

世界機構調査委員會情報第十四號 (十月三日)

世界機構調査要綱

「三」世界新秩序に關する諸提案の要領

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右に關する文獻目錄

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丸ノ内 有樂町東日別館  
世界經濟調查會  
世界機構調查委員會

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TOWARD A PEACEFUL WORLD

The Christian Science Monitor  
Wednesday, July 23, 1941

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The object of war is to make peace. The kind of peace that is made will depend on who wins the war--on the aims and ideals, or the greed, of the victors. Unless free peoples are thinking about the shape of things to come, they are fighting on the defensive. Merely to protect institutions of liberty which exist is a noble thing, but those who are making sacrifices to that end have a right to demand also a positive gain toward the establishment of justice and right in international affairs.

Sumner Welles, Acting Secretary of State, has given expression to some of the aspirations which must help nerve the endeavors of free peoples defending the traditions of democracy in this crisis. His address at the Norwegian Legation in Washington stating in broad outline the aims of the United States for restoration of law and order in the world after the war will help supply a needed directive in assuring that the sacrifices of war shall be to some purpose.

The idea of an "association of nations" to keep peace will not down. Mr. Welles adverts to the Wilsonian ideal and upholds it, though he is very frank in analyzing why the League of Nations in practice failed of its mission. It failed, he says, because of selfishness, of politico-economic ambitions, and because it came to be used merely as an instrument to preserve the status quo, not as a medium for bringing about peaceful, impartial, and equitable adjustments. The people must see to

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it that whatever new mechanism may be evolved is used in better spirit.

Mr. Welles does not undertake to blueprint such a mechanism. Others have provided a number of such plans and studies from which statesmen may draw. The American Acting Secretary does urge "that free governments of peace-loving nations everywhere should even now be considering and discussing the way in which they can best prepare for the better day which is to come."

The Christian Science Monitor has had under preparation for some time a series of abstracts of peace plans from authoritative and responsible sources. These condensed summaries will appear in this page from time to time beginning tomorrow in order that readers may have opportunity to examine, compare, and evaluate them.

A common ingredient of these plans, it will be found, is what Mr. Welles described as the vision of "an ordered world governed by law." In this phrase is to be discovered a key distinction between the kind of civilization which free peoples exalt and the regimentation which dictatorships impose.

From earliest recorded history despotism and oligarchy have sought to extend the personal power of an individual or a group. Their rule has meant government by whim or caprice, by favoritism or decree, changing with the winds of selfish interest.

The rise of free government and of democracy has paralleled and exemplified the growth in human thought of an understanding of impersonal or abstract right--the rise of an allegiance to

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ideals of justice and fairness. This is the unifying loyalty among free peoples of the earth. It is the force that makes them free and at the same time orderly.

This allegiance not to persons but to principles, rule not by men but by laws, devotion to justice rather than to power must constitute the touchstone of peace.

PROPOSED PEACE PLANS

The Christian Science Monitor

Wednesday, July 23, 1941

By Gordon Walker

A new type of "army" is rapidly reaching combat strength in the democracies. It has no guns. It has no tanks. Yet it is already firing its first salvos in one of free men's most significant campaigns against the totalitarians.

Its manpower is ideas--plans for federations of nations, revolutionary social schemes, suggestions for a new League of Nations, proposals for union between Britain and the United States.

It is the "army" that is mobilizing for peace.

Official statements of war aims, such as that made yesterday by United States Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles, direct the new army's strategy. And into its ranks are being recruited daily a growing volume of new and sometimes exciting blueprints for a post-war world, based upon an Allied victory.

These are the constructive ideas upon which the free world is counting to checkmate a "fake peace" by which the Nazi-Fascist Axis would strengthen its own military position. For there is a growing realization that these are the implements --the only ones--which can be relied upon to face and totally destroy totalitarian "anarchy in the guise of plan."

Mr. Welles' statement of peace aims, appearing in today's news columns, furnishes a new direction post for the many peace plans now

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being put forward, a few of which are here briefly summarized:

(1) Cordell Hull

The United States Secretary of State, in a radiocast May 19, 1941, outlined a postwar reconstruction program with the following five major points:

1. Extreme nationalism must not be permitted again to express itself in excessive trade restrictions.
2. Non-discrimination in international commercial relations must be the rule, so that international trade may grow and prosper.
3. Raw materials must be available to all nations without discrimination.
4. International agreements regulating the supply of commodities must be so handled as to protect fully the interests of the consuming countries and their people.
5. The institutions and arrangements of international finance must be so set up that they lend aid to the essential enterprises and the continuous development of all countries and permit the payment through processes of trade consonant with the welfare of all countries.

(2) Anthony Eden

Britain's Foreign Secretary, in a statement May 29, 1941, gave what is probably the most complete official British statement of peace aims.

Mr. Eden named social security as the principle objective at home and abroad. He said that Britain will work with the United States and South America to promote this policy, to prevent starvation, and to prevent the wide fluctuations of employment and prices. He suggested that collaboration between Britain and the United States, together with other free nations, would be necessary to develop a system of international exchanges in which trading of goods and services would be the central feature. Such collaboration, he indicated, would likewise put an end to the currency of disorders throughout Europe.

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(3) President Roosevelt

Whereas the American President has not outlined any specific program for a post-war World Order, he named four "essential human freedoms" in a message to Congress Jan. 6, 1941, which he declared to be the necessary basis for any post-war reconstruction. They were:

1. Freedom of speech and expression everywhere in the world.
2. Freedom of every person to worship God in his own way everywhere in the world.
3. Freedom from want, which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants everywhere in the world.
4. Freedom from fear, which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor anywhere in the world.

(4) Winston Churchill

Like President Roosevelt, the British Prime Minister has declined to give any specific proposals for future world order at this time. He has however, expressed his opinion that the two English-speaking democracies, Great Britain and the United States, will in the future "find themselves bound in common action as at present."

"No one can stop it," he declared in a speech Aug. 20, 1940. "Like the Mississippi, it just roll on full flood, inexorable, irresistible, to broader lands and better days."

(5) Peace Commission

The Commission to Study the Organization of Peace headed by Dr. James T. Shotwell, Professor of History at Columbia University, believes that war can be avoided. After studying, since November

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1939, the problem of organizing a new world order, this body of eminent social and educational leaders came to the conclusion that an International Bill of Rights, guaranteeing individual liberties and prevention of aggression, would put an end to war.

Freer commercial interchange between nations, more equitable labor and living conditions, and living standards, guarantees for race, religion and political minorities were seen as equally essential to such a structure. The Commission emphasized the part to be played by the United States in building and upholding such an order.

#### (6) Church of England

Liberal representatives of the Church of England urge establishment of a co-operative commonwealth of European states when the war is over.

Adopting a program offered by the Archbishop of York at a conference in Malvern, the delegates took a stand in support of recognition of the rights of workers as equal in principle to those of capital in control of industry, and of a more equitable distribution of raw materials. The world order they envisaged would see control of production regulated to satisfy human needs rather than desire for profit. The monetary system would be administered so as to assure that the equivalent of what a community produced would be available to the members of the community.

#### (7) Pope Pius XII

Five points for a "just and honorable" peace were laid down by the Pontiff in a Christmas Eve address to 25 cardinals in 1939. They were:

1. Guarantee to every nation the right to life and independence.
2. Liberate the world from the "slavery of armaments."
3. Correct the faults and ineffectiveness of "International organizations" set up to solve peacefully the world's problems.

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4. Comply with the "needs of just demands of nations, peoples, and ethnical minorities."
5. Provide observance by statesmen and peoples of Christian principles.

(8) Dr. Reinhold Schairer

An educational and social approach to the problem of post-war reconstruction is taken by Dr. Schairer, who is Director of Research of the United States Committee on Educational Reconstruction, and head of the Department of International Studies and Relations of the University of London Institute of Education.

His plan calls first for dissolution of Germany's national structure, and establishment of a semi-autonomous ethnologic body whose political, military and educational life would be directed by an Anglo-British commission or some such supervisory control. Effects of Naziism would be erased by regrouping the people and dividing the country into small rural co-operative communities operating under a system similar to that of Sweden and Denmark.

Financial help would come from the United States and England, and a competitive merit system in community farming would play a part in developing the community groups. In time, and with the proper safeguards in education, Dr. Schairer contends, an entirely new culture would be built up to replace the one now being enforced within the Reich.

(9) Hermann Rauschning

A former leader of the Nazi Party now in exile, Mr. Rauschning urges in his latest book, "Redemption of Democracy," that the future world order be built gradually out of what already exists, namely, co-operation between the British Empire and the United States. This would preserve what Mr. Rauschning considers to be a vitally necessary power nucleus, without which, he holds, any rising new order would fail.

The new order, Mr. Rauschning warns, cannot be a super-state, but must, in broad terms, retain all existing variety of form, individuality and

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special rights. Centralization and uniformity are against living traditions of the Anglo-Saxon commonwealths, and must therefore be avoided.

Economic and social planning is necessary, Mr. Rauschnig states, in such matters as labor supply, settlement, but this planning must not be allowed to become the task of a centralized super-state machine and thus the starting point for a growing centralized power machinery.

(10) Clarence Streit

Mr. Streit, former Geneva correspondent of the New York Times, and author of "Union Now," proposes an immediate union between the United States and the nations of the British Empire.

The two English-speaking powers should, he urges, form a federation with a constitution built along the lines of the American type. Each partner would surrender certain defined powers to a joint authority, to be elected by the people. This central body would consist of a bicameral legislature with one house elected on the population basis--thus containing a majority of Americans --and the other composed of representatives in equal number of the independent states entering the union--thus assuring a British majority. A joint executive and a Supreme court would complete the structure.

Under such a system, Mr. Streit contends, neither federal nor state governments would, by their nature, be able to displace the other, and both would draw equally their powers from the people.

Mr. Streit's plan is the outgrowth of his original plan for Federal Union, practically similar to the British plan of the same name.

(11) British Labor Party

Social readjustment is the keynote of a general outline for future world order adopted by the British Labor Party.

Mass unemployment is the primary obstacle to be overcome in the opinion of the Laborites. To accomplish this, it is recommended that finance be made the servant of political policy in wartime and must therefore so continue in peacetime. It

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is also suggested that another step toward permanently peaceful conditions would result from sweeping out of the distressed areas.

Specific recommendations along this path were advanced by Mr. Hugh Dalton, Minister of Economic Warfare in the British Government and one of the leading Socialist-Labor economic planners. He urges continuance of the wartime 100 per cent excess profits tax on individuals profiteering, and also that the British Treasury wartime control over banks be continued as a means of making finance the servant of society and not its master.

(12) Maxwell Garnett

Mr. Garnett, a lawyer, former Secretary of the British League of Nations Union, and a writer on world order, tackles the problem from an educational standpoint. He foresees a system in which education would be general to fit men and women for world citizenship and in which national loyalty would be supplemented by world loyalty.

He subscribed to the federation plan in effect, but reserves the opinion that its success depends upon whether the Commonwealth derives authority from thoughts, feelings, sentiments and loyalties of individual men as well as the promises of their governments. He urges a revitalized and reformed League of Nations as the logical basis for a world structure.

(13) The British League of Nations Union

Another plan for world reconstruction based upon a revised and strengthened League of Nations is offered by the British League of Nations Union. The new League would serve as a federal government for a world of states each of which has given up some of its national sovereignty.

The League Union recognizes the need for adjusting labor conditions, freeing international trade, and make world resources more accessible to all. It recommends the services of the International

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Labor Office, non-political branch of the present League of Nations, as the logical body to handle these problems. Armaments would be reduced, "third party judgment" would be introduced for international disputes, and colonies would be administered under a trust, open to all countries.

(14) Viscount Cecil

One of the leading advocates of collective security and one of the builders of the League of Nations, Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, proposes a remodelled League operating with two distinct sections.

One section would be known as the Chamber of the League, consisting of European nations especially charged with preserving peace. The other all-embracing sections would be charged with promoting international co-operation in all such matters as economics, communications, transport and social questions.

Lord Cecil sees the preservation of German and Italian national individuality as necessary in any future world order. His plan for international co-operation would include formation of a trusteeship over a few of the vital essentials for warfare.

(15) Hans Heymann

An elaborately worked out plan for a future world order is put forward by Professor Heymann, research professor of Rutgers University, in his book "Plan for Permanent Peace." The plan, which the author drew up at the request of Walter Rathenau, German Foreign Minister under the Weimar Republic, for presentation at the conference at Genoa, would substitute for power politics a system of world-wide social and economic control bodies--a bank of nations to control the economic sphere, a reformed International Labor Office to govern the social sphere, and a Federal World Authority to control the political sphere.

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(16) Harold Laski

Mr. Laski, a leading intellectual of the British labor group, envisages the transformation of Britain into a more just and equal society as the basis for lasting international order.

In his latest book, "Where Do We Go From Here," Mr. Laski in broad terms believes that the conviction should be produced now among the masses of British people that there are to be no distressed areas, no more vast armies of unemployed, no more slums, "no more vast denial of genuine equality of educational opportunity...."

Mr. Laski also offers as a basis of post-war security a revision of economic practice from that built on scarcity to one built upon abundance.

(17) The Times

The Times of London subscribes to the need for broad social adjustment as a basis for world order. In a lead editorial on Dec. 5, 1940, The Times linked unemployment with the major causes of war, and urged sacrifices on the part of both capital and labor--commensurate with those being made to prosecute the war--which will result in an adjustment.

In another editorial The Times, whose opinions often parallel those held officially, saw the need for some sort of planned consumption. Any long-term social program, The Times concluded, would begin with application of approved standards of nutrition to the entire population, extension of proper standards of housing, clothing and other necessities to all.

(18) Francis Williams

Social security is the basis of a scheme offered by Mr. Williams, former editor of the London Daily Herald, in his book, "War by Revolution." Mr. Williams foresees a future world order in which all persons have an equal right to share in the products of the wealth produced by their joint efforts. Advocating a federation of European countries, he recommends a common

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currency and trading system.

A World Resources Board or similar body would endeavor to launch a campaign for vast development of economic resources and world trade for the benefit of all. Britain would place its colonies under an international Commission which would develop them in the joint interests of the native population and the peoples of the world until the colonies could govern themselves. A United States of Africa would be formed to develop the continent's resources without exploiting the native populations or place them under the monopolistic control of any one nation.

(19) Sir Rowland Evans

A military alliance between the United States and Britain--assuring air and sea supremacy --is urged as the foundation for future world order by Sir Rowland Evans, representing the conservative National Liberal group in England.

In a pamphlet, "Let it Roll," he expresses his belief that federal union is not yet practical, and urges in its stead a freedom area or commonwealth of free nations, backed up by a military alliance between the world's strongest powers, maintaining their independence. His title "Let it Roll" is taken from the remark of Prime Minister Churchill, referring to the growing evidence of collaboration between the United States and Britain.

(20) Lionel Curtis

Mr. Curtis, well-known British historian whose brilliant civil service career included a hand in drafting four national constitutions, suggests establishment of an international commonwealth by degrees. In his book "Civitas Dei, or World Order" he suggests that New Zealand or Australia, or both, merge with the United Kingdom to prove the practicability of the idea.

A minimum of sovereignty would be relinquished to the common government. A legislature would be elected by and made responsible to the people, having final authority over peace, war and foreign affairs.

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Once this beginning was made and put into working operation, other world powers would be invited to join. Mr. Curtis' basic idea is that the objective of a future world order should be to engender in men a desire to serve one another and seek an approach to the Christian ideal of brotherhood and co-operation.

(21) The Bruce Report

A promising step toward greater United States co-operation in world affairs was taken in December, 1939, when a committee of the League of Nations submitted recommendations for revision of the League's structure.

The committee, headed by Stanley Bruce, former Prime Minister of Australia, was formed as the result of a letter from United States Secretary of State Hull to the League, promising greater United States co-operation in the League's non-political work. Seeking to provide more avenues through which the League's non-political activities could be made available to the United States, the Bruce committee urged the setting up of a central committee to handle all non-political functions. This would remove from the League Council--a political body--the technical, social, and economic work which otherwise could draw United States support.

(22) French Government

Of the many schemes which have been put forward to preserve world peace by use of an international peace force, that suggested by the French Government in 1932 carried the greatest official sanction.

The French Government offered to supply a mixed brigade, a light naval division and a mixed group of reconnaissance and fighter aircraft as the nucleus of a permanent international police force to be operated by the League of Nations. The force, consisting of contingents

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supplied by each of the contracting parties, would be empowered to occupy in times of emergency areas where a threat of war had arisen and to assist the action of commissioners of the League on the spot.

Accompanying the proposal was a recommendation that military aircraft above a certain tonnage be placed under the jurisdiction and control of the League of Nations, which would decide where the machines were to be stationed.