

# A Guide to the Literature on Post War Planning II

By VIRGINIA D. PARKER

In the preceding issue of PUBLIC AFFAIRS, Mrs. Parker has reviewed some of the more important books devoted to problems of post-war reconstruction. In the second part of her article she speaks about some further books on the subject which have been published since. She also discusses the work of research organisations, government and private, which has been carried out along similar lines.

### III

Remarkably different in style and approach to the problem of peace, the four books described below are in striking agreement on certain fundamental points. Each contains a plea that plans be made ready for immediate action upon cessation of hostilities and a demand for education of the public as to the issues at stake. Each would prefer an interval between the end of fighting and a final peace treaty. Each puts forward a scheme for some form of international organization, with real authority to back up its pronouncements. Each recognizes that absolute sovereignty must go. All are agreed that the conquered leaders must be punished severely for their crimes, but that conquered peoples must receive fair and equal treatment.

The professor of Political Philosophy and Sociology at Columbia University, Robert Morrison MacIver, has provided for the layman a profound discussion in a style that is forthright and easily understood. His new book, *Towards an Abiding Peace*<sup>1</sup>, makes clear that war is an out-moded political institution, disliked and dreaded by the vast majority of men. There are no real causes of war—only causes of dispute, which lead to war when it is the accepted mode of settling disputes. War, in Mr. MacIver's opinion, can and should be replaced by new international institutions which will do away with artificial frontiers now dividing people from people and communities from communities.

EDITOR'S NOTE: Mrs. Parker is Editor of the *Public Policy Digest*, the excellent publication of the National Planning Association in Washington.

The primary price of a genuine peace is a psychological one: we must change our attitudes toward our ex-enemies. "If you want an abiding peace . . . you must not set up conditions that the vanquished nations will bitterly resent for generations to come . . . you must put welfare of the whole above the immediate advantage of the part." A political price is the abandonment of the out-moded idea of sovereignty, which in our modern civilization is refuted by every Federal State and every written constitution.

Peace is shown to depend upon international law which in the past has been only a set of conventions and partial temporary agreements, unenforced by any authority. A real international law must be dependent upon international police, and the police power requires complete national disarmament. Mr. MacIver proposes an International Confederation, organized into Executive, Legislative and Judiciary branches, with a Constitution guaranteeing civil and political rights similar to that of the United States. An International Equity Commission would "explore conditions" and "submit proposals on policy to the Executive and the Legislative branches."

In *Economic Peace Aims* Oswald Dutch<sup>2</sup> also emphasizes that the psychological and political, as well as the economic aspects of the peace must be carefully considered before the end of war. Unless the peoples of Europe are assured that they will have security in peace-time,

1. *Towards an Abiding Peace*, by Robert Morrison MacIver. New York: Macmillan 195 pp. \$2.50.

2. *Economic Peace Aims, A Basis for Discussion*, by Oswald Dutch. Toronto: Edward Arnold and Co. 280 pp. \$4.00.

there is grave danger that they may be absorbed into extremist politics. While dictator governments and their supporters must be punished, the conquered peoples should receive equality of rights with the victorious nations. He proposes that the numerous states of the Continent be united into a European Commonwealth of Nations, with guaranteed autonomy for individual member states. This European Commonwealth should be united in a political and economic alliance with the British Empire and the United States, with other territories joining in the economic plan if they are willing to accept its stipulations. All continental frontiers and their restrictions shall be abolished.

The basis of Mr. Dutch's world economic plan, once these political and psychological premises are accomplished, should be that: "Every man who can work and is willing to work shall have the right to find paid work at all times." To that end an international commission for the procurement of work—with powers to see that there are sufficient projects to absorb labor—should be established. Freedom of movement must be granted to subjects of all the Continental States, the British Empire and the United States, and tariff and trade restrictions eliminated. The Commonwealth must have a common currency, which for a limited period should be supervised by the British Empire and the United States. World production must be planned to meet world consumption, with consumption increased throughout the world, and unexploited, productive regions opened up on an international basis.

Mere international cooperation, as represented by the League of Nations, is bankrupt. This is the conclusion in *Five-Year Peace Plan*<sup>3</sup>, by Edward J. Byng, who states, "No real cooperation among nations is possible if any one government can walk out on any vital issue, defy the rest of the world, and dynamite peace." Our only hope for

the future lies in thinking and acting *supra-nationally*, above nationalism. Mr. Byng's attitude on nationalism may well be the logical outgrowth of 32 years of active experience in world affairs: in international journalism, in historical research, the study and teaching of international relations and of both oriental and occidental philosophy

Mr Byng is emphatic in his belief that there should be at least a five-year interval between the cessation of hostilities and a formal peace treaty. His plan is specific and direct. Before we can "freeze post-war conditions in a formal treaty" we must have prepared a definite and coordinated peace program ready to apply, watch it in operation, readjust and improve it by trial and error. In turn the author takes up: the immediate post-war measures; the machinery of his five-year plan; its political, economic and spiritual aspects; "The Union of Nations" (constitution, status and operation of a proposed joint, permanent post-war organization); and a year-by-year time schedule for the Plan.

C. J. Hambro, the leader of the Norwegian Conservative Party since 1926 and presiding officer of the Norwegian Parliament, is president of the League of Nations Assembly. His *How to Win the Peace*<sup>4</sup> describes the kind of organization we may reasonably hope for, and goes into the subject of how we are to progress gradually from a preliminary, imposed peace, dealing only with the physical situation, to a final negotiated peace to determine the political and economic world structure. He believes that a universal organization is essential. No mere blocs, such as Continental Unions, a European Union, or a Union of Democracies, could solve the problem. Regional organizations are in order, but not unless they find a place within a universal framework. The problem of an international police force should be postponed until the scope of the future world organization is agreed upon.

3. *A Five-Year Peace Plan: A Schedule for Peace Building*, by Edward J. Byng. New York: Coward-McCann. 184 pp. \$2.00.

4. *How to Win the Peace*, by C. J. Hambro. Philadelphia: Lippincott. 384 pp. \$3.00.

It is immaterial, according to Mr Hambro, whether the future world organization is called a League, Federation, or anything else. Isolationist opposition will prevent its acting as a true world-government. It will remain a union of governments, financed by States, rather than a direct union of individuals. Nevertheless, changes should be made in the direction of greater individual responsibility and protection of individuals, with a universal Bill of Rights, individual accountability before an International Criminal Court for wrongs committed in the international sphere, admission of individuals as well as States before a Permanent Court of International Justice (thereby reducing the need for States to intervene). Judicial settlement of international disputes should be made compulsory.

The World Organization, proposed by Mr. Hambro, should have two houses, one giving equal representation to all States, the other having representation from States in proportion to population, resources, and other relevant considerations. Delegates should have authority to make binding decisions without ratification and should represent important opposition parties as well as governments.

L. Corey believes that the biggest job before us is the attainment of an economic democracy. As a result of reactionary and monopolistic elements of our society the economic elements have been so weakened that democracy's total breakdown is imminent. In *The Unfinished Task*<sup>5</sup>, the author invites co-operative discussion on the problems of economic reconstruction for democracy. Socialism, Fascism and Communism are examined and are rejected as solutions to the problem. Instead he believes that economic reconstruction will involve definite constitutional rights and powers that provide a check and balance for industry, management, labor and government. State power must be brought into play while changes required to bring

about a new economic balance are being made, but after those changes are carried out, the State's power should be progressively limited. Basic elements in an economic democracy, Mr. Corey concludes, are: public corporations (converted monopoly corporations) largely independent of government and of each other; independent business enterprise, strengthened by democratization of monopoly; free farmers; independent consumer and producer cooperatives; and free labor unions independent of management and of the State.

#### IV

So far only publications of individual authors have been discussed. An even larger part of the work on post-war reconstruction originates from *group research* conducted by official, semi-official and private agencies.

The two Canadian organisations which have made the greatest contribution in that field are the Canadian Institute of International Affairs<sup>6</sup> and the Canadian Association for Adult Education.<sup>7</sup> Together they have brought out the pamphlet series *Behind the Headlines*. The Institute has to its credit a number of valuable books previously reviewed in PUBLIC AFFAIRS, and the pamphlet series *Contemporary Affairs*, of which the last volume deals with the treatment of post-war Germany. The Canadian Association for Adult Education brings out the well known series *Food for Thought*.

In the United States group research is more specialized than in Canada. Some organisations devote their publications mainly to problems of international cooperation—such as the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace,<sup>8</sup> the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace,<sup>9</sup> the Foreign Policy Association,<sup>10</sup> the Free World Association,<sup>11</sup> the Institute of Pacific Relations,<sup>12</sup> and

6. 3 Willcocks Street, Toronto

7. 198 College Street, Toronto.

8. 405 West 117th Street, New York and 700 Jackson Place, Washington.

9. 8 West 40th Street, New York

10. 22 East 38th Street, New York

11. 44 West 42nd Street, New York

12. 129 East 52nd Street, New York

5. *The Unfinished Task*, by L. Corey. New York: The Viking Press. 314 pp. \$3.00.

the Graduate School of Political and Social Science of the New School for Social Research in New York.<sup>13</sup> The latter organization is publishing a long series of studies on social and economic controls in Europe, on contemporary political and legal trends, and on future problems of peace. Most of them will appear in the School's quarterly, *Social Research*.

Other research groups are doing valuable work on international problems studied in conjunction with the formulation of post-war programs for the United States, and still others are working on specific problems in vital areas of the national economy.

The National Planning Association, 800 Twenty-first Street, N.W., Washington, is conducting its research program on many fronts. A "Joint Statement," issued by the Association's special Committees on Business, Labor and Agriculture, recognizes the combined responsibilities of each of these economic groups in planning realistically for full employment, not only for the United States but for all the world. These Committees examine proposals of other groups, evaluate them, and also conduct original research and make recommendations on national and international problems. Among NPA's other projects is a continuing study of the development of world resources, which has resulted to date in reports on "International Development Loans," "The Post-War Industrialization of China," "War and Our Latin American Trade Policy," "The Economic Pattern of World Population," "Regional Resource Development," and "For a Better Post-War Agriculture." The first in a series of international relief and reconstruction studies has been published under the title "Relief for Europe." Still other publications deal with strictly domestic problems. Among these are "Urban Redevelopment and Housing," "When Demobilization Day Comes," and "Business Reserves for Post-War Survival." The first in a new series on transportation problems, "The Outlook

for Domestic Air Transport", has been issued recently. As a part of its service and information activities, NPA publishes a monthly *Public Policy Digest* which reviews the more significant government and private publications currently available on war and post-war problems.

The Twentieth Century Fund, 330 West 42 Street, New York City, is surveying the post-war plans of governments and organized groups in the various United Nations. Lewis L. Lorwin who is undertaking this study, is the author of two related reports published by the National Resources Planning Board in Washington: "National Planning in Selected Countries," and "International Economic Development: Public Works and Other Problems." The Fund recently published a useful discussion manual entitled "Wartime Facts and Post-War Problems," which is designed to summarize the profound economic changes brought about by the war and the leading problems which the world is likely to face when the war is over. A revised edition of an organizational directory, "Post-War Planning in the United States" lists nearly 150 governmental and private organizations located in the United States which are now working on post-war problems. In addition to these activities the Fund is continuing its research on such problems as housing, collective bargaining, and the relations between the electric power industry and the government.

Many more Government reports are available on specific domestic problems than on international plans. The National Resources Planning Board, in the executive office of the President, has had the responsibility for encouraging and coordinating domestic governmental planning, and for preparing recommendations for national post-war policy. This agency, no longer in existence because Congress refused to appropriate funds for its work, unquestionably has been responsible for the greatest number of significant reports on post-war problems issued by the U. S. Government. How it is to be replaced, and what is to happen

13. 66 West 12th Street, New York.

to the unpublished studies which were in process is still a question, and an anxious one. Reports already published may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents in Washington.

The most important recent report of the Board, "National Resources Development Report for 1943," consists of three parts. Part I, "Post-War Plan and Program," presents in summary the many principles and suggestions which have been enlarged upon in the Board's earlier reports, but applies them more directly to the reconstruction periods. It covers plans for transition from war to peace, plans for developing a long-term expanding economy, plans for services and security, and a survey of plans for action by State and local Governments, and by regions.

Part II, "Wartime Planning for War and Post-War," describes the Board's current planning for the full use of our national resources, explaining the origin, evolution, and procedures of the Board, and giving in useful, summary form a clear picture of the work of the various divisions of the Board on such problems as human resources, our man-made resources, our land, water and minerals, and our institutions.

Part III, "Security, Work, and Relief Policies," (the so-called American Beveridge Report) consists of the scheme of all-in social insurance against interruption and destruction of earning power and for special expenditures arising from birth to death. The proposals contained in this report have been discussed by Dr. Evelyn Burns in the summer issue of PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

Supplementing the larger reports of the Board, a number of short pamphlets deal with post-war plans. Included among these are: "A Post-War Agenda", "After the War—Full Employment", "After the War—Toward Security", "The Future of Transportation", and "Better Cities".

There are many agencies outside the Federal Government which are preparing objective reports on particular segments of the economy, but which are also valuable

sources of information regarding other work which is being done in their fields. For example, in agriculture, the Department of Economics and Sociology at Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa, is concentrating on a study of wartime farm and food policy, and has issued a series of nine pamphlets on this subject. The Food Research Institute, Stanford University, California, is engaging in research concerning food production, trade, consumption, and prices. Its current publications are all directed toward problems of post-war food relief and agricultural reconstruction.

On the other hand, the Committee for Economic Development, Department of Commerce Building, Washington, was set up to help private industry, on a company-by-company basis, find jobs for the demobilized forces and war workers after the War. Although it has received the blessing of the Secretary of Commerce, this new organization is entirely unofficial and is financed by private business. Various descriptive leaflets are available from the Committee, as well as a handbook for employers, "Preparing for High Levels of Employment and Productivity." Also working on post-war plans with private industry and local groups are several sections of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington. Its Committee on Economic Policy has begun issuing a series of Post-War Readjustments Bulletins primarily concerned with domestic problems. It has also published a "Summary of Various Current Proposals for Post-War International Economic Action."

Two important reports on post-war education contain a number of specific suggestions for the establishment of an international agency for education. They are: "Education and the People's Peace," by the Educational Policies Commission at 1201 16 Street, N.W., Washington, and "Education and the United Nations," by a Joint Commission of the Council for Education in World Citizenship and the London International Assembly, published by the American Council on Public Affairs, 2153 Florida Avenue, Washington.

These studies are the result of collaboration by educators representing almost all of the United Nations.

Finally, the valuable publications coming from the League of Nations and, last but not least, the International Labour Organization, must be mentioned. We are lucky to have these two organizations for the duration on this continent and the contributions which they have made to the discussion of reconstruction take, more than has been the case in the

past, cognizance of the conditions in the Americas.

This by no means exhausts the list of organizations which have offered valuable suggestions for post-war action. For example, much important work is being carried on by agencies which have as their major purpose the education and encouragement of an informed public opinion. The value of such work cannot be overestimated. Without public knowledge and use all post-war research becomes futile.

## The Effect of Health Insurance on Scientific Medicine

By HUGH CABOT

MUCH of the discussion which has gone on over Health Insurance has been confused and has shed heat rather than light upon the problem. One of the causes of confusion has been a failure to define our terms and hold before ourselves a clear picture of the problem.

It is implicit that the main problem is the reasonably symmetrical distribution of modern scientific medicine to the whole population. But what is modern scientific medicine? It is the medicine which has been able to develop and use the discoveries of science which are applicable to the prevention or management of disease. It owes its existence to organization which has brought the scientist, the laboratory investigator, the clinical investigator and the practising physician into close contact.

### The Growth of Scientific Medicine

At an earlier day the pure scientist pursued his abstractions in almost complete isolation. During the same period there grew up what we now call the great voluntary hospitals beginning as adjuncts to the poor house where the almost purely empirical medicine had little traffic with science. But gradually the scientists

and the physicians got together. Hospitals developed laboratories where the application of science to the diagnosis and treatment of disease found opportunity for growth and where the chiefly scientific investigator was brought in contact with his brother who was rather ineffectively treating disease. But this development was not pure accident. The grouping of scientific investigators and physicians under one roof was inevitable from the start. The authorities in charge of these institutions had two problems. They must make the work of their medical staff as effective as possible since, by custom, these gentlemen were not paid and had to earn their living elsewhere. But they also had an economic problem since they were not well-supplied with funds and they had to make their funds work for a living. These principles are important since they lie at the basis of much of the discussion in which we are now engaged. The intimate association of the scientist, the scientific investigator, the clinical investigator and the practicing physician is the only way to keep medical practice reasonably abreast of scientific knowledge and to provide the opportunity for its broad application to the patient. Thus knowledge and its application were steadily brought into a useful conjunction. Here progress was made, standards set and

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