

A Guide to the Literature on Post War-Planning 1

By VIRGINIA D. PARKER

I

DESPITE the conflict about post-war planning in the United States—who is to plan and for what—a few basic assumptions are slowly, but clearly emerging. This is a people's revolution and the peace must assure the four freedoms for all, with an end to all the inequalities which brought about this war. Many writers and speakers express concern because the people do not seem to know what they are fighting for. Others are certain that they do know, and that this war can best be won if the people have some reasonable assurance that they will actually get what they are fighting for.

More than a year ago, Milo Perkins, Executive Director of the United States Board of Economic Warfare, had this to say: "The plain people of this earth know what they want in the post-war period. Above all else they want to be *wanted*; they want a chance to work and be useful. They want an income which will give them enough food and clothing and shelter and medical care to drive the fear of want from the family fireside. And they want these simple things within a society that guarantees their civil liberties. The plain people will be understanding about the problems of readjustment. They will work hard for all this and they will walk any reasonable roads to these ends. But the chains have snapped. The one thing they won't do is to take "no" for a final answer to their cry for full employment. Not after all this suffering; not when they see themselves surrounded later on by too much of what they need most and yet might not be able to get. Idleness, be it of men or money or machines, will be the one unforgivable sin of the post-war world."

Mr. Perkins pleads for faith in the future. "Once that is re-awakened in us as a people, a thousand and one individuals will come forward with a thousand and one business-like projects for making a mass production economy work." Whether or not faith in the future has been attained, the thousand and one projects are coming forth. Bookshelves are bulging with proposals for peace-time. Almost every public speaker has some reference to make to the post-war period, and on every cracker box an exponent of a pet post-war theory holds forth.

This is as it should be. However for the hard-working, tired people who want to know what their future prospects are, the sheer quantity of materials is more and more discouraging. The public is being hammered at by its law-makers and government officials, economists and writers, radios and newspapers, even its comic strips, but the people want to make up their own minds about the post-war world and how it should be run.

This listing is presented purely on a take-it-or-leave-it basis. It attempts to offer a guide to some of the more representative, far-sighted statements which have appeared in the last few years in the United States and Canada. The sources, in general, have been selected for one of two reasons: They indicate a general agreement on the problems which must be faced, while approaching the solutions of these problems from different points of view. They have been among the most popular publications among members who come for guidance on post-war proposals to the National Planning Association's Information Center. In addition to the titles of reports, a number of organizations and official agencies which can provide specialized information on various subjects are briefly described.

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

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A post-war plan must take into account world, national, community and individual interests and needs. It must be based on a clear understanding of historical backgrounds, of long-range trends, of the close relationship of war-time changes to the future, and, above all, must be based on a realistic acceptance of what actually can be accomplished. The authors of the books described here have the experience and training which creates an understanding of the need for this multiple approach to post-war planning.

Economic Consequences of the Second World War,¹ by Lewis L. Lorwin, was published in 1941. In the rapidly growing body of literature on post-war reconstruction, this book still deserves a leading place. It is the result of twenty years of study and observation, both in the United States, where the author was one of the founders of the American planning movement and of the National Planning Association, and in Europe where from 1934 to 1939 he was economic adviser to the International Labour Organization at Geneva. Mr. Lorwin does not attempt to blueprint the future. He puts the Second World War in the frame of world history, against the contrasting background of Nazi and democratic doctrines and institutions, with an exposition of the alternative consequences of a Nazi or a democratic victory. Here is an objective survey and analysis of socio-economic post-war policy, concluding with the author's outline of a "World New Deal" as a starting point for practical action.

J. B. Condliffe, author of *Agenda for a Post-War World*,² also writes from long experience in international relations. Now professor of economics at the University of California and Associate Director of the Division of Economics and History of Carnegie Endowment for

International Peace, he was formerly on the staff of the League of Nations and has taken part in the principal economic conferences of recent years. Mr. Condliffe believes that what the United States does, or does not do, will largely determine the pattern of future international relations, and emphasizes especially the need for an increasingly large campaign of public education and debate in preparation for peace. His agenda expands and extends the principles of the Atlantic Charter, and suggests means for their implementation. Attention is given to the political basis of economic cooperation, as well as to such subjects as social security, the disposal of agricultural surpluses, debt and demobilization, repayment and reparations, international economic development and commercial policy. The author, pointing out the need for learning from past mistakes, urges the continued use of war-time procedures and mechanisms in the demobilization period.

In *Economic Union and Durable Peace*³ Otto Tod Mallery also considers the extension of the functions of existing national and international institutions. His plan for achieving union, based on the projection of the principle inherent in the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Program, is flexible. Such a plan does not "depend upon political unification of the world or upon the prevalence of a single form of political organization. Nor does it depend upon world economic unification." Mr. Mallery examines the problems connected with banking facilities, labor standards, raw materials, colonial administration, and international cartels. Brief descriptions of typical plans for post-war world peace are given in a closing chapter.

A somewhat more detailed survey of current suggestions and possibilities is given by Arthur C. Millspaugh in *Peace Plans and American Choices*.⁴ Thir-

1. *Economic Consequences of the Second World War*, by Lewis L. Lorwin. New York: Random House. 510 pp. \$3.00.

2. *Agenda for a Post-War World*, by J. B. Condliffe. New York: Norton. 232 pp. \$2.50.

3. *Economic Union and Durable Peace*, by Otto Tod Mallery. New York: Harper. 183 pp. \$2.00.

4. *Peace Plans and American Choices*, by Arthur C. Millspaugh. Washington: Brookings Institution. 107 pp. \$1.00.

teen concrete plans are condensed, and the arguments for and against presented. Three of these proposals are based on the idea that the United States will adopt a policy of independent action combined with an international outlook. Four deal with limited partnerships or unions, four with regional federations, one with a revival of the League of Nations, and one with a stronger type of international association.

The literature on Reconstruction for Canada is still rather scanty though a number of valuable articles have appeared in periodicals and pamphlet series. This journal has devoted the whole of its winter 1943 issue to the problem. Similar in character is a collection of addresses delivered at the University of Toronto in 1942 and published by the University of Toronto Press under the title *Canadian Post-War Organization*. It contains articles on the use of natural resources, housing, social services and democracy.

A business man's contribution to the literature on Canadian reconstruction is *The Common Problem* by William R. Yendall.⁵ It deals with a dozen of the most contentious issues of Canadian life, giving facts and figures as well as making suggestions for improvement. The main chapters are: The Distribution of Wealth—Capital and Capitalists—Profits—Machinery and Unemployment—Crises and Depressions—Tariffs—Money—Employer and Employee Relations—Post-War Adjustments.

To return to the international field: *Conditions of Peace*,⁷ by Edward Hallett Carr, is one of the most stimulating books which has come out of this war period. The author, professor of international politics at University College of Wales in Britain, was First Secretary of the British Foreign Office from 1933 to 1936. He believes, as others do, that we are in a world revolution, but he does

not believe that it is new. Our failure to recognize the last war as a revolution, and to act upon that fact, led to the present one. International peace, he says, cannot be achieved without facing the fact that the old world is dead and that any attempt to restore it is futile and disastrous. Mr. Carr points out the numerous policy changes which must be effected during the war and outlines a provisional program of post-war policy, taking up such questions as the procedures of peace making, the European unit, relief and transport, reconstruction and public works, production, trade, finance, and a European Planning Authority.

Early in 1942, *Post-War Worlds*,⁸ by Percy E. Corbett, Professor of International Law at McGill University, was published as part of the Inquiry Series of the Institute of Pacific Relations. In this book the inter-war structure and policy of the League of Nations and similar agencies were carefully examined to discover which policies led to failure and which to actual achievements. Attention was given to various new plans for post-war organization and schemes for regional organization. Revisions have now been made and a postscript added to the original edition. The new edition not only analyzes the numerous plans for post-war political and economic reconstruction, but sifts the best features of each, followed by Mr. Corbett's own plan for coordinating these proposals. A particularly useful feature of this study is the relating of Far Eastern problems to those of Europe, America, and the Soviet Union.

One of the angriest books, and a very readable one, is that by Michael Straight,⁹ published shortly before he entered the U. S. Air Corps as a cadet. The author's economic training and experience as a professional writer and editor, has enabled him to express, clearly and forcefully, his hopes for a world desired also by many

5. C. A. Ashley, Editor *Canadian Post-War Organization*. University of Toronto Press. \$1.00.

6. William R. Yendall, *The Common Problem*. The Ryerson Press, Toronto. \$2.00.

7. *Conditions of Peace*, by Edward Hallett Carr. New York: Macmillan. 282 pp. \$2.50.

8. *Post-War Worlds*, by Percy E. Corbett. I.P.R. Inquiry Series. New York: International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations; and Toronto: Farrar and Rinehart. 1943. 233 pp. \$2.00.

9. *Make This the Last War*, by Michael Straight. New York: Harcourt, Brace. 417 pp. \$3.00.

less articulate young men as they start out to war. The theme of "Make This The Last War" is that victory will only come with the attainment of world unity. "The issue is no longer the old world or the new in victory; it is the new world or defeat." Those who do the fighting and dying must know whether the new world is worth the cost of victory. Those who stay behind must also decide whether victory is worth the cost of a new world. Mr. Straight sets forth his convictions on the deep-seated origins of this war, the weaknesses in our war effort, and the requirements for a new world, describing existing international policies and machinery and those which must be established. While he places the responsibility for achievement of world unity squarely on the doorstep of the stronger nations, he emphasizes that each individual must accept his duty to see that his community, his nation, and, finally, the world is run the way it should be.

Similarly, John MacCormac in *This Time For Keeps*¹⁰ says that we are fighting for something better than the status quo.

10. *This Time for Keeps*, by John MacCormac. New York: Viking. 196 pp. \$2.00.

The world revolution is directed toward the full use of the world's resources and a wider opportunity for the common man. And again the revolutionary nature of the war is emphasized by J. Donald Kingsley and David W. Petegorsky, authors of *Strategy for Democracy*.¹¹ Our traditional patterns of human relationships and social institutions are rapidly changing, and the democracies must develop new progressive policies and carry them out during the war if victory over fascism is to be worth striving for.

Hiram Motherwell, in a well-organized, readable book, *The Peace We Fight For*,¹² divides his proposals into two inter-related sections. The first deals with the problems of physical survival and of political stability immediately after the armistice. The second considers the longer-range difficulties involved in the use of force by a super-national power, control of armaments, international government, and measures of over-all security.

11. *Strategy for Democracy*, by J. Donald Kingsley and David W. Petegorsky. New York: Longmans-Green. 342 pp. \$3.00.

12. *The Peace We Fight For*, by Hiram Motherwell. New York: Harper. 281 pp. \$3.00.

Trends in Provincial-Municipal Supervision

By ALAN VAN EVERY

IF a map of Canada is spread out and glanced at while this article is being read, even although the map does not show the number and location of the many Canadian communities designated as "municipalities", the geographic reason for the importance of those local units in the scheme of Canadian government will be apparent.

Yet, listen in while a municipal councillor of Fort William telephones over the long distance to Toronto for advice from

the Ontario Department of Municipal Affairs in respect of the management of lands bought by the city at tax sales; or follow the discussion at an annual provincial convention of county road engineers organized by the Department of Highways; or read a letter from an official of a rural municipality in northern Saskatchewan to a provincial inspector at Regina inquiring about the inspector's annual report on the accounts of the municipality. It will be equally apparent that the legislatures have not restricted their activities relating to local government to making grants of power, imposing duties,

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