22 *Planning for a New America*

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

There are two types of planning. One is limited to an individual nation; the other embraces a number of cooperating countries. Owing to the failure of the League of Nations to organize international planning, domestic planning only has been attempted by certain individual nations. However, such limited planning can be but a temporary solution. As distances shrink and spheres of interest overlap, this world, with its unequal distribution of natural wealth, industrial capacity, agricultural productivity, and cultural standards, must eventually become a wholly planned unit with individual tasks assigned to individual countries.

Domestic planning, whenever it has been attempted on a large scale since the First World War, has been for the purpose of meeting a specific emergency, and has tended toward autarchy. The vast five-year plans of the Soviet Union had as their aim the speedy industrialization of the country not only for better living but also for purposes of defense. Germany's four-year plans were, to an even higher degree, schemes for a strictly controlled and planned war economy. The ultimate aim of these integrated schemes was the achievement of self-sufficiency for protective or aggressive purposes. Yet there does not exist one nation in the world that can prosper, for any great length of time, on the basis of autarchic principles. Not even the Soviet Union with all its uncovered riches or the United States with its highly developed industrial and agricultural wealth could go on living forever in absolute self-sufficiency without, at the same time, reducing their standards of living. Attempts at autarchy have invariably meant scarcity and hard work with little compensation for the individual.

In the history of the United States there have been repeated attempts to plan individual projects which, however, hardly ever transgressed the boundaries of their strictly specialized goals. City and regional planning, organization of railroads and public utili-

ties, and various types of industrial systematization have been attempted successfully; they have taught Americans valuable lessons in the art of planning. In the field of social legislation and public-works relief the Federal government has introduced measures for nationwide emergency planning for a limited period of need. Thus planning in America has had some background, even though it has been of limited scope and not comparable with the sweeping laws of planned totalitarian control.

The democratic nature of American planning can best be seen in the enumeration of the following usual steps, listed by a professional planner and typical of the cautious procedure of planning in the United States:

1. The determination of objectives to be sought.
2. Research—to understand the problem.
3. The discovery of alternative solutions.
4. Policy making—choosing between alternatives, including the frequent choice of doing nothing.
5. The detailed execution of the chosen alternative—known in physical planning as lay-out or design.[1]

This is obviously an adequate approach for local planning. The question is now whether American planners will be able to organize postwar planning along these lines of approach. The difficulty of determining the objects of planning increases in proportion to its geographical and political extent. On a nation-wide, and even more on an international scale, the objects of planning are most difficult to determine. There will be even more differences of opinion with regard to the methods and details for reaching these objectives; there will, finally, be differences of opinion as to whether the aims can be reached through an ameliorated *status quo* or by introducing a far reaching modification of traditional economy and social conceptions.

In a democracy, the decisions about the nature of the objectives of planning must depend on the people whose life will be deeply affected by them. Moreover, no government in the United States has ever functioned successfully without the support of a majority of public opinion. Admittedly, public opinion is formed slowly.

[1] George B. Galloway, "American Planning," in *Planning for America*, Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1941, p. 6.

It may take shape with dangerous reluctance. For example, it took many Americans years to recognize that the world had become an interdependent unit, that America's isolation from the rest of the world was a dangerous illusion, and that such an illusion was not only fostered by sincere American patriots but also by the enemies of democracy in order to keep the United States morally and militarily weak.

Once America recognizes its position in the world, realizing that cooperation with the other nations is to its own vital interests and is essential for the maintenance of peace, the aspects of its planning, domestically and internationally, are bound to change. The clearer the global issue becomes, the less will Americans be able to escape the conclusion that military victory alone does not offer a permanent solution of its problems, just as the introduction of domestic social security laws alone cannot provide a lasting settlement of the social and economic issues.

Two days after the United States was forced into the war, on December 9, 1941, President Roosevelt in a radio address said: "We are going to win the war and *we are going to win the peace that follows. . . .*"[1] Thereby, Mr. Roosevelt raised by implication a problem which will remain a paramount issue for years to come: if America wants to prepare for lasting peace, what kind of peace shall it be?

The most impressive answer was given by the former Vice-President, Henry A. Wallace, whose address before the Free World Association has already become a classical document: "I say that the century into which we are entering—the century which will come out of this war—can be and must be the century of the common man. . . . The methods of the nineteenth century will not work in the people's century which is now about to begin. . . . The people, in their millennial and revolutionary march to manifesting here on earth the dignity that is in every human soul, hold as their credo the four freedoms enunciated by President Roosevelt in his message to Congress on January 6, 1941. These four freedoms are the very core of the revolution for which the United Nations have taken their stand. . . ."[2]

[1] Italics mine.
[2] May 8, 1942. The speech is known under two titles. One is "The Price of Free World Victory," the other "Toward New Horizons: The World Beyond the War."

Mr. Wallace's vision of peace is clearly global and indivisible. For him, there cannot be hope of realistic, productive domestic postwar planning except in conjunction with the rest of the world. He recognizes America's responsible position as friend and counselor of less fortunate peoples but does not claim any privileges from such a position: "Those who write the peace must think of the whole world. There can be no privileged peoples. We ourselves in the United States are no more master race than the Nazis. . . . No nation will have the God-given right to exploit other nations . . ." [1]

The nucleus of Mr. Wallace's philosophy of planning may be found in the following words: "When the freedom-loving people march—when the farmers have an opportunity to buy land at reasonable prices and to sell the produce of their land through their own organizations, when workers have the opportunity to form unions and bargain collectively, and when children of all the people have an opportunity to attend schools which teach them the truths of the real world in which they live—when these opportunities are open to everyone, then the world moves straight ahead." [2]

PREPARING FOR REORGANIZATION

Even before Mr. Wallace had stated these objectives and before a man as cautious as the former Under-Secretary of State, Sumner Welles, suggested that "the organization through which the United Nations are to carry on and cooperate should surely be formed so far as practicable before the fires of the war which are welding them together have cooled," [3] an ever-increasing number of agencies, private, official, and academic, started elaborating plans for domestic security and international cooperation. With the improvement of the Allied military situation, the scope of research for the development of acceptable postwar reorganization and the output of literature connected with it has grown to extraordinary proportions. Already in 1942, at a time when Allied military progress was still slow and the end of the war not in sight, a selection of the most important sources revealed the publication of 100 books, 43 pam-

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Speech of June 17, 1942.

phlets, and 120 articles of major authority in newspapers and periodicals.[1] In the same year, almost 200 research agencies were active, according to statistics published by the Twentieth Century Fund, among them a good many big business, bank, and industrial research institutes, working on problems of postwar organization.[2] Not enumerated in this source book were colleges and universities which offered courses and seminars on postwar problems and planning. Noteworthy is the activity of the Universities Committee on Post-War International Problems which, since the Fall of 1942, has issued thousands of "analytical reports on the problems of the peace settlement and the postwar years." A summary of these reports dealing with the strategy of peace, the method and stages of development, the treatment of Germany, the organization of security, and the problem of relief and rehabilitation has been published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.[3]

In the following years, agencies and publications on postwar planning multiplied. People began to discuss the staggering problems of transforming the war economy into one of durable peace and prosperity. The executive and legislative branches of the government of the United States, following this trend of public opinion, began to consider the problem seriously. The Republican Party, formerly the stronghold of isolationism, reversed its stand in the foreign policy platform of Mackinack Island in 1943. In the same year, both houses of Congress adopted a resolution, committing themselves to the principle of international cooperation. President Roosevelt and former Secretary of State Cordell Hull both fostered the idea of a strong international organization with the purpose of maintaining the peace, by armed force if necessary.

But a "people's peace" which of necessity was to follow a "people's war" requires international treaties to be based on the assumption of well-organized domestic planning. For the domestic conditions of pivotal countries should be of vital interest to all other nations and the old thesis according to which the situation in other

[1] *Peace Aims and Post-War Planning*, a selected and annotated bibliography by Fawn M. Brodie, World Peace Foundation, Boston, July, 1942.

[2] George B. Galloway, *Postwar Planning in the United States*, Twentieth Century Fund, New York, 1942.

[3] *International Conciliation*, New York, No. 401, June, 1944 and No. 405, Section 1, November, 1944.

parts of the world is nobody else's business, has proved to be completely wrong. Inner political conflicts, depressions, and dislocations during the decades following the First World War had driven peoples to desperation.

Democratic postwar reforms must therefore take into account both domestic and international issues. Speaking first of the domestic outlook of postwar planning for America, the clearest and most characteristic proposals have come from the National Resources Planning Board, a government agency which was unfortunately abolished by Act of Congress in 1943 but whose suggestions, realistic and moderate as they were, have not been excelled by any other proposal except, perhaps, by the recommendations of Bernard Baruch for immediate postwar adjustments.[1]

The basic platform upon which the NRPB built its theories consists of "nine principles of personal rights" which, while especially suitable for America, have a universal validity. To be sure, only rights are mentioned and not the corresponding duties. Yet a new-age democracy cannot recognize that its citizens are automatically entitled to rights unless they agree to fulfill their duties as well. Rights cannot be taken for granted; they have to be validated again and again by the contributions of the individual to society. Appropriately, Henry A. Wallace spoke of a "Bill of Duties" for citizens who wish to be protected by a Bill of Rights.

Citizens' rights as outlined by the NRPB are as follows:

1. The right to work, usefully and creatively through the productive years.
2. The right to fair play, adequate to command the necessities and amenities of life in exchange for work, ideas, thrift, and other socially valuable service.
3. The right to adequate food, clothing, shelter, and medical care.
4. The right to security, with freedom from fear of old age, want, dependency, sickness, unemployment, and accident.
5. The right to live in a system of free enterprise, free from compulsory labor, irresponsible private power, arbitrary public authority, and unregulated monopolies.
6. The right to come and go, to speak or to be silent, free from the spyings of secret political police.

[1] Bernard M. Baruch and John M. Hancock, *Report on War and Post-War Adjustment Policies*, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C, February 15, 1944.

7. The right to equality before the law, with equal access to justice in fact.
8. The right to education, for work, for citizenship, and for personal growth and happiness.
9. The right to rest, recreation, and adventure; the opportunity to enjoy life and take part in advancing civilization.[1]

"These rights and opportunities," the declaration concludes, "we in the United States want for ourselves and for our children now and when this war is over. They go beyond the political forms and freedoms for which our ancestors fought and which they handed on to us, because we live in a new world in which the central problems arise from new pressures of power, production and population, which our forefathers did not face." [2]

It is on the basis of these principles that the "American Beveridge Plan" has been developed by the NRPB. The plan, whose broad outlines will now be presented, is almost entirely concerned with socio-economic reforms in the domestic American field.

THE POSTWAR OBJECTIVES OF THE NRPB AGENDA[3]

The Board's Postwar Agenda of November, 1942, adheres to the fundamental economic principle of free enterprise. Acceptance of this conception may be said to be characteristic of American opinion in general. Of the nine major tasks listed in the Agenda, eight are exclusively domestic. Point 9 contains the only reference to "plans for international collaboration" whose objectives would be the maintenance of world peace and the promotion of higher world standards of living.

Appropriately, point number 1 concerns itself with plans for demobilization. The release of men from active duty in the armed forces or from war industry and war agencies as well as the use of war plants requires a well-prepared policy in order to prevent unemployment and economic upheavals such as occurred after 1918. Effective use of man power and manufacturing power for peacetime purposes must be planned. The NRPB is concerned about

[1] From "National Resources Development," a report of the National Resources Planning Board transmitted to Congress by the President on January 14, 1942.

[2] *Ibid.* See also L. D. White, ed., *The Future of Government in the United States,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1942, pp. 22–23.

[3] "Post-War Agenda," a chart, National Resources Planning Board, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., November, 1942.

the relaxation of wartime economic controls which it wants to see abandoned immediately. However, if any central plan is to be followed for the purpose of preventing general confusion, it is difficult to conceive that these wartime controls can be discarded otherwise than slowly and gradually. Also, the use of surpluses, as mentioned in the Agenda, will hardly become a problem for some time after the cessation of hostilities. The United States has commitments to feed many peoples in Europe and Asia. Instead of surpluses, the urgent needs of the world will have to be met. Again, America may be forced to maintain a large military police force abroad, and it cannot be assumed that a complete disarmament will become effective for a considerable period following the cessation of hostilities.

Point number 2 concerns itself with private enterprise. It offers encouragement to individual initiative, suggesting a maximum production of goods and services by private enterprise. It is, however, pointed out that government aids and controls will create an "economic climate" in which private enterprise, particularly industry and agriculture, may operate "free from monopolistic practices." Attention is also given to the "geographical distribution of industry which will ensure the most effective use of human and material resources." If private enterprise is identified with a continuation of economic individualism, the effective restriction of monopolies and the distribution of man power must of necessity limit individualism and make it subject to central planning.

Point number 3 is of great importance inasmuch as it suggests general plans for public activity. It comes under the heading of "Building America" and proposes improvements in physical facilities such as urban development, rural public works, conservation of natural resources, development of energy resources, of river basins, and of transportation. Furthermore, it suggests the development of service activities dealing with health, nutrition, medical care, and education including youth activities, recreation, library, cultural activities, and research. The fundamental objective is the "provision of training for all, young and old, to equip them to take part in the world of work, of cultural enjoyment and achievement of family life and of citizenship in a democracy." The Board seems to realize that equal opportunities for education are yet to

be developed to the fullest by raising the question of how "educational opportunity for all young people (can) be progressively realized."

Point number 4 deals with social security, distinguishing between the causes of need, whether unemployment or low standards of living. The loss of a "normal" level of income would bring about want just as would unemployment. Old age, sickness and accidents, the loss of a family breadwinner, the loss or depreciation of property, and dislocation due to war and enemy action demand "assurances of minimum security for all people wherever they reside, and maintenance of the social stability and values threatened when people lack jobs or income." The necessity of a minimum-wage level is indicated by the statement that there should be an improvement in low levels of income from employment in industry, commerce, agriculture, and domestic service.

Point 5 discusses population and man power. It advocates a "maximum productive utilization of the nation's manpower resources." It deals with the distribution of labor and its training for various purposes; it considers the effect of migration upon the national population pattern and the important and delicate problem of immigration into the United States; it is concerned with the improvement of working conditions which, it admits, must be controlled; it finally goes into the problem of reclaiming the handicapped for productive work and of making possible vocational rehabilitation.

Point 6 analyzes financial and fiscal policy. The primary fiscal policy should be the maintenance of a level of economic activity approximating the full utilization of resources. The problem is raised as to how far private capital and government will participate in investing money. An adequate organization of the government revenue is next on the Agenda. The tax burden should be distributed among citizens "by a progressive system of taxation, geared to business cycles, and with consideration of its effect on business enterprise, and the vitality of useful, private financial institutions." As to intergovernmental fiscal relations, the development of harmonious federal, state, and local revenue systems and policies as well as the maintenance of the vitality of the federal system itself is advocated.

Point 7 conceives plans for regional, state, and local participation in the development of regional resources in harmony with national objectives. Point 8 suggests plans for effective administration through the establishment of adequate public and private administrative institutions. Lastly, point 9 sets forth plans for international collaboration, as mentioned above.

So much for the Agenda. In a pamphlet on the general principles of postwar planning, the Board describes the central objectives of such planning in the following terms:

> 1. We must plan for full employment, for maintaining the national income at 100 billion dollars a year, at least, rather than to let it slip back to 80 or 70 or 60 billion dollars again. In other words, we shall plan to balance our national production-consumption budget at a high level of full employment, not at a low level with mass unemployment.
>
> 2. We must plan to do this without requiring work from youth who should be in school, the aged who should be relieved if they wish it, and women who choose to make their contribution in the home, and without asking anyone to work regularly in mines, factories, transportation, or offices more than 40 hours a week or 50 weeks a year, or to sacrifice the wage standards which have been set.
>
> 3. We must plan to decentralize post-emergency activities as far as possible; to use to the utmost our system of modified free enterprise with its voluntary employment, its special reward for effort, imagination, and improvement, its elasticity and competition; and to advance cooperatively under national and governmental leadership.
>
> 4. We must plan to enable every human being within our boundaries to realize progressively the promise of American life in food, shelter, clothing, medical care, education, work, rest, home life, opportunity to advance, adventure, and the basic freedoms.
>
> 5. We must plan to make *Building America* the keynote of the postwar program, including both development of our national resources to add to the national estate, and service activities, which will increase the vitality, health, skill, productivity, knowledge, and happiness of the American people, and thus together end unemployment and add to our wealth and well-being.[1]

This plan is indicative of what may be called the "official trend" of American thought. In working out the plan, the NRPB consulted states, local governments, and various nongovernmental groups and individuals. Its work originated in the request of Presi-

[1] *Post-War Planning*, National Resources Planning Board, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., September, 1942, pp. 3–4.

dent Roosevelt made in November, 1940. The Board considered itself a "clearing house to gather ideas and plans, to stimulate appropriate independent action by other public and private agencies, to bring together individuals who are interested in harmonizing their views, and to furnish the President with information and assistance on the formulation of policies in these matters." [1]

These proposals of the NRPB constitute only one of the many plans devised to solve the domestic problems which will confront the country after the conclusion of the war. They are significant as an indication of the tendency to maintain a system of social and economic individualism with a minimum of control by the state. Such a plan would entail no fundamental reforms, but would merely be an attempt to remedy the worst grievances that have arisen during the past half century. The NRPB, as most of the other planning agencies, would carefully refrain from curbing private initiative to which overwhelming importance is attached. The present social system, as it has evolved since the days of Lincoln, would essentially persist, governmental control would be eliminated whenever possible, and great care would be taken to "balance the budget" in every branch of communal life. Time alone can tell whether such reforms will suffice, especially when one considers that postwar developments in other parts of the world are apt to be considerably more radical in character.

RECENT TRENDS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

Next to domestic planning, America's position in the world and its relations with the world's nations, particularly its great war allies, must be analyzed in the light of expected changes and plans for the reform of international relations. In order to be in a better position to visualize America's possible approach to global planning, it is worth reviewing briefly American policy since the advent of Hitler.

The great antagonists of the Second World War, Roosevelt and Hitler, both assumed office at the beginning of 1933. While Hitler immediately embarked upon a long-range policy of aggression, Roosevelt's first care in the realm of foreign policy was to lay emphasis on a "good neighbor policy." This is a characteristic con-

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 1–2.

trast and one that will retain historic significance.[1] The United States has pursued this policy ever since, and has to a considerable degree convinced the suspicious Latin-American nations that it meant what it said. The practical results of this policy were particularly evident during the conferences at Buenos Aires, in December, 1936, and at Lima, two years later. The subsequent loyal attitude of most of the Latin-American states toward the United States after the outbreak of the Second World War confirmed the wisdom of the policy of the Roosevelt administration which has sought to eliminate in Western Hemisphere relations those elements that may appear as "Yankee imperialism."

In addition to the Declaration of Lima, which concerned itself exclusively with Western Hemisphere relations, a more general "Declaration of American Principles" was accepted during the Conference of Lima, proposing eight rules of conduct: (1) the intervention of one state in the affairs of another is inadmissible; (2) all differences of an international character should be settled by peaceful means; (3) the use of force as an instrument of national or international policy is proscribed; (4) relations between states should be governed by the precepts of international law; (5) treaties should be faithfully observed and revised by agreement of the contracting parties; (6) peaceful collaboration and intellectual interchange should be sought among the peoples of the Americas; (7) economic reconstruction as a contribution to national and international well-being and peace should be fostered; (8) international cooperation as a necessary condition to the maintenance of the aforementioned principles should be encouraged.[2]

The government of the United States sought to apply the spirit of these principles to its relations with nations in other parts of the world as well. However, the nature of the aggressor states both in Europe and Asia made such an approach impracticable. In the Pacific as well as in the Atlantic, the United States found itself confronted with dangerous threats to its political and economic security. It was all the more difficult to handle the situation be-

[1] See President Roosevelt's inaugural address of March 4, 1933, where the term "good neighbor policy" was coined. See also Sumner Welles, *The Time for Decision*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1944, Ch. V: The Good Neighbor Policy.

[2] J. Holladay Latané and David W. Wainhouse, *A History of American Foreign Policy*, Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., New York, 1940, p. 875.

cause a considerable segment of American public opinion failed to grasp the ideological nature of the beginning struggle for power and the more concrete menace of the Nazi-Fascist policy to the very shores which were believed so safely guarded by two oceans and the Monroe Doctrine. The strength of traditional isolationism, as it expressed itself in Congress, made it extremely difficult for the foreign policy of the United States to cope with the growing threat to the security of the nation.[1]

When Japan launched her policy of aggression in the Far East, when Italy attacked Abyssinia, when Hitler abrogated the Treaty of Versailles, militarized the Rhineland, and continued on his path of bloodless conquest to the climax of Munich, in 1938, no action was taken by Britain, France, and the United States. At home, President Roosevelt's strong warning in his famous speech in Chicago did not convince his opponents. He declared then that "the peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort in opposition to these violations of treaties and those ignorings of humane instincts which today are creating a state of international anarchy and instability from which there is no escape through mere isolation or neutrality. . . . It seems to be unfortunately true that the epidemic of world lawlessness is spreading. When an epidemic of physical disease starts to spread, the community approves and joins in a quarantine of the patients in order to protect the health of the community against the spread of disease. . . ."[2]

At this time, the government was prevented from undertaking an effective program of rearmament. Power groups and endlessly repeated quotations from Washington, Jefferson and Monroe, succeeded in hampering American preparation for the inevitable totalitarian onslaught. When the Second World War broke out in September, 1939, American public opinion was still predominantly isolationist. Fortunately, the administration succeeded at last in obtaining the passage of the Selective Service Act; a few, though inadequate, appropriations were granted for most urgent defense works, and a policy of help to Britain was gradually adopted.

Pearl Harbor brought at last a realization of the danger threaten-

[1] Cf. Peace and War, United States Foreign Policies 1931–1941, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. See also J. Alsop and R. Kintner, *The American White Paper*, Simon and Schuster, Inc., New York, 1940.

[2] Speech of October 5, 1937, also referred to as the "Quarantine Speech."

ing America and of the desperate need for preparedness. The twentieth century advocates of an eighteenth century foreign policy were, for the time being, silenced. In the phrasing of the Department of State, United States foreign policy was compelled, during the decade before its entrance in the Second World War, "to move within the framework of a gradual evolution of public opinion in the United States away from the idea of isolation expressed in 'neutrality' legislation and toward realization that the Axis design was a plan of world conquest in which the United States was intended to be a certain, though perhaps ultimate, victim, and that our primary policy therefore must be defense against actual and mounting danger." [1]

The lesson to be learned from the crucial years between the two world wars is clear enough. With the technological changes in communication and transportation, the world has grown so small that no conflict of major character can remain localized. This is particularly true of revolutionary, ideological wars which have tended to expand even at times when communications were still slow. But in a modern world where a word travels around the earth in a second and where the trip from America to Britain by air takes a few hours, wars of ideas are bound to be contagious, and political diseases must be quarantined.

The question of how to avoid wars is as old as war itself but never before has a satisfactory answer been so imperative. The changed conditions of our technically far-advanced century do not permit much further delay unless man resigns himself to wage war every second or third generation. Inasmuch as the issues involved are extremely complex and governments may not be expected to sacrifice prerogatives of sovereignty, it is probably too much to look forward to an early establishment of eternal peace. However, a modest progress toward an ultimate solution of this age-old problem of durable peace may perhaps be hoped for.

As far as the United States is concerned, it will be confronted with the necessity of accepting new departures in its foreign policy. Being in a key position through its power and its role in the Second World War, it has indeed recognized the urgency of a sweeping revision of its traditional isolation, despite its deep-rooted suspicion

[1] Peace and War, p. 3.

of international cooperation expressed in the heritage of historic warnings against "foreign entanglements."

The Department of State has endorsed the organization of an International Court of Justice and promised an intensified continuation of the "good neighbor policy" toward the democratic world. It has accepted the philosophy of the Atlantic Charter and fortified it with economic agreements, based upon the provisions of the Charter. The Department has repeatedly expressed its determination to cooperate with the United Nations after the termination of the war.

It has already been indicated above that the inevitability of fundamental changes in the relations of the United States with foreign countries was recognized by both houses of Congress in official resolutions,[1] and large segments of the American people, regardless of party affiliation, have already endorsed the abandonment of America's traditional aloofness.[2] If, then, the United States is to give up its historic position, if it is to help maintain peace and back up this commitment with all its immense power, what ways are open for it to achieve this purpose with the best chance of success?

The United States could become a partner in a world-wide organization whose power would be maintained by an international police force. This would mean the surrendering of some prerogatives of sovereignty on the part of all members. At the present time, not much hope for an agreement of this sort is indicated.

Another possibility is a world organization without power, in the manner of the former League of Nations. But the voluntary element in the collaboration of the participating powers would hamper its effectiveness as severely as that of the League and in the end tend to reduce it to a mere forum of conflicting interests.

A rejuvenated nationalism with imperialistic tendencies, the probable choice of died-in-the-wool isolationists, is a third possibility. However, it seems doubtful that the representatives of this

[1] Resolutions adopting the principle of international cooperations were passed by the Senate on November 5, 1943, and by the House on September 21, 1943.

[2] The United States Chamber of Commerce issued a declaration in March, 1944, based on the Moscow Declaration of November, 1943, concerning "Measures to Promote International Law and Order," *International Conciliation*, No. 400, New York, May, 1944.

tendency will, after years of ideological warfare against tyranny, be strong enough to secure the adoption of such a policy which must, in the long run, make the position of even a very powerful America insecure.

A last possibility is a limited combination of powerful forces, united to maintain peace against all possible aggression. Consisting of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and possibly China, such an organization would resemble Walter Lippmann's proposal for a "nuclear alliance." [1]

Having witnessed the change of public opinion in matters of foreign policy and having noticed that the Republican Party was about to adopt the principle of international cooperation, the State Department submitted to Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China, in the spring of 1944, definite proposals for the organization of an international machinery suitable to check aggression and to promote prosperous cooperation among peace-loving nations.

Some weeks later, in June, 1944, President Roosevelt laid down a general plan of international organization which he had formulated along nonpartisan lines. Based on previous statements of policy by American and Allied leaders, the President surprised the world with a blueprint for international postwar security, leaving the sovereignty of all participating nations fully intact. While the plan did not go into details, it attempted to line up both the American people and the United Nations behind a policy of compromise, based upon Cordell Hull's well-defined statement on United States foreign policy of March, 1944. This statement is certainly one of the best attempts to amalgamate alternatives of peace planning and to clarify the new American approach to foreign affairs.

Protesting his belief in international cooperation, founded on the principles of liberty, equality, justice, morality, and law as the most effective method of promoting the social and economic wellbeing of all nations, Mr. Hull declared himself in favor of some international organization backed by force. Before such force is used, differences of opinion should be mediated by an International Court of Justice. In observance of the Atlantic Charter, every na-

[1] Walter Lippmann, *U. S. Foreign Policy: Shield of the Republic*, Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1943, pp. 161 ff.

tion, including the small ones, should be guaranteed independence and sovereignty; their form of government should be chosen by them and their economic situation, as well as the economy of the whole world, helped through reduction of international trade barriers. Dependent peoples should be prepared for the responsibilities of self-government through material and educational development, and aggressor nations should be put under surveillance until they have demonstrated their willingness and ability to live in peace with other nations. Reduction of armaments should be sought at the earliest possible moment.

This excellent statement, testifying to the progress in international-mindedness since 1933, has in various instances been implemented, for example by America's endorsement of an international labor office; by America's collaboration toward an international agreement on monetary and currency stabilization; by America's stimulation of international economic collaboration; by America's participation in the UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration) for the reconstruction of war-torn countries and for the relief of their suffering during the years of Nazi oppression; and by the readiness of the United States to be a partner in a global organization of international aviation after the end of the war. However, the most important achievement of this new trend in American foreign policy is the Dumbarton Oaks proposal to create a general international organization to maintain the peace.

In a conference called through the initiative of the United States and sponsored by all the United Nations, representatives of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and China, in consultation with the delegates of smaller powers, began to confer on August 21, 1944, in order to agree upon the establishment of an international organization. The main tasks of this organization were to be the prevention of international conflicts through mediation, the prevention of threats against world peace, and the mobilization of military and economic forces against an aggressor who refused to negotiate his case peacefully. In addition, the organization would try to alleviate international economic crises and would attempt to solve social and humanitarian problems.

The Dumbarton Oaks draft agreement left several important problems unanswered. But at Yalta, the leaders of the United States,

Great Britain and the Soviet Union supplemented the proposed plan with suggestions for a voting procedure for the influential Security Council. They also decided that representatives of the United Nations should convene in San Francisco on April 25, 1945, to arrange for the implementation of the Dumbarton Oaks plan and build machinery to maintain the peace before the war ended.

The three main bodies through which the organization would function are the General Assembly, the Security Council, and the International Court of Justice. The General Assembly, meeting in annual or special sessions, would be composed of representatives of all member states. The Security Council, being in permanent session, would consist of five permanent members, namely, the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China and, eventually, France. In addition, representatives of six member states would be elected for a period of two years by the General Assembly and, after the end of their term, be followed by representatives of other states. All member nations would be parties of the International Court of Justice.

Bureaus of secondary importance would be a Secretariat, an Economic and Social Council composed of eighteen representatives of member states elected for a period of three years, and a Military Staff Committee, consisting of staff officers representing the permanent members of the Security Council.

The most important difference between the Covenant of the defunct League of Nations and the Dumbarton Oaks proposal lies in the greater determination of the United Nations to use force, if necessary, in order to keep the peace, and the desire of the United Nations not to limit their collaboration to the defense of peace but to work for the solution of international problems of social and economic nature. Thus, while the Dumbarton Oaks agreement is by no means complete or ideal, and while many delicate problems will have to be worked out during the postwar years, the improvement of the aspects of international cooperation between the two World Wars is considerable.[1]

However, it should be kept in mind that any organization of international scope cannot rely, in the long run, upon backing by

[1] For the official text of the Dumbarton Oaks Agreement see *International Conciliation*, New York, No. 405, Section 2, November 1944.

force alone. To be sure, the armed forces of the big Allies will have to be ready to enforce a peace settlement, if only by their presence, but international collaboration and durable peace must in the end be based on a generally and voluntarily accepted code of law. So long as such a code of law is neither recognized nor applied by the nations which strive for durable peace, there can be no hope for more than an armistice until the outbreak of another, more terrible war.

The idea of international cooperation is old. The creation of a binding code of international law was attempted repeatedly by great statesmen and jurists from Erasmus of Rotterdam [1] to Emanuel Kant who in 1795 suggested in his treatise *On Perpetual Peace* that international law should be founded upon a federation of free states, armies should be abolished, a permanent congress representing the member states should remain in session, and, in addition to national citizenship, world citizenship should be instituted.

All through the nineteenth century, peace and international collaboration were advocated by European and American writers. As early as 1828, the American Peace Society was founded in Boston. The Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, limited in scope as they were, represented the greatest advance in the attempt to develop a tangible instrument of international relations. The sources of international law were derived from customs and treaties. But the nations remained reluctant to relinquish any part of their sovereignty, thereby preventing international law from becoming a binding force. War remained a recognized instrument of national policy. "The fact that states could legalize any kind of extortion by declaring war and the brutal violations of the 'laws of war,' brought international law into popular contempt." [2] The Briand-Kellogg Pact of 1928, ratified by sixty-two states, did, at the time, denounce war as an instrument of national policy. This agreement was hailed as the beginning of a new era of international cooperation, but its subsequent fate was not calculated to make people more hopeful of the attainment of lasting peace on the basis of mutually binding laws.

But a world organization of nations cannot forego the acceptance

[1] Erasmus, *Querula Pacis* (Complaint of Peace), 1516.
[2] P. E. Corbett, *Post-War Worlds*, Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., New York, 1942, p. 99.

of a supranational law which, once it has been universally ratified, would have to be given precedence over national law. This obviously entails the relinquishing of certain sovereign rights, thus making a realistically operating international law appear as a very distant possibility. International Courts of Justice will have just as little power to prevent wars as had the Hague Court so long as national prerogatives are esteemed higher than universal law. In other words, so long as unrestricted nationalism is upheld as an unchangeable doctrine, any durable formation of a universal league will be difficult to achieve. The overemphasis on nationalistic political philosophy tends to end in "statism," that is, in the sacrifice of the individual rights of citizens to the all-powerful state. Nationalism performed a useful task by freeing the Occident from the shackles of medieval otherworldliness and then developing newly defined territories into a variety of culture areas with distinct civilizations. It lost much of its usefulness for human society when it divided the world into hostile camps.

Once the necessity of a universal league is recognized as urgent enough to discard nationalistic prejudices, it is conceivable that this goal may be reached in a variety of ways. A community of states may be regionalized; [1] it may start out as a "Federal Union"; [2] it may develop as a League of Continents, fostering collaboration between Eurasia, Africa, and the Western Hemisphere, including Australia; [3] it may begin as a "nuclear alliance" to be developed by attachment of other nations.[4] But no international organization can possibly succeed without having subscribed to a binding international law in order to "promote the common welfare of all peoples and to maintain just and peaceful relations between all states.[5]

However, the creation of a new international law as well as of an organization or plan to establish international cooperation

[1] See Ely Culbertson, *Total Peace*, Doubleday, Doran and Company, New York, 1944.
[2] See Clarence Streit, Union Now, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1941.
[3] Arthur C. Millspaugh, *Peace Plans and American Choices*, The Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C., 1942.
[4] See Lippmann, op. cit.
[5] *The International Law of the Future: Postulates, Principles, Proposals*, A Statement of a Community of Views by North Americans, International Conciliation, No. 399, New York, April, 1944, p. 267.

among the nations is a long and laborious process. Nobody should assume that a solution of these problems can be hoped for soon after the end of the Second World War. The years between the actual end of fighting and the establishment of a stable postwar society have no less a task than to accomplish, peacefully, a world revolution. Therefore, any suggestion of entering immediately into a "controlled peace" after the last shot has been fired seems ill-advised.[1]

CONCLUSION FOR AMERICA

Ambassador John Gilbert Winant's credo that "the postwar world calls for a political philosophy which reaches beyond selfish nationalism to a plan of political and economic collaboration in order that we may join together to create a prosperous and peaceful world" fairly expresses the ideals of the majority of Americans after the collapse of isolationism. In its own interest, America will have to fulfill its commitments toward international cooperation, for it has been demonstrated "every day that the frontiers of freedom and security do not lie in oceans or along boundary lines, but extend throughout the world, and that they have to be defended wherever the forces of reaction try to break through."

Failure to establish a well-organized cooperative supranational organism with parallel internal reforms in the individual countries would breed the germs of another catastrophe. One should remember the prophetic words of President Woodrow Wilson who warned after the end of the First World War: "I can predict with absolute certainty that within another generation there will be another world war if the nations of the world do not concert the method by which to prevent it. . . . I do not hesitate to say that the war we have just been through with terror of every kind, is not to be compared with the war we would have to face next time."[2]

President Wilson's somber predictions have come true because the world failed to heed his advice. They will come true again if the mistakes of the League of Nations are repeated. However, it should be made emphatically clear that there can be no hope of *immediate* solution. The years following the end of the Second

[1] See Herbert Hoover, speech of December 16, 1942.
[2] See S. K. Padover, *Wilson's Ideals*, American Council on Public Affairs, 1942.

World War cannot but be hard ones. International readjustments will be reflected in domestic struggles for reforms. No Utopia can be expected by any clear-thinking student of politics.

America seems destined to take the initiative in producing a settlement as soon as conditions permit.