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On the Threshold of WORLD ORDER

Headline Series

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

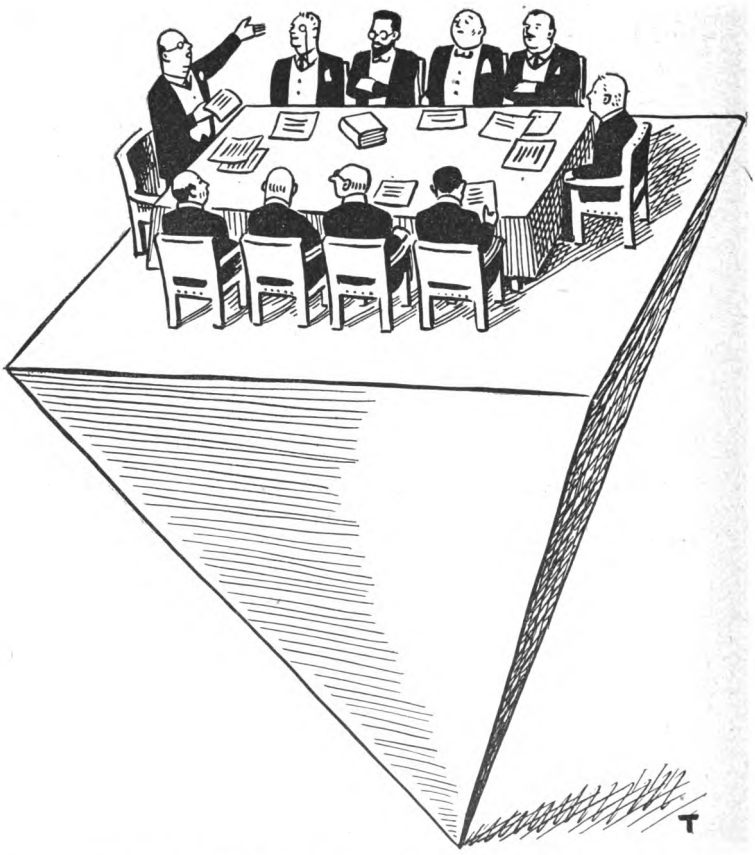
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NUMBER 44 JANUARY 1944

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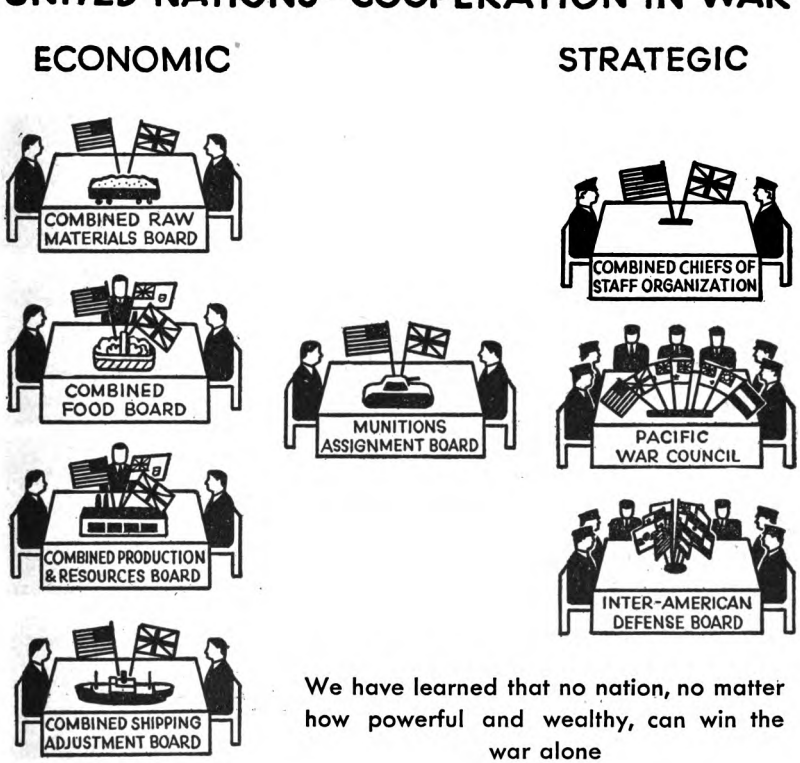
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Unless we build on a firm foundation, high-sounding phrases about "international cooperation" will only lead to dangerous disillusionment

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and workers. We need not only the vast factories of the United States, the great land armies of Russia, the striking power of the British and American fleets and air forces, the endurance of Chinese soldiers. We also need the ships of Norway, Greece and Holland; the heroism of Polish fliers, Yugoslav and Greek guerrillas, Czech and French workers who sabotage the German war effort; the strategic raw materials of Brazil, the Belgian Congo and Mexico; and so on down the never-ending list of war "musts."

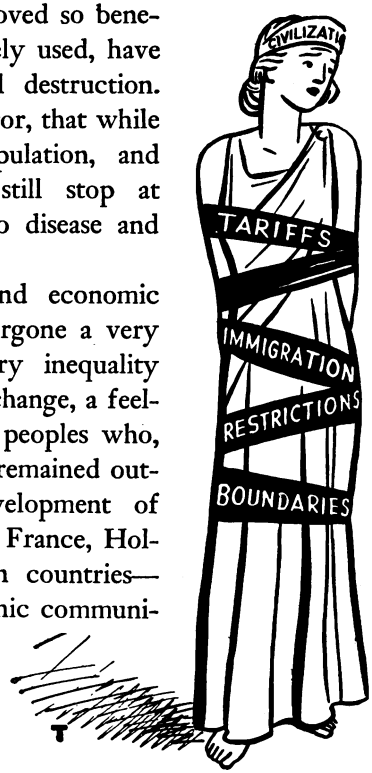
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witches to help them or burned them at the stake for helping others, slowly began to wonder whether there was such a thing as witchcraft after all. The more they thought, the less they believed in it—and in time most of them came to the conclusion that the world was moved not by incantations or magic, but by forces which could be scientifically studied and eventually harnessed by human beings to serve their needs. Almost overnight, as human progress is measured, men passed from a period of belief in witchcraft into what we call the era of rationalism. So we, too, may wake up some day and realize that the concept of national



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Meanwhile, because of the emphasis on sovereignty, the political institutions of international society have lagged far behind the progress we have achieved in technology, trade, and communications. Politically, nations still live in the eighteenth century. As a result, the benefits humanity could have derived from the technological development of our times have been limited because their spread has been blocked by boundaries, tariffs, and all kinds of other restrictions inspired by concern for the maintenance of "national sovereignty." Yet—and this is the most tragic paradox of all—the very technological inventions which could have proved so beneficial to mankind if constructively used, have been turned to tasks of lethal destruction. We have discovered, to our horror, that while trade, and movements of population, and scientific advancement, must still stop at frontiers, war does not, nor do disease and social unrest bred of war.



Because of these political and economic restrictions, the world has undergone a very unequal development. This very inequality inspires discontent, a desire for change, a feeling of resentment among those peoples who, for one reason or another, have remained outside the main stream of development of Western civilization. In Europe, France, Holland, Belgium, the Scandinavian countries—all of which were close to oceanic communications, and so not entirely locked in by territorial barriers—have become advanced states with a highly developed

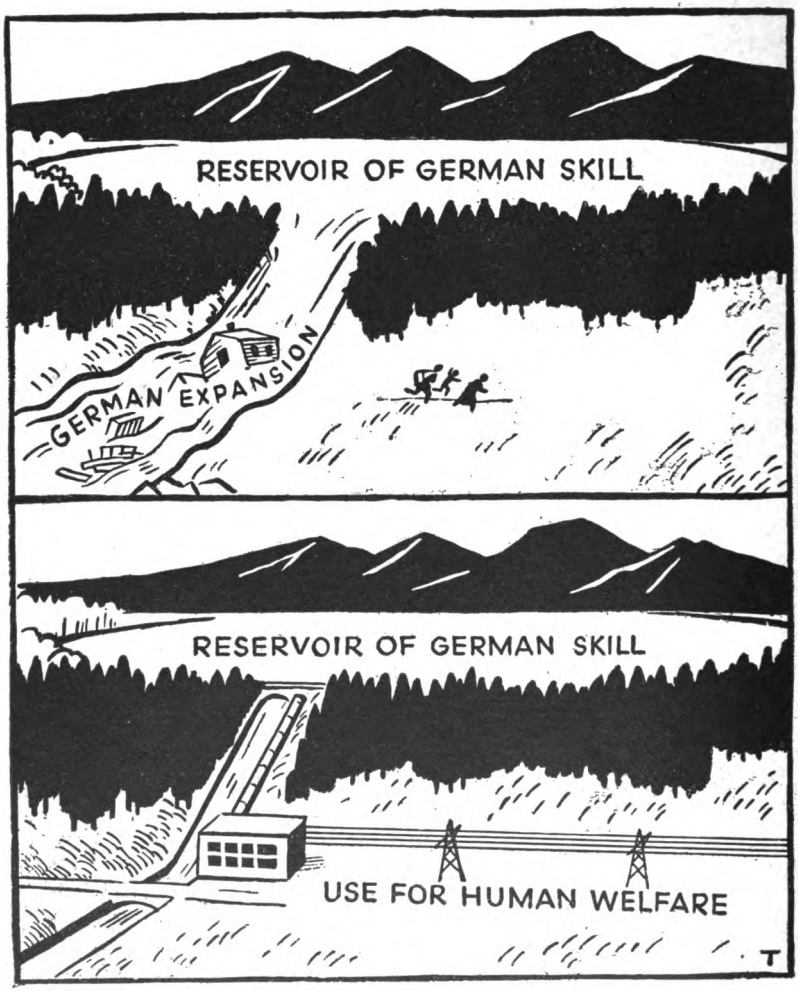
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enormous losses of men and material they have suffered in this war.

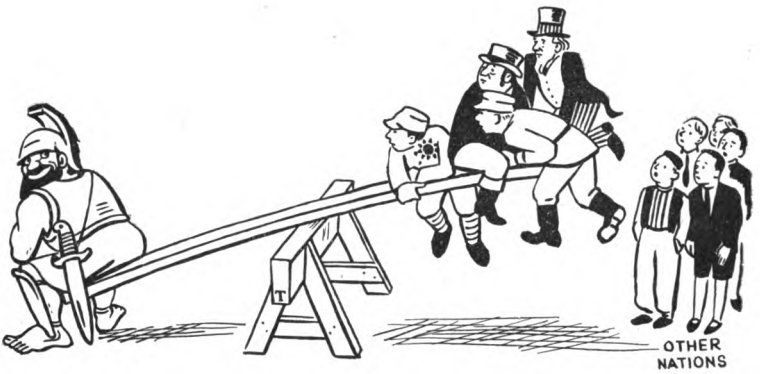
Russia might hope to achieve security single-handed, by creating along its western border a group of states closely linked to the U.S.S.R. either through actual membership in the Union or through treaties of mutual aid, and dictating the political and economic system they should have. It is difficult to believe that such a course would guarantee the security of the Soviet Union, since the other great powers would then have reason to try to destroy its dominant position by every means at their disposal. Under these circumstances, moreover, the independence of the nations bordering on the U.S.S.R. and the individual rights of their citizens would be cast overboard on the plea of assuring Russia's security.

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We must utilize German skills for constructive purposes.

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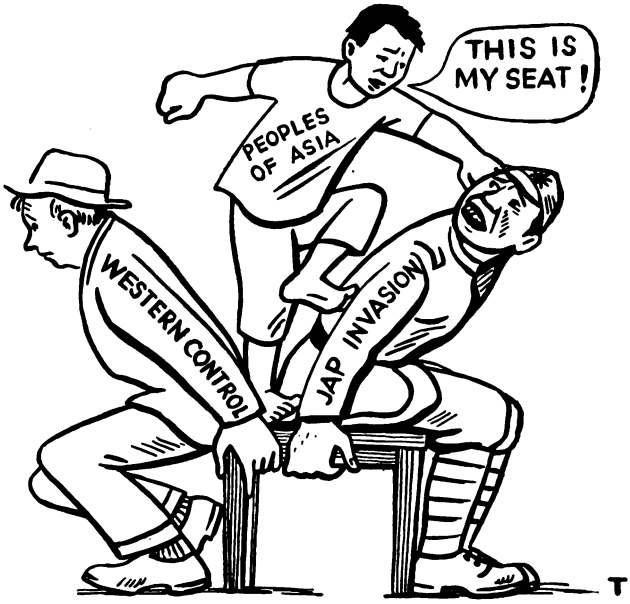


mans and Russians, or iron out all difficulties among Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Over many, many years there have grown up between them a multitude of frictions which may seem trivial to us, three thousand miles away, but to them are a matter of life and death. Yet there is no reason why every people in Europe—no matter how large or small—whether the Ukrainians, 40 million strong, or the handful of Ruthenians living in Czechoslovakia—should not each speak its own language, practice its own customs, cherish its own religious beliefs, as long as it does not insist on identifying its national culture with territorial units hedged in by boundaries and tariff barriers.

PITFALLS OF SELF-DETERMINATION

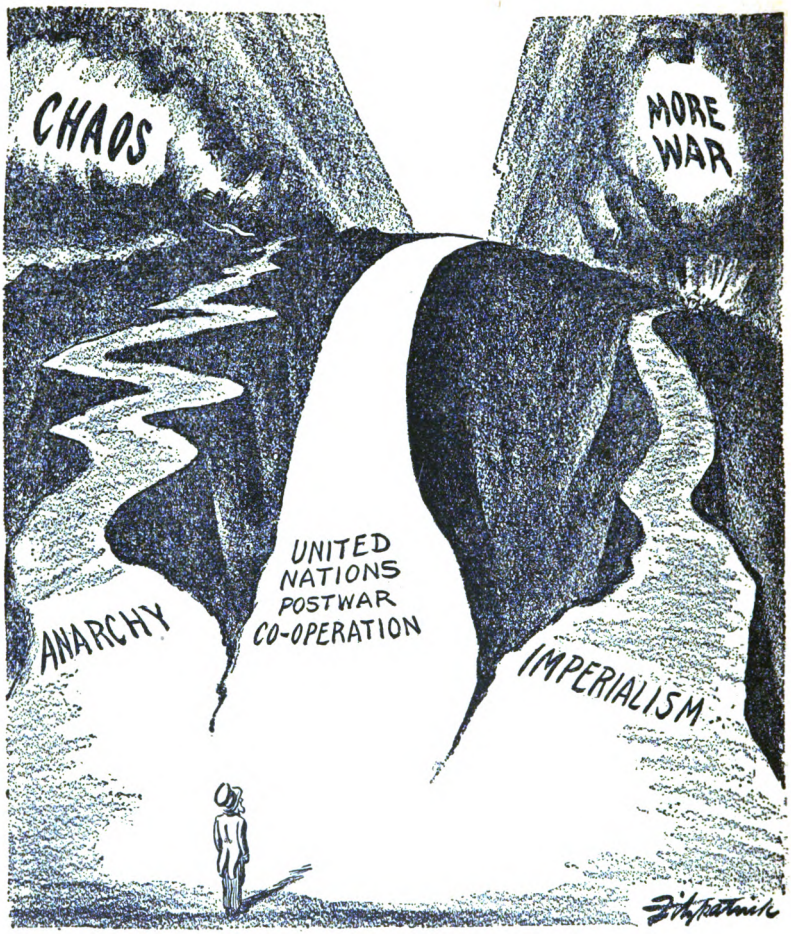
The idea of self-determination of nations, which played so important a part in the Paris peace settlement of 1919, when the Allies recognized a reunited Poland, the new state of Czechoslovakia, and an enlarged Yugoslavia and Rumania, was correct in that it tried to give each national group an opportunity to express its preference as to the way of life it would like to pursue. But it was a mistake to assume that this could be done only

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But just as we cannot exclude Germany from Europe, neither can we exclude Japan from the Orient. Nor can we deprive Japan, any more than Germany, of the possibility of maintaining a livelihood by destroying its industry or barring it from markets abroad. Japan has a stake in the Far East, just as Germany has in Europe. Like Germany, however, it has no right to oppress the peoples of that area, and bring the sword and the noose along with trade. Before the rest of the world can live at peace with Japan, the internal situation in Japan must be basically altered through the disappearance of those groups which favored expansion, and used the Japanese people as an instrument in their designs. Such a change cannot be effected without the aid of the Japanese. For us to overthrow the military clique without the cooperation of the Japanese would be to create a vacuum in

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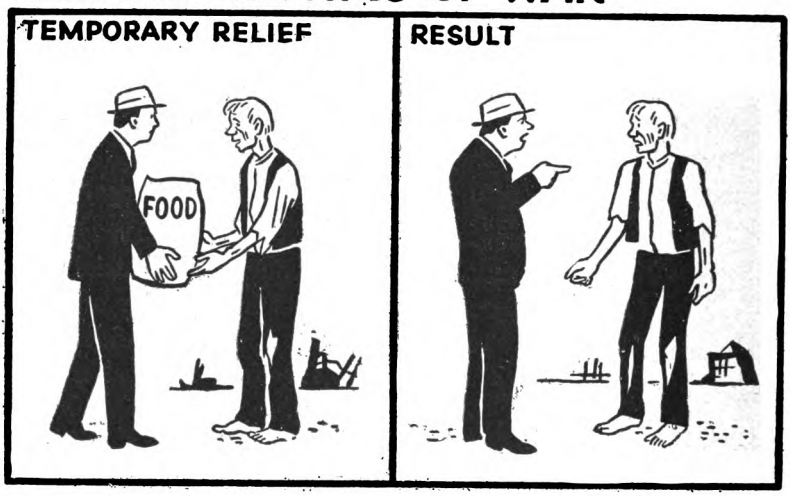


ONLY ONE BRIGHT TRAIL, UNCLE

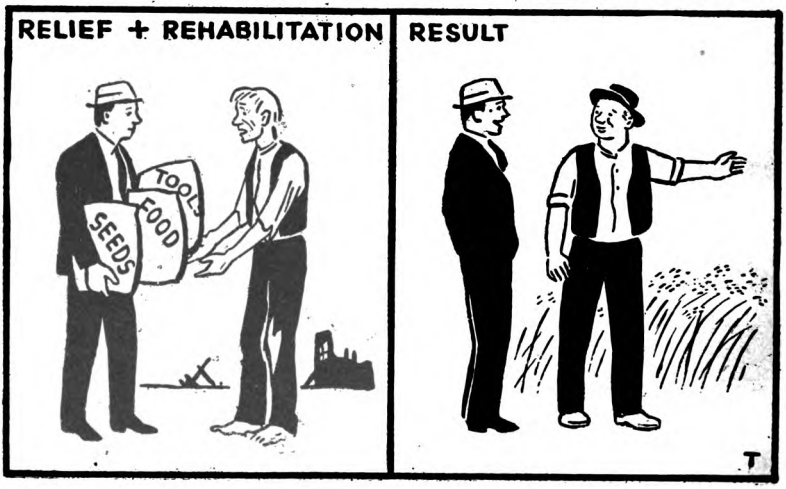
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HELPING VICTIMS OF WAR



HELPING THEM TO HELP THEMSELVES



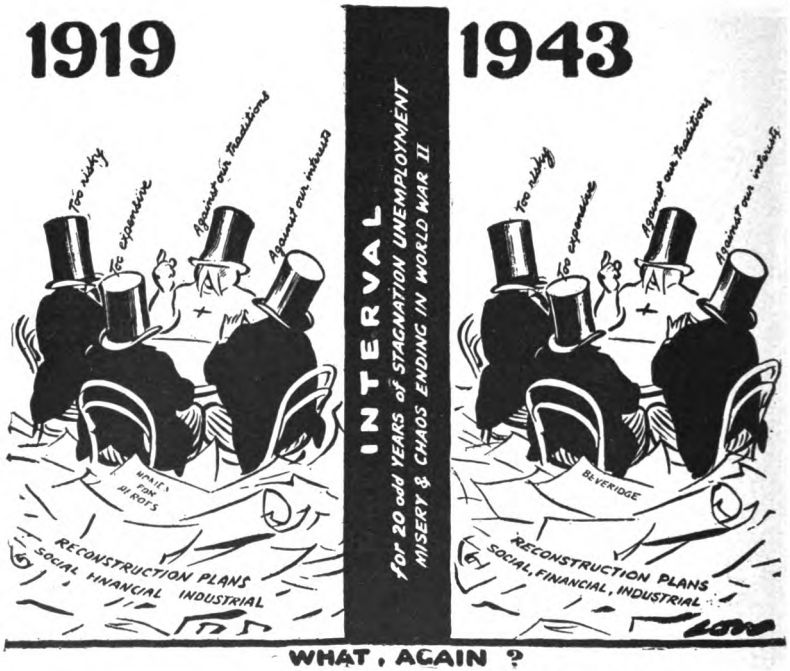
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the war is over? Shall we once more turn exclusively to the Malay States and the Dutch East Indies for rubber and tin, abandoning the development of these products we have helped to finance in Brazil and Bolivia—or continue to encourage their production, perhaps on a reduced scale? Shall we look the other way while Latin America suffers an economic collapse far more disastrous than that through which it went after World War I? Shall we remain unconcerned if this collapse leads to a social crisis in Latin America, resulting perhaps in revolution?

Or shall we feel that, having started to help the Latin Americans to develop their agriculture and light industries in time of war, when this served our interests, we must keep on? By doing so we may hope that, as their standard of living rises and illiteracy diminishes, they will pass more or less peacefully through the transition from backward agricultural economy to an economy combining modern agrarian methods with the production of consumers' goods. It is, of course, much more easy, and again more glamorous, to proclaim ourselves our "brothers' keepers" when

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spend anything at all we must first produce the national wealth. But this production does not mean merely the investment of money. What it means, first and foremost, is the use of labor, managerial ability, and scientific inventiveness for productive purposes. So the question boils down to this: Do we want after this war to devote our labor, skill, and ingenuity to the development of an economic system that will provide human beings everywhere with a chance to attain a minimum standard of living, even though some of us may personally gain far less financially than in the past, and all of us may have to put up with some dis-

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