed to music. Couched in the words of Schiller's "Ode to Joy," it found musical expression in the choral part of the last movement in Beethoven's Ninth Symphony.

No words and no theme could be more fitting for the anthem of the Union of Nations, as both words and theme reach their climax in the passage:

"Joy, thou Goddess fair, immortal
Offspring of Elysium,
Mad with rapture, to the portal
Of thy holy fane we come!
Fashion's laws, indeed, may sever
But thy magic joins again;
All mankind are brethren ever
'Neath thy mild and gentle reign!

"Welcome, all ye myriad creatures!
Brethren, take the kiss of love!
Yes, the starry realms above
Hide a father's smiling features!"

VIII

THE TIME SCHEDULE OF THE FIVE-YEAR PEACE PLAN

“Remember that to change your opinion and accept correction of your errors is just as consistent with freedom as it is to persist in your error, since the action springs from your own impulse and judgment and is approved by your own mind.”

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.

It is hardly necessary to emphasize that my Five-Year Peace Plan does not claim to be complete, or even to include more than just a few specific suggestions. The following schedule, therefore, is not drawn up in a doctrinary spirit but is an entirely tentative outline of the approximate time schedule of the Five-Year Peace Plan, as I see it.

IMMEDIATE POST-WAR MEASURES

1. Immediate "advance occupation" of a number of European continental cities by air-borne United Nations troops, pending the methodical military occupation of the whole of Germany. (Page 11.)

2. Air-borne troops of the United Nations, led by Allied transportation experts, occupy the key junctions of the railways and inland waterways of western, central, and eastern continental Europe. (Page 18.)

3. United Nations troops of occupation install "de-lousing" stations in eastern and southeastern Europe. (Page 20.)

4. Systematic use of the four-motored cargo planes of the U. S. Air Transport Command for transportation of dehydrated and concentrated foodstuffs and vitamins to Europe's famished countries, pending large-scale food relief by sea. (Page 20.)

FIRST YEAR OF THE FIVE-YEAR PEACE PLAN

POLITICAL MEASURES

1. Repatriation of United Nations soldiers captured by the Axis.

2. The United Nations officially set up the United Nations Political Board, United Nations Economic Board, United Nations Education Board. These boards and their divisions immediately begin to operate. (Page 30.)

3. Austria regains its freedom from German domination and is evacuated by all German civil and military authorities. (Page 42.)

4. Prussia disappears from the map of the Reich. It is distributed among Bavaria, Saxony, the Hanseatic cities, etc. (Page 44.)

5. Through a new interpretative decree or law in Germany, the status of *Staatsangehöriger* ("member," i.e., not citizen, of the state) is applied exclusively, and for life, to all members of Nazi and other extreme right-wing civilian, military, and semi-military organizations. (Page 39.)

6. The post-war regime in Germany seizes the major part of the fortunes, and the whole land, owned by these persons, pooling it to serve as a fund for compensating victims of the Nazis. (Page 41.)

7. The post-war regime in Germany (possibly a temporary *de facto*-protectorate) raises the age of German voters to 24. (Page 42.)

8. The constitution of the *French Fourth Republic* becomes an appropriately modified replica of the United States Constitution. (?) (Page 46.)

9. Italy's democratic post-war regime introduces American political forms, appropriately adapted to Italian conditions. (?) (Page 50.)

ECONOMIC MEASURES

10. Centrally and supra-nationally conducted world-wide barter trade begins, including licenses for "international transportation priorities" for private trade. (Page 97.)

11. The "Open Door in Central Africa" is established. (Page 105.)

12. Liquidation, dismantling, and removal of Germany's steel and aluminum industries. (Page 38.)

13. Inception of the supra-national fight against the first, immediate post-war stage of world-wide unemployment. (Page 107.)

SPIRITUAL MEASURES

14. Local press and radio liaison men of U. S. Office of War Information and of the Office of the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs take up their posts throughout the world, including the defeated Axis countries and neutral countries. (Pages 116 and 117.)

SECOND YEAR OF THE FIVE-YEAR PEACE PLAN

POLITICAL MEASURES

1. Poland gets a *new* access to the sea. (Page 53.)
2. Settlement of the Irish question. (?) Ulster becomes a canton, on the Swiss model, inside a federated Ireland. (?) (Page 54.)
3. To strengthen democracy, Japan's democratic post-war regime reintroduces the Shogunate, on an electoral and democratic basis. (Page 90.)
4. Civilians forcibly drafted for labor in the Reich or otherwise forcibly expatriated by the Nazis, are repatriated. (Page 58.)
5. Under Allied guidance, a number of regional federations are set up: the Danube Federation, Balkan Federation, Pan-Arab Federation, Dutch East Indian Federation. Having successfully concluded negotiations with the British Crown, India now assumes the character of a dominion inside the British Commonwealth of Nations. The inner structure of the Indian sub-continent is set up in the form of a federal union, a "United States of India." Inside the French Empire, Senegal, Madagascar, Martinique-Guadeloupe, and possibly Tunisia and French Indo-China, assume the status of dominions on the British model. All newly founded regional federations promptly and automatically become economic

units in the terms of the centrally and supra-nationally conducted world-wide barter system. (Page 60.)

ECONOMIC MEASURES

6. To combat unemployment, the Labor, Employment, and Public Works Division of the United Nations Economic Board initiates big international, centrally and supra-nationally conducted public works. (Pages 109 and 110.)

SPIRITUAL MEASURES

7. The first "Museums of Democracy" and ambulant "Democracy Expositions" are set up. A regular "Democratic Hour" is established the world over on radio stations and in schools and colleges. (Page 124.)

8. The "School of Democratic Leadership" is set up at the future seat of the United Nations' permanent supra-national organization for the preservation of peace. (Page 126.)

THIRD YEAR OF THE FIVE-YEAR PEACE PLAN

POLITICAL MEASURES

1. The Union of Nations' permanent world-wide machinery for the preservation of a democratic peace, is set up, adopts its Constitution, and begins to operate. The Political Board, Economic Board, and Education Board of the United Nations automatically become the Political, Economic, and Education Departments of the *Union of Nations* and continue their work in their new capacity without interruption. Through these departments inside its machinery, the Union of Nations now assumes charge and control of all past and future measures forming part of the Five-Year Peace Plan. (Page 156.)

2. The Union of Nations conducts a series of plebiscites. (Page 62.)

3. Inception of the large-scale, methodical transfer of minorities, including dissident minority groups created by the outcome of the plebiscites. (Page 56.)

4. Such minority problems as cannot be eliminated through the transfer of minorities, are solved by giving the regions concerned full cantonal status, on the Swiss model, inside the states concerned. (Page 62.)

ECONOMIC MEASURES

5. Having absorbed the Hygiene Section of the former League of Nations, the Labor, Employment, and Public Works Division of the Economic Department of the Union of Nations now begins the fight against the second, i.e., permanent, chronic phase of unemployment in the post-war era. Initiation of further major supra-nationally conducted international public works. Other anti-unemployment measures. (Pages 108-110.)

SPIRITUAL MEASURES

6. The Education Division of the Union of Nations' Education Department initiates a world-wide, methodical reform of the tuition of history in schools and colleges. (Page 133.)

FOURTH YEAR OF THE FIVE-YEAR PEACE PLAN

POLITICAL MEASURES

1. The large-scale, methodical transfer of minorities continues. (Page 56.)

ECONOMIC MEASURES

2. The Law and Arbitration Division of the Union of Nations' Political Department initiates methodical world-wide legislation for the supervision of stock and money exchange operations; anti-trust and anti-cartel legislation; legislation for the prevention of abuses through concerted international exploitation of patents. (Pages 104 and 112.)

3. More large-scale international, super-nationally operated public works. (Pages 109 and 110.)

SPIRITUAL MEASURES

4. The Education Division of the Union of Nations' Education Department initiates a "World War Against Illiteracy." It helps to set up hundreds of grammar schools, a number of high schools, and some colleges for the natives of Central Africa. It convokes the first of a series of periodical international congresses dealing with the practical aspects and problems of the synthesis

of scientific and religious thought. It begins publication of a periodical along these lines. It initiates other methodical measures for the “reintegration” of humanity’s “split collective personality,” which is the ultimate reason for the temporary decline of the West. (Pages 137, 138, and 146.)

FIFTH YEAR OF THE FIVE-YEAR PEACE PLAN

POLITICAL MEASURES

1. Conclusion of the large-scale, methodical transfer of minorities. (Page 56.)

2. Before a democratized *Fourth Reich* reassumes control of its domestic and foreign affairs, it adopts an appropriately modified replica of the U.S. Constitution. (?) (Page 45.)

3. All political measures and policies so far pursued in accordance with the Five-Year Peace Plan are methodically revised and readjusted in the light of four years' experience.

ECONOMIC MEASURES

4. The fight against the chronic aspect of unemployment continues, including more international public works. (Pages 109 and 110.)

5. All economic measures and policies so far pursued during the post-war period are methodically revised and readjusted in the light of four years' experience.

SPIRITUAL MEASURES

6. All spiritual measures and policies so far pursued during the post-war period are methodically revised and readjusted in the light of four years' experience.

Termination of the Five-Year Peace Plan—*The formal peace treaties are drafted.*

A Five-Year Peace Plan

A Five-Year Peace Plan: A Schedule for Peace Building is, we believe, exactly what the title states—probably the most *specific* book about the problems of the post-war world to be published during the first three-and-a-half years of World War II.

In this book, Dr. Byng launches the idea of a democratic Five-Year Peace Plan. He presents a detailed Five-Year Plan of pacificatory steps, intended to precede the peace treaties. The author avoids any historic or other indirect approach to his subject, and discards all generalities. Instead, the book heads straight for its objectives, giving a methodical list and time schedule of definite post-war measures of political, economic, and spiritual import.

Written in the belief that "like democracy, peace is one and indivisible," Dr. Byng's *A Five-Year Peace Plan* deals first with the post-war questions of immediate urgency, then takes up every subsequent peace problem of vital importance. These problems range from details of the disarmament of the Axis to the Free Trade question, and from the future status of Asia to the problem of the spiritual regeneration of the West after the war.

The book remains equally specific in the chapter devoted to the crucial problem of a permanent democratic post-war machinery for the world-wide preservation of peace. It presents a detailed draft of the constitution, status and operation of such an institution.

The author is aware of the audacity involved in presenting a strictly specific peace program, based on a methodical five-year time schedule. Therefore, he emphasizes in his preface that he is expressing strictly personal views. But it may not be amiss to mention that those views stem from an unusual background. They are based upon thirty-two years of active personal experience in world affairs and in international journalism, historical research, the study and the teaching of international relations and of both oriental and occidental philosophy, and intimate personal contact with many men who make history.

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