WORLD ORGANIZATION

"CURATIVE and CREATIVE"

SIX PILLARS OF PEACE

GUIDING CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLES

THE COMMISSION ON A
JUST AND DURABLE PEACE

297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.
A STATEMENT TO
PUBLIC LEADERS AND OUR PEOPLE

We have entered upon a new year during which many generalities about the peace will have to be translated into concrete decisions. These decisions will be of two kinds, particular and general. Particular decisions will relate to such matters as boundaries, the re-establishment of order in liberated areas and the conditions to be imposed upon enemy peoples. General decisions will relate to the nature of the post-war order which the United Nations will create.

With respect to particular settlements there are some proposals so clearly violative of the moral law that the Christian conscience could never acquiesce therein. The Christian people of this nation expect that their government will reject them and strive earnestly and competently for particular settlements which will be just and conducive to permanent concord. But we recognize that war creates a psychological environment that is abnormal and transitory; that there are conflicts of legitimate claims and that many millions in Europe who are deeply concerned cannot now effectively present their views. Therefore there will be particular settlements which will fail to meet the test of time. This accentuates the importance of the general decisions which will determine the nature of the post-war order.

There, a basic choice must be made between international organization designed merely to perpetuate by repression the particular structure of the world which will emerge from the war, and international organization which, in addition to such use of force under law as is a requisite of order discharges tasks that are curative and creative. On that issue our Commission has spoken. In our Statement of Political Propositions ("Six Pillars of Peace") we advocated not only a general world organization and regulation of armament,
much as subsequently proposed by the Moscow declaration, but also that international organization be designed:

   To seek, from time to time, the change of treaty conditions which may prove unjust and provocative of war;

   To seek to put economic and financial intercourse on a more dependable and fruitful basis;

   To seek that autonomy be the genuine goal of colonial administration;

   To seek for people everywhere a regime of spiritual and intellectual liberty.

We consider it essential that, as the functions of general international organization are elaborated during the coming days, they be made to include such tasks. We do not demand the impossible or the impracticable. We realize that only as there develops an increased awareness of common interest will national groups share with others decisive authority over their destiny. Therefore we are prepared to recognize that any international organization dealing with such matters may, at first, have to depend more upon moral than upon legal authority. But we do insist that international organization should be designed, not to maintain a faulty world status, but to seek inventively to eradicate the political and economic maladjustments, the spiritual and intellectual deficiences, the inadequacies of international law, which basically cause war.

Therefore, as of instant importance in the year before us,

   We urge our public leaders to take steps to endow the projected world organization with responsibilities that are curative and creative and not merely repressive. That is the only type of world organization which, in our judgment, the Christian forces of our nation will solidly support.

   We urge our people to remain united and vigorous to achieve such international organization and American participation therein. If there are disappointments as to particular settlements, that is a reason, not for relapse toward political aloofness, but for
even stronger efforts to achieve world organization which has potentialities for correcting mistakes and developing a true fellowship of people.

In conclusion, we appeal to the people in our churches to stand strong in their faith in God. Our hope rests upon the knowledge that He rules in the affairs of men and nations. Plans arising from the despair born of fear or from the frenzy born of passion are destined to failure. Let us proclaim boldly and clearly, "The Lord thy God reigneth." As the power of our nation is used in conformity with His laws it will contribute to the establishing of a just and durable peace.

The Committee of Direction of the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace

By John Foster Dulles, Chairman.

Approved by the Executive Committee of the
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America
January 1944
July 27, 1943

Miss Mary Craig McGeachy
British Embassy
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss McGeachy:

The committee to draft the report of the Princeton Round Table completed its editorial work at a meeting held on July 20. I am enclosing herewith a mimeographed statement of the findings. Within about a week, an American edition of this material will appear in the form of a pamphlet. A single copy will be sent to you. In the event that you want additional copies, you can procure them through Dr. Walter W. Van Kirk’s office at a cost not to exceed ten cents per copy. Negotiations are under way for separate issues in different countries.

One impression from the administrative experiences which attached to the Princeton conference lingers most clearly. It has to do with the unfailing cooperation which marked the spirit of all who participated. For the help so consistently given - and, for whatever values that have been gained - I am indeed grateful.

Cordially yours,

O. Frederick Nolde
COMMISSION TO STUDY
THE
ORGANIZATION OF PEACE

Second Report

The Transitional Period

EIGHT WEST FORTIETH STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.

February, 1942
PREFACE

In November 1940, the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace published its first or "Preliminary Report" embodying the result of over a year's study and discussion. That report dealt with the general principles of international relations designed to strengthen peace as the fundamental condition of international intercourse. The recommendations of that report, based as they were upon a series of monographic studies and shaped by discussion and criticism, have been widely accepted in programs of study groups throughout the United States and, as far as was possible under wartime conditions, in the British Commonwealth of Nations. Nothing that has happened in the tragic experience of this last year has in any way affected the validity of its conclusions. It remains, and it is believed that it will remain in the future, a basic statement of the elementary principles essential to a lasting peace.

The Commission, however, definitely excluded from this first report any application of those principles. The reasons for thus postponing consideration of the more immediate problems were twofold. In the first place, so long as the United States was a neutral in the war, it was doubtful how far it would participate in the peace negotiations, and in the second place, it was difficult to treat any phase of the peace settlement without the danger of such study being confused with appeasement. The members of the Commission were, however, fully aware of the urgent need for application to the world of today of the basic principles of peace. Therefore, during the summer and autumn of 1941 the present program of studies was undertaken covering the practical problems which must be faced from now on if we are to win the peace as well as win the war.

The present survey, herewith presented, deals with those pressing problems which will confront us as soon as the fighting stops: problems of relief, of the restoration of law and order, and of economic reconstruction. This period of transition from war to peace is of vital importance, not only because the problems of reconstruction themselves will be so enormous, but because it is then that the organization of the post-war world will be taking form. The insti-
stitutions and the political and economic strategy of this period must be so shaped as to lead without break into the permanent system of world order.

If our purpose in entering into the second world war is, as we sincerely believe it to be, the "final destruction" not only of Nazi tyranny but of that militarist conception of international relations which rests upon force and violence and recognizes no such ideals as those of liberty, then part of the battle must be fought by the strategy of statesmanship as well as by that of the general staffs. Modern war employs weapons other than bullets. Those who are on our side will be encouraged to stronger resistance if they know that the United States will use its strength to uphold a system within which they can live securely and comfortably. Those who are fighting against us might lay down their arms sooner if they were assured of an international system which could give them protection against revenge, and an opportunity to exist and grow under law.

All this cannot be done by the leadership of a few individuals alone in the seats of power, however highly qualified for their great tasks. It needs as well the support of an enlightened public opinion, for otherwise it will be frustrated and falsified in the years to come. Even the despots have found it necessary to pay some attention to the attitude of the general public. Within democratic countries which share the tradition of freedom, the ultimate test of all policies lies in their acceptance or rejection by the body politic itself. It is therefore of the utmost importance that even during the progress of the war the problems of the peace should also be studied with the sense that they are as real as are the forces locked in conflict on land, at sea or in the air.

Later reports of the Commission will deal with blueprints of the international society to follow the war. The entrance of the United States as a full belligerent makes it not only possible but essential for this country to participate in the drafting of those blueprints. As the Commission proceeds with its studies some form of that future system of international relationship is already taking shape in the reappraisal of the fundamental validity of the ideals of the League of Nations, in the wartime experiences of the associated governments, and in the program set forth in the Atlantic Charter and the Declaration of the United Nations.
SECOND REPORT
THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

I
INTRODUCTION

Upon the cessation of war, the community of nations will confront two separate but interrelated tasks, for which thorough preparation should be made before that moment arrives. These tasks involve, first, the tremendous problem of political, material and spiritual reconstruction following the devastation of war; and, second, the longer range problem of building the permanent institutions of international order. In this Report, the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace is concerned primarily with the first of these tasks, the problems of the transitional, or armistice, period. The second of these tasks, which was outlined in the Preliminary Report, will be the subject of later study by the Commission.

The problems of transition are already engaging the attention of various persons and groups, both official and unofficial. This interest may be due to the desire of the business man and the laborer to get back to the job, or to the fear of inflation or unemployment held by financiers or governments; it may arise from the humanitarian sympathy of the American people for those who will be homeless or starving; it may be the anxious and natural hope of the average man that he may be permitted to settle down into a more secure and stable life; it may be simply the foresighted realization of a large task to be done, and of the necessity for preparing its solution in advance. Insofar as such interest indicates a desire "to return to normal"—i.e. previously existing—conditions, there will doubtless be much disappointment. It cannot be assumed that, as soon as the order to cease fire is given, everything will slide gradually back into its previous place. Americans must realize that they cannot, this time, meet the post-war problems by charity or by reckless investment; they will have to learn that inflation cannot be controlled by one nation alone, nor can prosperity. Not only war, but social revolution is going on round about us, and the dynamic force of human and international development cannot be dammed at the year 1939.
The task of reconstruction after this war will be far greater than before. This war actively covers a far wider area; it involves more nations, more persons and things; its power of destructiveness is much greater; political disunity and confusion have been fostered, and the foundations of human trust and of law and order, have been knocked out from beneath us. Most of the nations of the world maintained their independence during the First World War; there were more neutrals and they were less directly affected; the area of battle was confined mainly to the Atlantic Ocean and to parts of Europe. The present war spreads over the seven seas, and involves all continents in its effects. The loss of life, the interruption of trade, the injury to industry, the starvation and unemployment will be many times multiplied in the present war. The increasing dependence of peoples upon each other makes far more disastrous the wrecking of the system of trade and financial intercourse.

Worse than these material losses is the moral and intellectual havoc wrought by the ideological nature of the present conflict, and by the new methods of propaganda, “fifth column” penetration, and terrorism. Principles of civilization which have endured for centuries have been brutally attacked. Fifteen nations have lost their independence, their leaders have been killed, their intellectuals degraded, their peoples crushed into submission to a new and immoral order, against which their hearts and minds revolt. Millions of young persons have been indoctrinated, during the past decade, into beliefs contrary to the moral principles upon which civilization has been built; they, and millions of others in prison and concentration camps will be twisted in mind and in spirit, as well as in body.

And behind all this lie profound social changes, which modern science and invention and diffusion of knowledge have forced upon the world, independently of this war, but magnified and hastened by it. In all parts of the world there are large majorities of peoples who claim for themselves a more secure position in life, who demand freedom from fear and freedom from want. They complain, in all countries, that the system under which they live does not give them the safety and the dignity to which the individual human being is entitled, and they demand, therefore, that the system be improved. Various methods for accomplishing this improvement are offered; some of them have developed into ide-
ologies which are in violent conflict. The moral principles upon which law and order were built, whether national or international, are no longer secure; foundations must be laid or restored, and this must be done during the transitional period.

On the other hand, there will be, when the fighting stops, large resources prepared for war use which will be available for reconstruction purposes; and many of the agencies of collaboration for war can be continued for collaboration in reconstruction.

The solutions to be found after this war are to be sought in something more fundamental than reparations from the conquered, or Red Cross succor for the starving. Temporary and charitable alleviations will not be enough. The day is long past when the military commander in the field can lay down the terms of armistice and carry them into effect. Indeed, it may now be asked whether the traditional method of ending war—by armistice, peace conference, and treaty followed ultimately by ratification—is adequate for our needs. According to international law, no transitional period is recognized; technically the war continues until the treaty of peace goes into effect. After the last war, it was regarded as necessary to hold under arms millions of discontented men, to continue a harsh blockade, to leave nations in disorder while the statesmen sought tensely and hastily to solve the vast and innumerable problems before them. The financial cost was great, and the far-reaching consequences in terms of human unhappiness and international disorder were worse. The old method was inadequate in 1919; it will be far less able to meet the needs after this war.

These mistakes should not be repeated; further, there are new elements to be taken into consideration. One of these is the changed character of war itself. War was formerly a matter of interest only to the contestants; now it swells beyond their confines, and affects all states and all peoples. All, therefore, should have a voice in its final settlement. War has changed in time as well as in space. It has always been difficult to say when war begins and when it ends—at what moment the status of war ends, and that of peace returns. It is quite possible that this war will end in segments, at different times in different places; it may not end at all, in the old sense of formal cessation. If nations must continue upon a totalitarian basis, in order to prepare for the next war, it may be impossible ever again to speak of peace time. However this war may end, the world should be prepared with machinery capable of handling any situation.
From the above, certain conclusions may be derived, to be borne in mind during subsequent consideration of the problem. Reconstruction can only be undertaken upon an international basis, though it seems probable now that the American people must be prepared to assume a large part of the responsibility. The work of reconstruction must begin immediately upon the cessation of hostilities: the rapidity with which supplies can be sent and political control established may prevent bloody civil wars. Consequently, plans should at once be formulated; we cannot wait to improvise them when the shooting stops. The success with which the problems of reconstruction are met will have much to do with making possible the final organization of a peaceful international society. To organize such a society, it will not be enough to seek to restore what we had before; the hope and aspiration for a better world with higher social standards must be satisfied.

II

PARTICULAR PROBLEMS

The methods and procedures to be adopted during the transitional period depend upon the nature of the tasks to be done. A glance at these tasks is therefore a necessary introduction to our study.

I. Famine and Disease

Two of the most urgent tasks, when the armistice comes, will be the control of epidemics and the provision of food for the starving millions in many countries. If these tasks are to be performed promptly and effectively, plans must be made now; they cannot be improvised on short notice.

1. The seeds of typhus fever existed in many countries long before the outbreak of war—in Poland, Russia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and the Balkans, as well as in China and elsewhere. Plague, cholera and dysentery occur in many Far Eastern countries; only by the most rigorous measures are they kept under control in times of peace. Malaria occurs widely throughout the world, and smallpox breaks out whenever there is any relaxation in the systematic enforcement of vaccination. While information about the prevalence of epidemic diseases is restricted by censorship, ominous reports are coming out of many of the warring and occupied countries. There is every reason to believe that in this as in previous wars, disease
will wipe out more human lives than any or all of the weapons in­
vented by man. Guns will no longer speak when "Cease Fire!" is
sounded, but the flames of disease will continue to devour human
victims as long as chaotic conditions continue and the supply of
victims lasts. Four conditions commonly associated with war con­
tribute powerfully to the march of epidemics: malnutrition and
famine; movements of population; lack of hospitals, physicians,
medical and sanitary supplies; and the breakdown of organized
community life. In times of peace the spread of epidemic diseases
across national frontiers on land or on sea, is restricted by the action
of international health agencies which coordinate the work of na­
tional health authorities. Success in the campaign against any epi­
demic disease depends ultimately upon recognition of the cases by
local physicians, and prompt action by local health authorities.

Plans must be made now to train and equip physicians for the
fight against epidemic disease. Supplies of all kinds must be col­
lected.

The authority of such international health agencies as still exist
must be re-established and their scanty resources augmented. These
agencies must reorganize the international disease alarm system and
set it to work. This is the barest outline of the acute danger that
will face the world from epidemics of typhus fever, plague, cholera,
malaria, dysentery, etc. when the war ends, and the merest sug­
gestion of the measures necessary to keep those epidemics within
bounds.

2. Famine

The lack of food now making itself felt throughout Europe will
be accentuated with every month that passes. Hunger is a common­
place in the occupied countries; it will undoubtedly lead to malnu­
trition as the protective foods become scarcer and scarcer. Finally,
when organized community life breaks down, actual starvation will
become inevitable. One of the most acute and immediate problems
after the war will be to get to Europe (and possibly elsewhere)
promptly the urgently needed food supplies. Here, as in the case
of epidemic disease control, immediate planning is necessary if
post-war action is to be prompt and effective. Fortunately many of
the elements essential for such planning have been provided by the
work of the Health Organization of the League of Nations. For
example, the quantities of the various nutrients (minerals, vita­
mins, protein, fat, etc.) needed to maintain health have been estab­
lished by League Committees and brought up to date by the Food and Nutrition Board of the National Research Council at Washington and similar bodies in Great Britain. The more than twenty national nutrition committees set up as a result of the League's campaign for better nutrition throughout the world, must be reconstituted and activated. Finally, the several nutrition committees of the League and International Labor Office when reconstituted may serve to coordinate the action of national health and nutrition authorities.

3. Prompt and effective action by local authorities is just as essential for the distribution of foods as for the control of epidemics. Information must be available concerning stocks of food, and areas where supplies will be needed. There would be chaos should the food producing countries attempt to act independently of each other. There must be a pool of food supplies, a pool of shipping for transport, and a pool of funds. These imply international cooperation on the widest scale. Local and national order must be re-established; the authority of local and national governments must be strengthened and coordinated. Prompt and effective action in the fields of epidemic disease control and the provision of food requires not only the re-establishment of local and national government but also the existence of an overall international agency with broad powers, and an adequate budget. While much can be done by the Red Cross, the problems will be of such magnitude that neither voluntary agencies nor private initiative will suffice. As in the last war, success in the campaign against epidemic diseases will call for action by local, state, and national governments, and the coordination of that action by a strong international agency.

II. Civil Disorder

Terrible forces will be released when military control ceases—forces of revenge, of ambition and lust for power, of hunger and desperation. Upon the military forces of the victors the world must depend for the maintenance of order. Their forces, in cooperation with those of the governments in exile, and such stable forces as can be found among liberated peoples will have the task of policing almost the whole of Europe, and perhaps other parts of the world, until constitutional regimes can be set up and the wishes of the people expressed as to the form of government they wish. It cannot be permitted that interminable and bloody conflicts arising from rivalry of political leaders, territorial ambition, or anything
else, should hamper the convalescence of a worn world, no matter what feelings of national sovereignty or national pride may be involved. Such disorder must be repressed, and order maintained. Nor can states struggling to regain their footing be permitted to take action which might do harm to their neighbors, and arouse international frictions. These strong international forces must be ready to assume control wherever needed; and behind them a determinate political authority, able to make decisions of a provisional nature, until the permanent order is finally created.

III. Economic Collapse

The nations of the world will find it difficult to reopen their industries, restore their finances, re-employ their labor, and establish social service, without mutual assistance. Their gold reserves will have been exhausted or stolen, their factories destroyed or converted into munitions plants. In some cases, nothing will be left to them but their spirit, more or less strong, and their reduced labor capacity. Tools and materials must be found to occupy their hands and enable them to build. Furthermore, the international economic order which had disintegrated even before this war will be in complete collapse, and it will not be enough merely to plan for its restoration. The opportunity to build a better system lies before the world. The task will not be merely one of repairing destruction, but of laying the foundations, during the transitional period, for a better and stronger international economic order.

No state today is able, by its own efforts alone, to assure the economic welfare of its citizens. Each depends upon others. Each must accept as essential to its own welfare the prosperity of individuals everywhere. The greatest task will doubtless be found in Europe, but it will be only in small degrees more difficult there than in other parts of the world. The United States is unable to avoid depression, unemployment and war when these disasters come to other parts of the world. We cannot afford, again, to allow the world to suffer from the nationalistic competition which appeared after the First World War. If the United States, for example, excludes other nations from its markets by high protective tariffs and other such nationalistic devices, they will be forced to resort to similar measures. On the other hand, the powerful economic position of the United States furnishes an unparalleled opportunity and responsibility for leadership in economic reconstruction.
So much has been destroyed, and so little produced, that the need for production should offer ample employment when the war ends. For a year or so, there will probably be “boom times” in countries not overrun by war, but then—unless precautions are taken—there will be a terrible collapse. The ability of nations to organize a rational order for economic reconstruction before such a collapse occurs will determine whether the world is to fall back into chaos and revolution and despotism. Effective instruments of control will be needed; the resources of the world must be carefully used, not in destructive competition, but in ordered cooperation. The dangers are terrifying, and the joined wisdom of all peoples will be needed to overcome them. Some sort of an economic directorate will probably be necessary to control inflation and unemployment, to uphold currencies and investments, to rebuild industries and engage in public works, and to direct the innumerable tasks of economic rebuilding which cannot possibly be done by nations acting each for itself. The instruments of this control should be agreed upon now by the free governments of the world. If all free governments, including those in exile, are given an opportunity to participate in its development, such a directorate should be welcomed by those whom it will affect. But the American and British people must not blink the fact that the burden will be largely theirs.

IV. Uprooted Peoples

Millions of people have been uprooted from their homelands, forced by the lords of war to strange lands as industrial slaves, flung helter-skelter by the waves of war. These people must find their way to their homes, or be relocated and adapted to a new life. These readjustments will increase the problems of demobilization, and will greatly disturb economic and political recovery unless carefully supervised. Families have been disrupted and swept from their moorings in China and in Europe; hundreds of thousands, even before war broke out, had fled from Germany and Spain. At the moment of the armistice, frantic desires will set in motion, not merely the millions in armies, but other millions of refugees and laborers, who will be seeking means of return to families and homes and jobs. Others will be seeking new homes, in the developed or undeveloped parts of the world, and serious immigration problems will result. Again, an international directorate will be needed, and its problem will be largely an
economic one. Administrative agencies will be needed to arrange for transfer of peoples, to care for refugees and dependent aliens, to reintegrate and re-train persons for the new life into which they may fall, to aid settlement and colonization, to prevent disease and starvation. The problem is too stupendous to be handled by only one nation or by nations separately; nothing less than an international authority can rebuild the lives of these people in such a way as to aid rather than wreck international reconstruction.

V. Derelict Colonies

Many of the colonies whose political and economic direction depended upon the mother country will be found at the close of the war to require continued outside assistance. This will be especially true of the islands in the Pacific hitherto governed by Japan. It will also be true of the remnants of the Italian Empire in Africa. Likewise France will be in no position to govern many of her distant colonies, and perhaps not even the territories of French equatorial Africa, Madagascar, or the French possessions in the Western Hemisphere. Similarly, the Belgian Congo will present a problem, as may also the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in Africa. The Dutch East Indies will probably be able to continue their semi-independent existence with some assistance, but Dutch Guiana may be in a different position. Other territories too may stand in need of immediate aid if native life is not to deteriorate and government break down.

International agencies like the Permanent Mandates Commission, the International Labor Organization and various Inter-American Commissions may be able to provide some of the immediate assistance required. But the major responsibility may in certain cases have to be delegated to particular governments whose geographical propinquity and special circumstances best enable them to discharge this obligation in trust until a more permanent arrangement is instituted. It is enough to point out that the problem of orphaned colonies will be vast and complicated, that it cannot be brushed aside in the period of transition, that its handling will vitally affect the longer-range solution which must ultimately be sought, and that improvisation will not suffice if serious friction and trouble are to be averted.

VI. Social Insecurity

In its Preliminary Report, the Commission emphasized social justice as one of the chief goals of international building. Much
progress has been made in many nations toward security for the individual, and a great demand for more social security was, and is, heard. But the effect of war is to destroy the foundations of this security; and the instability and confusion which it creates will continue for years after the war. The purchasing power of wages and pensions—if they exist—fluctuates; labor is worried, and friction with employers develops; the tax structure is burdened and government is obliged to interfere more often. Military and industrial demobilization may come concurrently with demoralizing effect.

The maintenance of social security is primarily a national concern, but the ability of a nation to provide “freedom from fear and freedom from want” depends heavily upon the international economic order, and upon control over war which wrecks social security. An international system, in order to command support from individuals throughout the world, must encourage in every state more adequate social security and better standards of living. The International Labor Organization, devoted to these purposes, needs to be strengthened. While social security is more definitely a problem of the permanent world order, it must now be noted that during the transitional period disorder and discontent can only be allayed if individuals can be made to feel that their future is secure.

VII. False Indoctrination

Every community is built upon the common acceptance of some principles. International law, like all other law, rests upon certain standards of civilization supported by the majority of the peoples who respect that law. But many of these peoples in recent years have been indoctrinated with beliefs contrary to standards of human dignity and equality, of liberty and tolerance and rational judgment, painfully evolved through the centuries. The rebuilding of the international order depends upon the free flow of information for all their citizens, the re-education of those who have been misled in youth and the re-establishment of confidence, on the part of millions of adults, in civilized standards. The problem of re-education will vary. It will be one thing in countries such as Germany, Italy and Japan, where difficult problems of psychological readjustment without destroying self-confidence must be met; it will be different in countries such as Holland, where the educational system is weakened, but not
destroyed; and in countries such as Poland or China, where systematic efforts to destroy educators and institutions and libraries have been purposefully carried on by conquerors. Many teachers must be trained, many others must be re-trained. Intellectual cooperation in all fields must be encouraged, through exchange of literature, of students and teachers, of music and films. All peoples must understand the principles upon which permanent world order rests, and must develop loyalty to such an order. And this is closely related to other problems—to food and health, to a sense of security, above all, to economic safety. Only international cooperation, official and unofficial, can re-establish educational and religious institutions that will restore to the people faith in the brotherhood of man.

III

POLITICAL CONTROL

In each of the foregoing problems, the need of international machinery has appeared. It was also noted that these problems are interrelated. It will not be sufficient, then, to create separate agencies for each of them. There must be an over-all organization, coordinating their various activities, and providing an authority to speak in the name of the community. It was apparent, too, that the establishment of political order within, as well as between, the disturbed areas is a prerequisite to the execution of these emergency tasks. The problem of determining what sort of political organization is possible or desirable for the transitional period underlies all other problems; it must be answered before a beginning can be made.

At the end of hostilities, the responsibility for the reconstruction of the world will rest upon the victors, whether they like it or not, and whether anyone else likes it or not. Of the victors, the greatest contributions will have been made by Britain, China, Russia and the United States; others, too, will have contributed to the victory. The work of restoration will presumably rest mostly upon the British and the Americans because of their available resources, though it is too early to say how far they will have been worn down, or how much others may be able to contribute. Two dangers are to be feared. In the first place, the victors may refuse to exercise the authority which victory has given them. The American people may again seek to bury them-
selves in isolation; others may be too tired to make the effort.

In the second place, there is the danger that states which assume the burden and successfully administer the task of the transitional period will not be willing to relinquish their position in favor of a world organization; that they will fail to establish the national, regional and world institutions to which their authority should be transferred.

The first of these dangers can be met if, in advance of the termination of hostilities, plans have been made, agencies created, and commitments taken, for feeding those who need to be fed, for rebuilding economic life and establishing money and credit, for policing disordered areas. If the victorious governments and their peoples accept the responsibility in advance, and have the instruments and agencies ready for executing the tasks, they will be apt to carry them through. The second danger may be met if these countries, through pledges taken in advance, make clear their intention to transfer their control as rapidly as possible to national, regional, and world institutions, to whose building they are committed.

A third danger is to be feared—that the victors may fall out among themselves. It is to be hoped that sacrifices in a common cause will have done much to remove the suspicions which these nations have had for each other. In any case, the contribution toward victory made by Russia, her geographic position, and her power cannot be disregarded. Furthermore, no stronger supporter of collective security was to be found in the League of Nations than Russia, and she has recently made an agreement with Poland calling for a just peace which “can only be achieved by a new organization of international relations based on the association of democratic states in union. Such an organization to be a decisive factor must have respect for international law and be supported by the armed forces of all the Allied Governments” (The New York Times, December 6, 1941.) Since there is no doubt as to the sympathy of China for the organization of order in the world, there seems good reason to believe that the victors could find common principles upon which to build and act, provided that their efforts are directed toward the common end of permanent world order, rather than shaped by the nationalistic pressures of the past.

Those nations which are now engaged in setting up an or-
ganization to shape and direct the grand strategy of the war, should build this into an organization for direction of the efforts of the transitional period. Already, the British and American leaders have announced the formation of the “United Nations.” By this joint agreement, 26 nations accept “the common program of purposes and principles” embodied in the Atlantic Charter; and in his address to Congress on January 6, President Roosevelt said “I know that I speak for the American people—and I have good reason to believe I speak also for all the other peoples who fight with us—when I say that this time we are determined not only to win the war but also to maintain the security of the peace which will follow.” The establishment of the United Nations with its foresighted statement of purposes represents a long step in the direction which must be followed, and the world is fortunate in having leaders who can act so wisely and so promptly.

In this new system, the burden will rest mostly upon two or three great nations. Aside from the meritorious claims of each nation, and aside from the justice of the situation, the inescapable fact is that power will be exercised by those who remain strong enough to exercise it. The United States will presumably be one of those who will have power; and the Commission emphasizes to the American people that a heavy responsibility will rest upon them. It is necessary to emphasize this point, for the program they have undertaken as one of the United Nations represents a departure from their past policy. Having accepted the new program, they must begin at once to implement it, to shape their thoughts and their efforts toward its development and execution.

The actual situation is that where power rests, final decisions must also belong; but those states upon which this responsibility devolves must seek, so far as is possible, to act with the approval of and in the interests of the whole community of nations. Those who are the victors must behave, not as victors have in the past, but as a police power acting in the name of the community of nations. It is a democratic principle, to be upheld by democracies, that force shall be used only by authority of the community, and in accord with law. As victors, they will be suspected of using their victory to further their own selfish purposes. If any basis for this suspicion is afforded by their post-war methods, those who in the past have accused them of selfish nationalism
will be encouraged to new outcries and to new nationalistic efforts of their own, while those who believed that they were sincerely fighting against aggression and for world order will be discouraged and unwilling to support them longer. Clear evidence of their good intent, even of self-denial, must be provided during the crucial transitional period, if there is to be any hope for the later establishment of a successful world order. They must, on the one hand, use their military and economic power to restore order in the world; they must, on the other hand, make it clear that in so doing they seek for themselves no special material or political advantage. They must leave no doubt of their intention to turn over their power to institutions created and maintained by the community. The permanent institutions of the world order should evolve from consultation with and consent of the peoples who are to be subject to them. Only in this way can they be expected to command the loyalty and support of all.

An important element in developing world support is efficient administration of the tasks of the reconstruction period—the establishment of governments and of order, the feeding of peoples, the reconstruction of industry and communication, the protection of health, financial stability and credit, and the thousands of similar tasks which will appear. Successful administration by community effort during this period would not only increase confidence in the temporary administration responsible for this success, but would afford convincing evidence of the desirability of a permanent system of this nature; and it should always be borne in mind that the agencies and methods employed with success are to be continued, so far as possible, into the permanent system. Every effort should be made to prevent recurrence of the situation which, after 1919, forced the nations of Europe back into desperate nationalistic competition. The transitional period offers an opportunity for selecting and testing, for ascertaining the various national needs and for building stable public opinion, for laying the foundations of a permanent world order. The transition to be hoped for is not one from war to normalcy, but from war to permanent peace and order. The new solutions must evolve, not from the psychology of victor toward vanquished, but from the psychology of cooperation for mutual welfare.

If, however, the responsibility of the victors must be emphasized,
the lesson of defeat must also be taught. It must be proven beyond
doubt that aggression can be restrained. To this end, the defeat of
the aggressor nations is a prerequisite, and the final defeat of the
aggressors has been solemnly pledged by the United Nations. Fur­
ther, such restraints must be set upon the aggressors as will impress
this lesson upon their peoples. Toward this end, the military occu­
pation of Germany or Japan may be necessary. In any case, author­
ity within the area of the aggressor states should not be returned
to their peoples until they have demonstrated their willingness and
ability to participate in a permanent world order. The victors must
be able to convince world opinion that aggression does not pay.
The defeat of the aggressors should be so complete that no gov­
ernment can in the future develop a “stab in the back” myth. It
must be demonstrated convincingly that those who invoked force
in violation of their obligations to a world order were destroyed
by the inherent capacity of the world order to invoke a greater
force in its own defense.

It is obvious that, if the purpose and needs of the transitional
period are to be met, there must be machinery for strong political
control, which should represent in some form of cooperation all
states which are willing to work for the establishment of perma­
nent law and order in the world. There should be sufficient organ­
ization so that actions may be taken under the authority of the
community, even though final decisions must unavoidably belong
to the victors. It is conceivable that the power of the victors would
be so great that they could compel other nations into this coor­
dinated effort; this, however, would be the same type of a world
order which the Nazi regime seeks, and against which the democ­
racies are fighting. The only alternative which accords with demo­
cratic principles is that which has been adopted by the United
Nations, voluntary organization and control by the majority of
the community; on the other hand, this does not exclude the coer­
cion of obstructive or law-breaking nations. It is to be hoped that
the United Nations will at once prepare plans and organization
for the transitional period. When the collapse of the despotisms
appears, the emergency will be desperate and the needs will be
great. Time cannot be spared then for setting up machinery. The
effort should be begun now. It is important to win the war, but it
is important also to succeed with the peace; otherwise, the war
effort has been largely wasted. The two purposes are closely inter­
locked, and should be pursued together.
It is of the greatest importance that democracy demonstrate its success in this task and its ability to succeed in the future. It may be argued that occupation of Germany and control in general by the democracies would substantiate rather than destroy the tradition that aggression is worthwhile. "Where German aggression failed," it may be said, "Anglo-American aggression succeeded."

The only answer to this argument lies in a self-denying course of action by the democracies, which will convince the world that their forces are really intended to serve as a police power acting on behalf of the world community in a great crisis, and that their control will be surrendered as soon as the permanent world order has been constituted by agreement of all, defeated, neutral, and victors. To this end, there should be constant consultation with other nations. Upon the success of the victors in convincing world opinion—including the peoples of Germany, Italy and Japan—that force used for aggression cannot succeed, and that force used to maintain world order can succeed, depends the possibility of organizing enduring peace.

IV

CONCLUSIONS

No formula can be provided which will solve the numerous and varied problems of the transitional period. It cannot now be foreseen in what form these problems will appear, and it is certain that they will be continually changing. Detailed solutions cannot yet be attempted, but a few general conclusions may be derived from the foregoing pages.

Public Opinion

In the first place, the peoples must be made aware of the size and difficulty of the tasks which await the victors upon the end of fighting, and of the responsibility which will belong to these peoples. They must know that these tasks are unavoidable, and that the responsibility cannot be escaped. They should know, too, that the announcement of a willingness to assume the responsibility for restoring order in a shattered world is an important part of the strategy of winning the war itself.

Studies

While it is not evident in what form these tasks will appear, preliminary studies should be under way at once. Each govern-
ment should be making studies of its needs and its resources, and of how it may help or be helped. More important, governments should undertake joint studies. For this purpose, certain organs of the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization are well equipped; they should be given financial aid and moral support. Private groups should be engaged in the study, and their efforts coordinated as far as possible.

Technical Organizations

In the various fields, such as health or food supply or education, technical organizations will have to be created or strengthened, each limited in scope and directed by experts who are acquainted with the needs and resources in their respective fields. Such agencies should be prepared in advance and be acquainted with the studies under way.

Political Directorate

The work of these various organizations will be interrelated and will depend upon security and stability within the community of nations. Long before the transitional period begins, the United Nations who have declared themselves opposed to aggression and interested in the establishment of law and order should have consulted among themselves and agreed upon a strong and unified directorate having the authority to coordinate the work of the various technical organizations and to command the necessary services, and having military strength sufficient to maintain order everywhere.

Urgency

It is of the greatest importance that these institutions and authority be immediately available to control the disorder and to face the needs and dangers which will immediately surge forward when fighting ceases. The announcement of such preparedness, and of a program looking toward a stable and just world order, would help to bring the war earlier to a successful conclusion.

Community Responsibility

If in fact this power and authority belongs to the victors, or to certain of the victors, they must associate with themselves, in proportion to their ability to share in the burden, all states interested in building a world order. They must make it clear that they are
working in the interest of the community of nations, that the power which they exercise is a temporary one forced upon them by circumstances, and that they intend to transfer this power as soon as it can be done to institutions of the organized community of nations.

Use of War Agencies

Some of the institutions now being set up for the joint effort of winning the war—institutions the final shape of which cannot yet be envisaged—will, by their very nature, be useful for peacetime purposes; others will be designed only for the war emergency. Special attention should be devoted to the former type, so that by constructive planning they may be shaped to fit into the international system whose responsibility it will be to maintain order during the transitional period. This possibility should always be carried in mind by those who build these institutions.

Stability

It is to be hoped that, within a few years, enough order will have been restored, both within and between national governments, so that it will be possible to ascertain opinion, and to have stable governments, able to participate in the building of the permanent world order. It is to be hoped, too, that efficient and firm administration by institutions acting in the name of the community would have induced in the various peoples so great a confidence in international administration that questions of frontiers and nationalistic devices of protection would not be of as great importance in their minds as they have been in the past. Every effort should be made to develop respect and confidence in the ability of the community of nations to protect its members and to assist them in the difficult task of living together.

Establishment of Permanent Institutions

When stability has been sufficiently restored, a conference of all nations, defeated or otherwise, should be called for the purpose of formulating the principles and institutions of the world order in which all states will be expected to participate. For the purposes of this conference, the facilities of the League of Nations, with its experience and its recognized international character, might offer better auspices than the provisional political organization of the transitional period. The provisional organization, however, should
not transfer its powers, nor should frontiers or governments be finally recognized, until the institutions of the permanent order are confirmed and functioning.

Duration of Transitional Period

It is impossible to say how long a period will or should elapse between the cessation of hostilities and the establishment of a permanent world order. It is clear, however, that the traditional methods of ending a war—armistice, conference, and treaty—are inadequate, and should be abandoned. A period of control, between war and peace, is now essential, so that it will not be necessary to rush decisions; so that there may be time for careful thought, for experimenting and testing, for the rebuilding of national governments, the formation of public opinion, the discovery of what peoples want, after their sufferings, in the way of a permanent settlement. Time for study and deliberation is essential in the democratic process, and for the solution of vast problems. It is not necessary to estimate in advance the time required for this process, but it is essential to establish the community means of control for the period.

Winning the War and the Peace

The foregoing considerations cannot be laid aside while we win the war. They are part of winning the war; and the winning of the war would mean little gain for us unless we are prepared to consolidate its gains into stability and security. No time is too soon to begin the study, to prepare the institutions and to accept the pledges and obligations necessary if we are to bring order and hope, within any reasonable time, back to a shattered world.
The following members of the Commission have signed this statement:

JAMES T. SHOTWELL, Chairman
WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON, Chairman of the Executive Committee
CLYDE EAGLETON, Chairman of the Studies Committee
EMILY HICKMAN, Chairman of the Education Committee
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COMMISSION TO STUDY
THE
ORGANIZATION OF PEACE

Preliminary Report

November, 1940

EIGHT WEST FORTIETH STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.
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PREFATORY NOTE

The purpose of this Commission has been to seek out and state the principles upon which international relations must be reorganized, after the present conflict, if peace is to prevail. It does not seek now to provide the details of such a system, for it realizes that great changes are occurring, upon which we must wait.

While it has been at work, some of these changes have already occurred. Resort to politics of power by the totalitarian states has forced upon us as the immediate issue the defense of our ideals rather than their extended application to a future world. Believing as we do that this situation will not endure, and having faith that the moral order of the world will be re-established to fit changing conditions, we are forced to the conclusion that our first duty in the present crisis is to contribute to the establishment of permanent peace by strengthening the forces that make for international justice. If these forces should fail, there will be no community of nations to organize.

The Commission, however, has never regarded as one of its functions the prescribing of the practical steps which it realizes must be taken in the present crisis if its labors are not to be futile. These, though of crucial importance, lie outside the limits of the purpose for which it was created. That purpose was and is to exert what influence it can to ensure that the United States, whether or not forced to enter the present struggle, shall not again fail to play its part in any opportunity which may offer to organize a durable peace. The Commission aims to do its utmost to lead the American people to see more clearly than they did twenty years ago that, for selfish and unselfish reasons alike, all their efforts must have as their ultimate goal the creation of a better world in which to live—a world in which international cooperation will be able to use human intelligence and natural resources for the economic security and free development of all men.

To this end the Commission will continue its work throughout the coming year.
PRELIMINARY REPORT

As the shadows of the second world war deepen, the Commission submits the following statement of principles which it considers fundamental to the organization of peace. It does so because it has sufficient faith in man to deny that war is inevitable, and to believe that if he can be brought to see and understand the nature of the world in which he lives, he will be capable of organizing international order and justice, and thereby making possible the continuous development of the social well-being of all peoples. The opportunity for this supreme triumph of reason in human relations may be long delayed, or it may come very soon. The issue of the present world war hangs in the balance at this zero hour of the conflict between conquest and consent. We must not only combat aggression, we must also plan for peace. We must be prepared spiritually and intellectually, as well as physically, for the unforeseen trials and opportunities which the course of events is now unfolding before us.

The Commission deeply appreciates that mere form without substance is of little value. No system of laws and organization can be of value without the living faith and spirit behind and in it. No world organization can succeed without mutual confidence on the part of its members. Our problem is largely an ethical one; it involves recognition on the part of all peoples, large and small, strong and weak, of the rights of others; a willingness on the part of all to make sacrifices for the general good; a belief in the existence of a power in the world that makes for righteousness. We set forth our conclusions in the knowledge and belief that unless a people have vision they perish.

The World Today

Science has profoundly changed the conditions of man's life upon this earth. These changes have come more rapidly within recent years. When our forefathers in their covered wagons crossed the Alleghanies and plodded on to the Pacific, their means of travel and farming were not very different from those of the Children of Israel thousands of years before. Between that moment and the present time the world has seen the annihilation of time and space by steam, electricity, radio, and the airplane. These agencies have produced our modern industrial civilization, with its increasing competition for markets and raw materials, and its pressure for the industrialization of backward areas. Within the past century the
population of the earth has more than doubled because of the application of science to production and health. While these great changes were taking place, man discovered the last acre of good earth. Consequently, in the future he must adjust his problems to an earth whose geographical limits have been explored. There are parts of the world that can support additional population, but migration must, in most cases, adjust itself to a cultural pattern that has already been set. Man cannot build new civilizations in new lands. He must stand and face his problems where he is.

This is the kind of world that we inhabit.

But the same science which has harnessed nature to man's peaceful purpose has now harnessed it to his destruction. The invention of the airplane, submarine, tank, motor transport, electrical communication and poison gas has made it possible for larger proportions of the population to be mobilized for war, for military operations to be coordinated over larger areas, for destruction to be more easily visited upon civilians on land and sea, in fact for the entire life of nations to be organized for war even in time of peace. Geographical division of labor has created economic dependence of one people upon another, rendering each vulnerable to starvation or industrial disorganization by blockade and trade restrictions.

Under such conditions war has assumed a totalitarian character. It not only consumes the people within the belligerent country, but affects the lives of neutrals as well. It has tended to become all-consuming and all-destructive. The tempo of scientific warfare will increase. The ease with which highly civilized states have been invaded and subdued within a few days by the might of the German military machine, no matter how brave their people, shows the power of the military offensive. The nation that prepares long in advance for aggression can prevail over improvised defenses. Only by organization to develop and uphold the law of nations can civilization stand up against the ever-advancing machinery of modern scientific warfare. The only sure defense is the enforcement of the law made by the community of nations; and that law can be enforced only if the power of the community, overwhelmingly greater than the power of any of its members, is brought to bear when and where lawlessness begins.

This is the kind of world that must be organized.

The World We Want

As the frontier of continents has disappeared, its place has been taken by the frontier of science, and no one can foresee the effect
which the indefinite extension of its borders will have upon mankind. But, no matter how much his life will be changed by invention and discovery, man will continue to want from this world freedom, social justice, economic and political security. He wants a world in which human intelligence will organize and distribute the ample resources of nature so that all can live abundantly; a world in which intelligence will be devoted to human progress rather than to destruction; a world in which a man's labor may be directed toward his own advancement. This is largely a problem for local and national governments, but they cannot solve it alone. The laboring man knows that his living standards are affected by the living standards of other countries; the agricultural man must face the fact that he can dispose of his crops only in a world-wide market; the industrial man may find his factory idle because of inability to secure needed materials, or markets, in other lands. These, and many other matters upon which the happiness of the individual rests, are problems which can only be solved internationally.

If we have the courage to lift our eyes above the agony of the moment, we may see a world in which the forces of applied science and the diffusion of knowledge offer to all men and nations a plane of living, a freedom and richness of spiritual, cultural and economic attainment that can scarcely be imagined at the present moment.

The Nature of Peace

Peace under modern conditions cannot be a static condition of life achieved by the renunciation of war, nor a mere pious desire to live at peace. Peace must be a dynamic and continuous process for the achievement of freedom, justice, progress and security on a world-wide scale. Many problems can never be finally solved. They recur in different forms as eternally as life itself. The processes of peace, however, should make possible ways of meeting these emerging problems on a plane higher than mass physical combat.

Peace requires the substitution for war, which becomes ever more destructive, of international processes which while protecting national ways of life against external violence, will facilitate adaptation to new conditions and will promote creative changes in the general interest. Peace involves whatever international organization is necessary under conditions of the times to protect the interests and promote the progress of mankind. The world has so shrunk that the loose political organization of the past which rested on balance of power, on neutrality and isolation, is no longer adequate.
A Unifying Ideal

The organization of peace must have back of it the force of a unifying ideal. The sovereignty of the nation-state is no longer adequate. The alternatives are world empire, achieved by conquest, or some form of association, such as world federation, achieved by consent. Efforts are being made today with the support of millions in the autocratic states to achieve continental or world empire, unifying mankind by the coercive authority of the government most efficient at conquest. The Commission believes that such an ideal cannot be a permanent means for organizing the world for peace. Historical experience is against it. The modern world is not like that which was unified by the legions of Rome; the peoples composing it are neither barbarians nor representatives of effete civilizations, though many must still be schooled in liberty and in the essentials of human dignity. These enduring needs of mankind can never be satisfied by a philosophy based on human inequality and asserting that a race of masters should organize a subservient world. Furthermore, can we doubt that any effort to organize the entire world—including ourselves—on the basis of force would split upon the rock of the United States?

The modern counterpart of Rome is not a system which eliminates liberty by the suppression of nations, but one which secures their cooperation for the common good. This, not the dead weight of tyranny, is the living bond of union for the nations of the civilized world. The alternative to organization by conquest is organization by consent. This implies a society in which nations participate through law to maintain the necessary curbs upon national sovereignty and to establish international institutions to preserve human freedom, social justice, economic progress, and political security.

We may expect an eventual reaction from the present reliance upon brute force, in which man will again profess his faith in reason. There was such a reaction at the close of the World War. The League of Nations was an effort to perpetuate it. The retreat from that ideal and institution—a retreat begun by the United States—will mark the last twenty years as one of the most tragic periods in history. Today the issue is not between moderate nationalism and easy-going internationalism, but between overpowering militarism and the organization of peace.

The Nation-State

We have come to regard the nation-state as the primary unit in international society, in the same way that we have come to regard
the individual as the primary unit in domestic society. The nation sums up much of political history for five hundred years. No one can predict when this concentration upon the nation-state shall have run its course. Whatever the outcome of the present war, it is unlikely that there will again be twenty-seven independent national sovereignties in Europe, each having the right to make war, to surround itself with tariff walls, and to maintain a different currency.

Nevertheless, we must continue to assume that the nation-state is the unit of world society. Any federation of such states must be flexible and capable of adjusting itself to continually changing conditions. Clearly the organization of international society with the greatest chance of success will be that one which will assure a dynamic peace with the minimum sacrifice of national sovereignty. As a civil community gives to the individual a security in his rights, a richness of social life and an economic surplus in which he can share, more than compensating for the freedom he sacrifices, so any future federation of nations must offer to its units political and economic security, cultural intercourse and the opportunity for a high plane of living that will more than compensate for the sovereignty sacrificed.

*The Nature of Federation*

Federation organizes consent on the international scale while empire organizes coercion on that scale. Though coercion of the part by the whole is the essence of government, in the system of federalism that coercion can only be in accord with law, to which those bound have directly or indirectly consented. World federation, balancing the autonomy of the nation-state with the authority of the family of nations was the system implied by the founders of modern international law after the breakup of the medieval empire. Organization to make international law effective was, however, hampered by exaggerated developments of the idea of sovereignty. A sovereign state, at the present time, claims the power to judge its own controversies, to enforce its own conception of its rights, to increase its armaments without limit, to treat its own nationals as it sees fit, and to regulate its economic life without regard to the effect of such regulations upon its neighbors.

These attributes of sovereignty must be limited.

*Limitations on Sovereignty*

(a) Nations must renounce the claim to be the final judge in their controversies with other nations and must submit to the
jurisdiction of international tribunals. The basis of peace is justice; and justice is not the asserted claim of any one party, but must be determined by the judgment of the community.

(b) Nations must renounce the use of force for their own purposes in relations with other nations, except in self-defense. The justification for self-defense must always be subject to review by an international court or other competent body.

(c) The right of nations to maintain aggressive armaments must be sacrificed in consideration for an assurance of the security of all, through regional and world-wide forces subject to international law and adequate to prevent illegal resorts to international violence.

(d) Nations must accept certain human and cultural rights in their constitutions and in international covenants. The destruction of civil liberties anywhere creates danger of war. The peace is not secure if any large and efficient population is permanently subject to a control which can create a fanatical national sentiment impervious to external opinion.

(e) Nations must recognize that their right to regulate economic activities is not unlimited. The world has become an economic unit; all nations must have access to its raw materials and its manufactured articles. The effort to divide the resources of the world into sixty economic compartments is one of the causes of war. The economic problem arising from this effort has increased in gravity with the scientific and industrial progress of the modern world.

**New Institutions**

Such renunciations of sovereignty for the common good will necessitate new institutions, world-wide and regional, to perform the services which can no longer be left to each state acting separately. The diplomatic system, international conferences, international tribunals with voluntary jurisdiction, international administrative unions, are steps toward a federal organization of the world, but they are not enough. International organizations must be created or developed on the basis of past experience. The following are essential:

(a) An international court with jurisdiction adequate to deal with all international disputes on the basis of law.

(b) International legislative bodies to remedy abuses in existing law and to make new law whenever technical progress requires the adjustment of international practice.
(c) Adequate police forces, world-wide or regional, and world-wide economic sanctions, to prevent aggression and to support international covenants.

(d) International machinery with authority to regulate international communication and transportation and to deal with such problems as international commerce, finance, health, nutrition, and labor standards—with regard to all of which the successful working of the constitution of the International Labor Organization offers valuable lessons.

(e) Appropriate authorities to administer backward areas ceded to the world federation. Such administration should give precedence to the interest of the inhabitants of the area, looking to their eventual self-government; should assure all nations equal economic opportunity within the area; and should facilitate colonization and economic development of areas suitable for that purpose without injury to the native inhabitants. International corporations might well be encouraged to enlist world-wide support for the constructive task of developing such areas under supervision of such authorities.

Regionalism

Aristide Briand once wrote "There is not one peace for America, one peace for Europe and another for Asia, but one peace for the entire world." The nations of the New World cannot sever the links which bind them to those of the Old. The lesson which should have been learned in 1914 is being taught with greater suffering in 1940, that a threat to the peace, prosperity and the liberties of any part of the world causes profound economic dislocation and political fear in every other part of the world. While the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace recognizes this universality as fundamental, it also recognizes that there may be regional variations in any practical plan for world society. It is hard to see how Europe can emerge from its present catastrophe without sacrificing a greater degree of the sovereignty of its states than would be possible or desirable in other continents. International conditions have forced the nations of the Western Hemisphere to strengthen the Pan American organization. The British Commonwealth is an essential and living organism and is a powerful factor for international organizations, uniting the continents. The Soviet Union, the Far East, and the Near East, each constitute regions with distinctive characteristics; others may develop. While some rules of law must apply to all nations alike, in many matters variations must be provided within the distinctive regions.
Building Peace

The movement toward federation is not something new, but rather another step in that development of international law and institutions which must constitute the essential framework of future civilization. The League of Nations successfully performed many tasks in the field of international administration, such as the regulation of communications, international health, collection and publication of statistics and treaties, supervision of mandates and many other activities; it settled many disputes and prevented some wars; but the present conflict has taught us that something at once stronger and more adjustable than the League of 1919 is necessary. National sovereignty must yield more and more to the community of nations. The world must evolve from League to federation. But just as the League grew out of the development of international law and uncoordinated international institutions, so world federation will grow out of the experience of the League, the World Court, and the International Labor Organization.

The Commission to Study the Organization of Peace reasserts in the face of war and the menace of international anarchy an unshaken faith in the practicability of the organization of peace and calls for increased study of steps by which progress toward the realization of this faith can be made. This preliminary statement sets forth the elementary principles which the Commission believes essential to a lasting peace. The Commission does not in this Report deal with the political accomplishment of these principles; it recognizes that many steps must await the achievement of others. Relinquishment of national sovereign powers and establishment of effective international authorities must proceed together. The solution of this problem will require the cooperation of many minds. The articles to be published in support of these conclusions are a step toward such cooperation.

The Commission will continue its studies, and calls upon all those to whom these principles appeal to face the problem and find the answer.
The following members of the Commission have signed this statement:

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CLARK M. EICHELBERGER, Director
WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON, Chairman of the Executive Committee
CLYDE EAGLETON, Chairman of the Studies Committee

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Quincy Wright

*Deceased
Plan Now for Total Victory!

Commission to Study the Organization of Peace
8 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.
Some people have said we should "win the war first" and talk about the peace later.

But remember what happened last time?
Did we really win that other war?

Today we are fighting again for democracy, freedom, and respect for human rights—the things we could have made safe the last time if we had won a real victory.

We will win a military victory in this war, more complete than before. But, after this more "total war," shall we win a TOTAL VICTORY?

What needs to be done?
How can we assure ourselves of total victory?

Begin by asking yourself what you want.
Do you want:

"Freedom from fear":—in which your nation is secure, in which you and your sons will not have to go to war again in a few years?

"Freedom from want":—in which your nation is prosperous, in which you don't run through cycles of boom and bust, in which your job and your income are safe?

"Freedom of speech, religion, opinion":—in which freedom and democracy can be secure, in which you can live in decency and dignity?

We can enjoy these freedoms only if we live in a world organized for peace. To build such a world, we must plan now. Peace requires planning and total effort—just as war does.
Only an international system can provide a world of peace, prosperity and freedom.

That was true at the last war. But we decided to try to find peace and prosperity by and for ourselves. It didn't work; it never can work.

The past twenty-five years have produced international anarchy, want and tyranny. We found no security in such a world. Nor did any other nation.

Our security depends upon an international system which will stop aggression when and where it starts and will provide justice without war.

But didn't we try that before? What about the League of Nations?

If Japan had been stopped in Manchuria in 1931, Italy in Ethiopia in 1935, Germany in the Rhineland in 1936, and if the needs of men everywhere had been handled wisely by cooperation between nations, our men would probably not be fighting in all parts of the world today.

Twenty-five years ago our men died to clear the way for such a world. We threw away the chance to build it.

Today, our men are dying again. We have another chance. This time the United Nations must build that world. Our own country for its own sake must play a big part.

We can't solve our own problems—be sure of jobs, feel secure unless we stop war. We can solve our own problems by helping to build an international system—
An international system:
To keep order;
To help all peoples to have a decent chance at livelihood;
To stand up for human freedom.
And we must plan that system—now. There are already many good plans for such a system, and there will be more. All of us should study them. But the first thing to get straight is that a big part of really winning this war is to plan a system that will see that it stays won.

Nothing short of that will do—for nothing short of that is keeping faith with those who die to win the military victory. Nothing short of that will prevent another war. This time victory must be total!

OFFICERS
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Chairman of Commission
WILLIAM ALLAN NELSON
Chairman, Executive Committee
CLYDE EAGLETON
Chairman, Studies Committee
EMILY HICKMAN
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8 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What Are The Bases Of A Lasting Peace?</td>
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The papers, 185 pages, include: Human rights and the world order, by Quincy Wright; Introduction to a study of occupation problems, by Benjamin Akzin; Relief and reconstruction, by Clarence E. Pickett and Spencer Coxe; Uprooted Jews in the immediate postwar world, by Jacob Robinson; Social reconstruction, by Carter Goodrich; Problems of economic reorganization, by J. B. Condliffe; Education and the postwar settlement, by I. L. Kandel.


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- Part II—An up-to-date listing of books, articles, directories and bibliographies on postwar reconstruction, supplement to May-June 1942 issue.


- Includes the following addresses: Atlantic Charter and United Nations Today, by Clark M. Eichelberger; Protection of Human Rights, by Quincy Wright; Social Reconstruction, by Carter Goodrich; A Creative War, by Congressman J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas; Relief and Rehabilitation, by C.-E. A. Winslow; Political Organization, by Clyde Eagleton; Economic Reconstruction, by J. B. Condliffe.

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GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AND POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION. May-June 1942.

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UNITED NATIONS AGREEMENTS AND DOCUMENTS. July 1942.

A collection of official documents, including the texts of twelve agreements between members of the United Nations, and several pertinent resolutions adopted by international conferences.

LEND-LEASE AGREEMENTS AND UNITED NATIONS ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCIES. August-September 1942.

Includes Lend-Lease Act, Reports on Lend-Lease Administration, Master Agreements, and source material on Lend-Lease administrative agencies.

INTER-AMERICAN DECLARATIONS AND ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCIES. October-November 1942.

Source material on Inter-American solidarity; Pan-American Union; and Inter-American Administrative Agencies, such as the Inter-American Bank, Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, Inter-American Commission for Territorial Administration, etc. This material supplements the two preceding issues, July 1942 and August-September 1942.

BRITISH BUSINESS ASSOCIATIONS ON POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION. December 1942.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Presenter(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>June 5, 1943</td>
<td>UNDERWRITING VICTORY</td>
<td>Senator Elbert D. Thomas, Utah, Chairman, Committee on Military Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Senator Warren R. Austin, Vermont, Member Judiciary Comm.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kent Cooper, Manager, Associated Press</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Earl J. Johnson, V. P. in Charge News Services, United Press</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>June 12, 1943</td>
<td>SCIENCE AND THE FUTURE</td>
<td>Isaiah Bowman, President, Johns Hopkins University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Waldemar Kaempffert, Science Editor, N.Y. Times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>David Sarnoff, President, Radio Corporation of America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>June 19, 1943</td>
<td>THE UNITED NATIONS</td>
<td>John Foster Dulles, Lawyer; chairman, Commission to study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace of the Federal Council of the Churches</td>
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<td>of Christ in America</td>
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<td>James T. Shotwell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Elmer Davis, Director of the Office of War Information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>June 26, 1943</td>
<td>PEACE THROUGH WORLD TRADE</td>
<td>Thomas Watson, President, International Business Machines Corp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Eric Johnston, President, United States Chamber of Commerce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>July 3, 1943</td>
<td>MAKING THE WORLD SECURE</td>
<td>Rear Admiral Harry E. Yarnell, U. S. N. Retired</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Clyde Eagleton, Professor of International Law, New York University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>July 10, 1943</td>
<td>ALTERNATIVES FOR WAR</td>
<td>Senator Claude D. Pepper, of Florida, Committee on Foreign Relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Quincy Wright, Professor of International Law, University of Chicago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Henry A. Atkinson, General Secretary, Church Peace Union and World Alliance</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>for International Friendship through the Churches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>July 17, 1943</td>
<td>FOOD AND HEALTH IN THE FUTURE</td>
<td>James Patton, President, National Farm Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Frank Boudreau, Chairman, United States Nutrition Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Esther Caukin Brunauer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>July 24, 1943</td>
<td>WORLD PROBLEMS OF LABOR</td>
<td>Matthew Woll, Executive Vice-president, American Federation of Labor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>James Carey, Secretary General, Congress of Industrial Organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Carter B. Goodrich, Chairman of Governing Body, International Labor Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>July 31, 1943</td>
<td>THE WORLD OF SIGHT AND SOUND</td>
<td>Francis Harmon, Executive Vice-chairman, War Activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Committee of the Motion Picture Industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>James Lawrence Fly, Chairman, Federal Communications Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>David Sarnoff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>August 7, 1943</td>
<td>EDUCATION FOR FREEDOM</td>
<td>Willard E. Givens, Executive Secretary, National Education Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>George F. Zook, Director, American Council on Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Virginia Gildersleeve, Dean, Barnard College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>August 14, 1943</td>
<td>JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS</td>
<td>Justice Owen Roberts, United States Supreme Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>John W. Davis, Lawyer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Judge Manly O. Hudson, U. S. Member, Court of Inter'l Justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>August 21, 1943</td>
<td>THE ROLE OF THE AMERICAS</td>
<td>Nelson A. Rockefeller, Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dr. Leo S. Rowe, Director General, the Pan-American Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Archibald MacLeish, Librarian of Congress</td>
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<td>August 28, 1943</td>
<td>THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES</td>
<td>Sumner Welles, Under Secretary of State, Introduced by</td>
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<td>William Allan Neilson, Past Pres. Smith College</td>
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What kind of world do we want, after the war?
What kind of world do YOU want?

Next to winning the war, building now for the post-war future is the most important single task confronting the citizens of the United Nations. If it is to be a truly democratic world, every citizen should have a chance to hear the leaders, understand the issues, and take part in the decisions that will affect him, his family and his country for generations to come.

Radio offers a vast, modern medium for bringing outstanding issues before the whole people. Leaders in every phase of international thought and endeavor—science, education, government, industry, finance, labor and many more—have been devoting countless hours to studying, exploring, discussing our present and future. They are ready now to bring forward their knowledge, their authority, their experience to point out the limitless possibilities of the future for which this war is being fought.

So that the nation may be informed at first hand of what is being done to prepare for the critical years ahead, NBC's Inter-American University of the Air has arranged a series of 26 weekly broadcasts, starting Saturday, June 5, 1943. The series,"FOR THIS WE FIGHT," is presented in cooperation with THE COMMISSION TO STUDY THE ORGANIZATION OF PEACE, which will be primarily responsible for the first 13 programs, and THE TWENTIETH CENTURY FUND, under whose aegis the second group has been organized. The programs will feature the International problems of post-war readjustment, and in the second 13, Domestic issues. An outline of the first section is presented in this folder. Details of the second cycle will be announced at a later date.

Copies of the program transcripts, containing also reading lists and discussion questions for further study, will be made available to interested listeners by the Commission and the Fund. Comment on the views presented by the speakers on the programs and suggestions concerning the objectives, approaches to the problems, etc., and particularly reports of conclusions reached in study and discussion groups will be welcomed by cooperating organizations.

A WORD ABOUT

THE NBC INTER-AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF THE AIR

Inaugurated in the summer of 1942 by the National Broadcasting Company, The Inter-American University of the Air is the first endeavor in network history to provide systematic subject-matter instruction in a carefully balanced variety of subjects, correlated with existing classroom instruction in universities throughout the nation. As an experiment in the field of higher education for the millions, it is hoped that the Inter-American University of the Air may have far-reaching and permanent influence upon both the structure of popular education and the development and maintenance of international understanding, friendship and cooperation.

COMMISSION TO STUDY THE ORGANIZATION OF PEACE

Established in November, 1939, under the chairmanship of James T. Shotwell, The Commission to Study the Organization of Peace is sponsored by a group of national organizations. The Commission has two fundamental purposes: a) under the direction of its Studies Committee, the preparation of studies of the problems relating to the organization of peace, and the publication of reports based thereon; and b) the furtherance of popular education on the problems, under the guidance of its Education Committee.

The Commission is now composed of more than 100 persons, experts in their respective fields. There have also been organized fifteen regional or local Commissions, which bring to the overall program the viewpoints of all parts of the country and which participate in the educational work.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY FUND

The Twentieth Century Fund was established and endowed in 1919 by the late Edward A. Filene, who dedicated it to broad goals of human welfare. The Fund now functions as an institute for research and public education in economics. The entire income from its endowment is devoted to studying the chief economic questions facing the American people.

Fund activities are supervised by a Board of Trustees made up of leaders in education, business, government and the professions. Usually a special research staff gathers the facts and a special committee of qualified experts uses the findings as a basis for recommending constructive programs for action.

Today the Fund is using virtually all its resources in surveys, reports and educational activities on post-war and reconstruction problems as its contribution to victory in the war and to a lasting peace.
June 29th, 1943

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Mr. Dullea:

I hope that you are quite recovered and out and about again.

I have been reading some of the advance memoranda prepared for the Princeton Conference. One that gives me some concern is Mr. Ernst Meyer's essay on Germany. Who, by the way, is Mr. Meyer? I must confess that it seems to me that he puts up a number of false premises. Then, when he has knocked them down, considers he has done a satisfactory job.

I am wondering whether Mr. Meyer is to be your only authority in this field. Do you, by any chance, know Mr. F. W. Foerster, the author of "Europe and the German Question"? He is in New York at 1751 Riverside Drive. I was with him on a discussion panel which the Library of Congress arranged to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the burning of the books in Berlin and though that he had an extremely useful grasp of problems of education in Germany.

Mr. Haslam very much enjoyed his visit with you in New York and I do feel very grateful to you for letting him come to see you in the hospital. He is on the point of going back, so may turn up again for a word with you before he takes off, either in New York or perhaps in Princeton itself, if you will allow this.

I hope that we are going to see Mrs. Dulles in Princeton.

Yours sincerely,

John Foster Dulles, Esq.,
72 East 31st Street,
New York, N. Y.
June 25th, 1943

Dear Mr. Dulles,

Would you be good enough to let us have one or two complete sets of the Reports of the Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace, published in booklet form. You very kindly sent us several copies of Report No. 3 published in February and we would be grateful to receive the first two and any later Reports which may have appeared.

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]

Secretary to
Miss McGeachy

John Foster Dulles, Esq.,
The Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace,
237 Fourth Avenue,
New York, N. Y.
Miss Craig McGeachy
British Embassy
Washington, D.C.

My dear Miss McGeachy:

I am taking the liberty of enclosing herewith a clip sheet of editorial opinion occasioned by the publication of the six "Pillars of Peace" formulated by the Federal Council's Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace.

I am encouraged to believe you will be interested in this clip sheet since you attended the luncheon at Rockefeller Center on March 18th, at which time Mr. Dulles briefly analyzed the policies embodied in the "Pillars of Peace".

Sincerely yours,
SIX PILLARS OF PEACE

By WILLY PHILIP SIMMS

WASHINGTON, March 26—Congress and the White House are likely to hear a great deal about the pugnacious program for American leadership in world collaboration released today—a cautioning address for the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

In the council's own summary, "the program would commit the United States to collaboration within six vital areas:

(1) Political collaboration—efforts to promote world peace and good will are to be supported by the United States, and to this end the council has endorsed the program of the United States in the United Nations and the United Nations economic and social organization.

(2) Economic collaboration—efforts to promote world peace and good will are to be supported by the United States, and to this end the council has endorsed the program of the United States in the United Nations and the United Nations economic and social organization.

(3) Cultural collaboration—efforts to promote world peace and good will are to be supported by the United States, and to this end the council has endorsed the program of the United States in the United Nations and the United Nations economic and social organization.

(4) Social collaboration—efforts to promote world peace and good will are to be supported by the United States, and to this end the council has endorsed the program of the United States in the United Nations and the United Nations economic and social organization.

(5) Religious collaboration—efforts to promote world peace and good will are to be supported by the United States, and to this end the council has endorsed the program of the United States in the United Nations and the United Nations economic and social organization.

(6) Technical collaboration—efforts to promote world peace and good will are to be supported by the United States, and to this end the council has endorsed the program of the United States in the United Nations and the United Nations economic and social organization.

The program for collaboration is to be based on the following principles:

(1) The United States is to be committed to the realization of the aims of the United Nations and its agencies.

(2) The United States is to be committed to the realization of the aims of the United Nations and its agencies.

(3) The United States is to be committed to the realization of the aims of the United Nations and its agencies.

(4) The United States is to be committed to the realization of the aims of the United Nations and its agencies.

(5) The United States is to be committed to the realization of the aims of the United Nations and its agencies.

(6) The United States is to be committed to the realization of the aims of the United Nations and its agencies.

The council believes that these principles are essential to the preservation of peace and the realization of the aims of the United Nations and its agencies.
CHURCH COUNCIL CALLED PACIFIST

Refusal ‘to Actively Further the War Effort’ Charged by New Organization

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PITTSBURGH, April 27—The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America was charged here today with refusing to renounce a tradition of pacifism and actively further the war effort, by officials of a newly formed organization seeking national leadership in the field of Protestant theology.

The assertion that “the pacifistic Federal Council, through its general commission on Army and Navy chaplains, has dictated the appointments of Army and Navy chaplains” was made by Dr. Arthur T. Williams, pastor of the First Baptist Church of New York City at the semi-annual meeting of the American Council of Christian Churches.

Dr. Williams stated further that because of the Pacifist viewpoint, which he alleged has been furthered by the Federal Council for many years, this organization is falling short of supplying its quota of chaplains to the armed services.

Only a dozen delegates were present for the opening session of the conference this afternoon but about 25 more were expected to arrive later from various parts of the United States and Canada. The American council group, formed a little more than a year ago, seeks to win organized Protestant Church groups away from the Federal Council, to which it ascribes “Modernist and Marxist” as well as Pacifist tendencies.

Dr. H. McAllister Griffiths, executive secretary of the American Council, in a discussion of the Christian relation to war and pacifism, declared that the fundamental teachings of Christianity do not indiscriminately condemn war, and he attacked the Federal Council for what he termed its failure, even a year after Pearl Harbor, to place itself militantly on the side of United Nations’ victory over the Axis.

Instead, he charged, the Federal Council recently adopted a cautious resolution declaring that it was not indifferent to the outcome of the war and now, he said, the Federal Council, “although refusing to aid in victory, is claiming the right to help write the peace.”
COMMERCIAL DEPARTMENT STAFF

Miss E. Golding (American) Stenographer, 1803 Hillman St.

Mr. L. Horton, Messenger, 223 S Street

Miss W. Hulburd, Mendota Apts., 2220 - 20th Street

Miss L. Johnston, Stenographer, 1430 Chapin Street, N.W

Miss A. Mahoney, Stenographer, 3510 Garfield St.

Miss M. Marchbank, Stenographer, 2138 California St.

Miss Enid Martin, Registry Assistant, 1853 Newton St., N.

Mr. Reginald Milburn, Assistant to the Commercial Adviser, 3700 Massachusetts Ave.

Miss E.R. Napier, M.B.E., Commercial Registrar, 2205, California Street, Apt. 304
My dear Miss McGeachy:

In line with your suggestion, I am glad to enclose ten copies of our Commission's statement, and also three or four mimeographed copies of my address.

I greatly enjoyed seeing Mr. Eden at luncheon, and also the opportunity of seeing you again.

Sincerely yours,

Miss Craig McGeachy,
British Embassy,
Washington, D. C.
My dear Miss McGeachy:

I have just added a postscript to my invitation to Mrs. Reid for the luncheon on March 19th asking her to bring you along if she can. I think you would find it interesting.

Sincerely yours,

John Foster Dulles

Miss Craig McGeachy,
British Embassy,
Washington, D. C.
March 10th, 1943

Dear Mr. Dulles,

Thank you very much for your note. I have to go to Nashville, Tennessee between now and the 16th, but I think that I will be able to manage to come to New York on that day and if so shall be delighted to attend your luncheon.

Yours sincerely,

John Foster Dulles, Esq.
48 Wall Street,
New York, N. Y.
February 8th, 1943

Dear Mr. Dulles,

I don't know whether you have met Mr. Core-Booth, Second Secretary of this Embassy, who has recently arrived from Tokyo. Mr. Core-Booth is going to be concerned with studies about various aspects of the post-war problem and is anxious to get into touch with thinking in this country in that field.

Mr. Core-Booth is going to be in New York on Tuesday of next week, the 16th, and I am wondering whether you would be free to lunch with him on that day.

Yours very sincerely,

John Foster Dulles, Esq.,
48 Wall Street,
New York, N. Y.
My dear Miss McGeachy:

I enclose for your information a copy of a letter which I am today sending to Lord Halifax.

It was nice to have seen you in Washington and to have enjoyed the hospitality of your home.

Mrs. Dulles and I received your Christmas card and we reciprocate your good wishes.

I am,

Sincerely yours,

John Foster Dulles
48 Wall Street
New York, N.Y.

(Enclosure)

Miss Craig McGeachy,
British Embassy,
Washington, D.C.
December 24, 1942

The Right Honorable Viscount Halifax,
Ambassador of Great Britain,
British Embassy,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Ambassador:

The Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace, of which I am Chairman, desires to invite Sir Stafford Cripps to come to this country as its guest and at its expense to address a public meeting which we propose to hold in New York in the early spring. The subject of the meeting would be the Christian attitude toward the future peace. We believe that Sir Stafford is peculiarly qualified to bring to this country a message which will both stimulate Christian thinking and action in this country and also show a large measure of solidarity between the Christian thinking of our two peoples.

I have discussed this proposed meeting and invitation with our Department of State and have been assured that if the meeting is held a high official of the Department of State would speak thereat. I understand that this high official would be either the Secretary of State or the Under Secretary of State.

As to the date of the meeting, that could, within reasonable limits, meet Sir Stafford's convenience. However, in order to make the necessary arrangements, we should have at least forty-five days' notice and I accordingly would suggest sometime between the 15th and 31st of March.

I would be very grateful if your Embassy would cable this invitation to Sir Stafford, and I hope you would feel that you could add your personal endorsement of it.

I take this occasion to extend to you my best wishes for the Christmas Season.

Very sincerely yours,

John Foster Dulles
48 Wall Street,
New York, N.Y.
Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to:

Mrs. John Foster Dulles,
72 East 91 Street,
New York, N.Y.

November 14, 1942.

shall come with great pleasure at 6.30

Craig McGeechy
ALL MESSAGES TAKEN BY THIS COMPANY ARE SUBJECT TO THE FOLLOWING TERMS:

To guard against mistakes or delays, the sender of a message should order it repeated, that is, telegraphed back to the originating office for comparison. For this, one-half the unrequired message rate is charged in addition. Unless otherwise indicated on its face, this is an unrequired message and paid for as such, in consideration whereof it is agreed between the sender of the message and this company as follows:

1. The company shall not be liable for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for non-delivery, of any message received for transmission at the unrequired-message rate beyond the sum of five hundred dollars nor for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for non-delivery, of any message received for transmission at the required-message rate beyond the sum of five thousand dollars, unless agreed to be paid, unless a greater value is stated in writing by the sender thereof at the time the message is tendered for transmission, and unless the required-message rate is paid or agreed to be paid, and an additional charge equal to one-half of one percent of the amount by which the higher valuation shall exceed five thousand dollars.

2. The company is hereby made the agent of the sender, with the power, at the sender’s request, to forward this message over the lines of any other company when necessary to reach its destination.

3. Domestic messages and incoming cable messages will be delivered free within one-half mile of the company’s office in towns of 5,000 population or less, and within one mile of such office in other cities or towns. Beyond these limits the company does not undertake to make delivery, but will, without liability, at the sender’s request, as agent and at his expense, endeavor to forward or make delivery of such messages to such places as are reachable by rail or express service and not over eighty miles.

4. The company shall not be liable for damages for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for the non-delivery, of any message, whether caused by the negligence of its servants or otherwise, beyond the sum of five thousand dollars, at an amount each message is tendered to be paid, unless a greater value is stated in writing by the sender thereof at the time the message is tendered for transmission, and unless the required-message rate is paid or agreed to be paid, and an additional charge equal to one-half of one percent of the amount by which the higher valuation shall exceed five thousand dollars.

5. No responsibility attaches to this company concerning messages until the same are accepted at one of its transmitting offices; and if a message is sent to such office by one of the company’s messengers, he acts for that purpose as the agent of the sender.

6. The company to deliver free, to any Western Union telegraph office in the United States, the company’s office in New York, and its office in Chicago, if a message is sent to such office by one of the company’s messengers, he acts for that purpose as the agent of the sender.

7. The company shall not be liable for damages or statutory penalties in any case where the claim is not presented in writing to the company within sixty days after the message is filled with the company for transmission; provided, however, that this condition shall not apply to claims for damages or overcharges within the purview of Section 416 of the Communications Act of 1934.

8. It is agreed that in any action by the company to recover the cost for any message or messages the prompt and correct transmission and delivery thereof shall be presumed, subject to rebuttal by competent evidence.

9. Special terms governing the transmission of messages according to their classes, as enumerated below, shall apply to messages in each of such respective classes in addition to all the foregoing terms.

10. No employee of the company is authorized to vary the foregoing.

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INcorporated
R. B. White, President

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Messages sent in sections during the same day.

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Birth of a Child

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Kiddiegrams (No 35¢ rate)
"Thank You" telegrams

TELEGRAMS OF SENDER’S OWN COMPOSITION (first 15 words)

ASK ANY WESTERN UNION OFFICE OR AGENCY FOR FULL INFORMATION
November 4th, 1942.

Dear Mr. Dulles:

I know your great concern and that of your Committee on Post-War Reconstruction, with problems of the Far East, and so I am sending to you someone who has shed a good deal of light upon this area for us. He is Mr. Guy Wint who has lately returned from spending two years in China and India. I know that he will interest you very much and feel sure that he will also be helpful.

Yours sincerely,

MCMcG:EO

John Foster Dulles, Esq.,
46 Wall Street,
New York, N.Y.