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VOL. X

JULY, 1944

NO. 5

BLUEPRINTS FOR TOMORROW

*Second Series*

HARRIET HARDISON ROBSON



THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS  
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HARRIET HARDISON ROBSON



*Published six times a year, October, January, April, May, June, and July,  
by the University of North Carolina Press. Entered as second-class  
matter February 5, 1926, under the act of August 24, 1912.  
Chapel Hill, N. C.*

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## BLUEPRINTS FOR TOMORROW

“I can predict with absolute certainty that within another generation there will be another world war if the nations of the world do not concert the method by which to prevent it.” Woodrow Wilson, Speech, Omaha, Neb., Sept. 8, 1919.

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## CHAPTER I

### THINKING OF WAR AND PEACE

The essence of democracy is free and intelligent discussion of issues important to all people. To have a government of, by and for the people requires something of the people—it requires that they inform themselves, that they think, that they discuss, that they develop opinion, ideas, ideals. To-day in the midst of war, but with victory in sight, it behooves the American people to think of war and its relation to peace, to learn as much as possible what other people think, and to try to move our country toward the kind of peace that will last. We have had, and have, great leaders in this constructive kind of thinking. Woodrow Wilson spent his last strength in an effort to arouse America to a realization that "Justice toward all" must be the basis of peace. To-day the voice of Wendell Willkie still rings, urging his deep conviction that all peoples and all nations are one world. Henry Wallace continues to ask economic security for all men of all races and creeds. And Herbert Agar calls us to reforms, political, social and economic, as tokens of that spiritual and moral foundation we have lost but must find if we want a lasting peace.

Wendell Willkie, in *One World*, describes the problems and accomplishments of the various peoples he visited, emphasizing the inter-relation and interdependence of the nations of the world.

In *A Time For Greatness* Herbert Agar points out the reforms sorely needed if our civilization is to survive.

#### 1. PEACE MUST EMBRACE THE EARTH

*One World*, by Wendell Willkie

Of what value to the individual is a knowledge of how other people live and what they think?

What four things did Mr. Willkie think most needed in the Middle East?

Discuss the three reasons Mr. Willkie saw for Russia's importance to us:

- a. Russia is an effective society
- b. Russia is our ally in this war
- c. We must work with Russia after the war

Describe those two characteristic Soviet institutions, the industrial worker and the collective farm.

What did Mr. Willkie think of the press and educational agencies of the USSR?

State the goals of Anglo-American-Soviet coalition as expressed by Stalin.

What interesting observations did Mr. Willkie make in Yakutsk?

Do you know the terms "extraterritoriality" and "treaty ports" and how they symbolize foreign exploitation to the Chinese?

Which of the Chinese leaders do you think will be significant after the war? Why?

Contrast the five southeastern with the five southwestern provinces of Free China.

## 2. THE PEOPLE'S CENTURY

### *A Time for Greatness*, by Herbert Agar

Think of the reasons that lead Mr. Agar to speak of the war as a "great inevitable tragedy"; do you agree that the way of life of the 1920s and '30s justifies the use of the word "inevitable"?

Can you describe any parallels in the presidential campaigns of 1920 and 1944 as to party platforms and "low politics"?

Mr. Agar says "The idea of equality, which is deep in the American mind, is the idea that brings together most fully our political and moral tradition." Explain what he means by saying that this includes not only equal opportunity to rise, but a "general diffusion of the means of civilization"—health, life expectancy and education.

What is our responsibility to give to the world this spiritual, political ideal of equality?

Does Mr. Agar think the democratic crisis is economic?

To what role would he assign the economic in the nation's life?

What does the author mean by the term "passive barbarism"? What are some of the signs of it in the United States?

What does Mr. Agar's use of the terms "the State" and "the government" mean?

What do you think of the political duties of the people? Do you agree that now is the time "high politics" must be played? What political reforms would you suggest?

### *Additional Reading:*

*The Strategy of the Peace*, by Henry M. Wriston

*The Road to Foreign Policy*, by Hugh Gibson



## CHAPTER II

### THE LOST PEACE

Victory in war does not automatically lead to a peace in which the world can have confidence. One has only to recall the hard-fought battles of diplomacy that resulted in the Treaty of Versailles, and the Covenant of the League, in order to feel acutely the difficulties of reconciling the interests of the various nations. Mazzini said truly that "The morrow of the victory has more perils than its eve." A backward glance at those fateful decades of the '20s and '30s is not more reassuring—those years when only negative solutions were found for issues that clearly called for constructive action. Certainly some of the perils that arose to destroy the last peace will be on hand again. It is only wise to study the past in order to safeguard our future. Macaulay in his *History of England* encourages us with: "But no man who is correctly informed as to the past will be disposed to take a morose or desponding view of the present."

In *Unfinished Business*, Stephen Bonsal gives a first-hand account of the drawing up of the Treaty of Versailles and the Covenant of the League. This account and his discussion of the Senate defeat of American participation in the League are worthy of critical analysis and consideration.

In Part III of *A Preface to Peace* Harold Callendar discusses the world issues that arose in the years between the wars, and the futile and negative policies we produced to meet them.

#### 1. THE PEACE TREATY AND THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE

*Unfinished Business*, by Stephen Bonsal

Do you think "unconditional surrender" will be a more effective basis for peace than was the negotiated peace of 1918?

How did the personality of Woodrow Wilson both hinder and help in making the last peace?

Was a compromise of Wilson's ideals inevitable, in view of the various national interests involved in each question the Conference had to deal with? Consider General Smuts's report for the Mandates Committee as illustrating such conflicting interests.

What about the peace terms imposed on Germany? Should they have been more severe, or did failure come from not seeing them fulfilled?

Do you agree that even at the time the peace negotiations were being

carried on, the fear of communism was a more acute threat to the world than was Germany?

What of the creation of small states such as Czechoslovakia? Is provision for complete independence the best solution of minority problems? What threats to peace arise from the dissection of historic political organizations, such as Austria-Hungary?

Summarize the fight of the Senators against the ratification of the Covenant of the League. Do you think Senator Lodge would have consented to a treaty with the changes he suggested?

Read carefully the Covenant of the League of Nations, appended to Mr. Bonsal's book. Which of the articles would be of value in an international organization for peace following this war?

## 2. DEMOCRATIC FAILURE

### *A Preface to Peace*, by Harold Callendar, Pt. III

Why was the Spanish war, though spoken of as a civil war, really an international one?

What was the basis of our non-intervention policy in Spain, and what was the criticism of it?

Why does the author speak of the Spanish war as a "Prelude" and a "Dress Rehearsal"?

Discuss the author's thesis that the breakdown of Allied unity opened the way for reversion to extreme nationalism and encouraged Germany to recover her military power.

How did the fears and sympathies of Great Britain and the U. S. play into Hitler's hands, giving him courage to flout the terms of the Versailles Treaty, and inviting him to aggression?

In what two ways was Japan helped along her path of future conquest?

What does the author think of the policy of Great Britain and the U. S. in allowing their defenses to shrink to the point they were not able to defend their commitments?

Do you agree that the policy of the U. S. and Great Britain to avoid war at any cost was greatly responsible for the expansion of fascist powers in Europe and Asia? Illustrate with the Manchurian Incident and the Ethiopian Incident.

What was the real significance of the Neutrality Act? Did it make for peace or for war?

Discuss isolationism, its responsibility for the failure of the last peace.

What of "moral suasion" as an instrument of foreign policy?

### *Additional Reading:*

*Pioneers in World Order*, edited by Harriet Eager Davis

*Armistice, 1918*, by Harry R. Rudin

## THE NEW GEOGRAPHY

The world once was small. Then came the great days of exploration and discovery when Columbus, Cabot, daGama and Cortez added new continents and new seas. They so expanded the boundaries that Magellan required three years to circumnavigate the globe. In our day the developments in communication and transportation have seemed to contract the world. There are no far places now. In 1931 Post and Gatty circled the globe in less than nine days and now a modern bomber could do it in less than three days! Once the known world *was* small, now we have so conquered distance that our great world seems small again. Since there are no far places there must not be any strange peoples. The new geography is global and concerns not only lands and seas, but these in relation to man, to commerce and to politics.

Roderick Peattie in *Geography and Humany Destiny* describes the place of men and nations in their geographic environment, and furnishes the background for many of the problems we are considering.

*Mainsprings of World Politics* by Brooks Emeny is an excellent condensation of the importance of geography to politics. Such a study is absolutely necessary to an understanding of world issues.

## 1. PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT AND PEOPLE

*Geography and Human Destiny*, by Roderick Peattie

Give the author's definition of geography, and keep in mind the reciprocal relation he emphasizes.

In discussing the evolution of man, what part does Mr. Peattie ascribe to geography?

Describe how the nomad became a tiller of the soil, and for what reason commerce arose.

Why was the Isthmus of Suez called "the most important piece of land in the world"? What has been the importance of the Suez Canal in this war?

Regionalism or provincial culture arose when man became fixed. How did commerce, of goods and ideas, break this down?

Discuss at some length the author's ideas about the effect of climate on human psychology.

How does he explain the Renaissance as due to climate change?

What does the author think of "economic regionalism" as determining the psychology of the people? Illustrate.

Give Mr. Peattie's definition of nationalism.

How does he explain the geography of national competition as a cause of the first World War?

Discuss the geography of peace, giving the author's two postulates for an international plan.

## 2. GEOGRAPHY OF POLITICS

*Mainsprings of World Politics*, by Brooks Emeny

Describe the three types of maps and their uses.

We have discussed economic regionalism; apply this to the fact that population centers are limited to less than half the earth's surface, and for the most part lie in the temperate zone.

What is the significance to a nation of its world position?

How does regional position determine foreign policy and so influence any world peace?

The author says that the power of a nation "in the long run is determined by its capacity for industrialized warfare." Explain how this is the possession of the "balanced nations."

What does the author mean in saying "Economically the world is one" and what implication does this have for the peace?

Discuss the four important factors of population: size, technical skill, ethnic make up, and racial minorities—these in relation to their influence on domestic and foreign policy.

The strategic position of a country depends on its boundaries and its size. Size has been most important in China's defense. Which has been the most important to the U. S.? Will this be true of the future of the U. S.?

The world position of the U. S. after the war will force it to face three important considerations. Name them and express your opinion of our international responsibility.

*Additional Reading:*

*The Geography of the Peace*, by N. J. Spykman

*Look at the World*, by Richard Edes Harrison



## BALANCE OF POWER

Before the second World War there were seven world powers—Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia and the U. S. By defeat Germany, Italy and Japan, will be removed from this classification. France lost her world position when she collapsed before the onslaught of German power. China has not been and cannot immediately emerge as a great power. That will leave at the close of the present war only three world powers, Great Britain, the United States and Russia, to write the peace and to maintain it. Though there are casual disputes and friction between Great Britain and America, basically we have so much in common that cooperation is not only likely but natural. There will be interests to adjust, but we can adjust them. Russia is a different matter. We have been isolated from her for so long that there is a great deal of distrust on both sides. This must be cleared up. Our differences must be studied and reconciled. The recent pronouncements of Stalin, on the occasion of the twenty-seventh anniversary of the Bolshevich Revolution, were more conciliatory than any previously expressed, and showed more desire to take part in an international organization to maintain peace. Russia, too, wants a lasting peace. With the same hope and aim activating the foreign policy of Great Britain and the United States, we pin our aspirations for world peace on the three "Super-powers." But we hope also that the new balance of power will be an improvement over what has gone under that name in the past, that it will be free from national greed and aggression, that its strength will be exerted only to maintain the general security of the world.

## 1. WORLD COMMUNITIES

*U. S. War Aims*, by Walter Lippmann

What is Mr. Lippmann's thesis about the security of the U. S.? Explain the Monroe Doctrine, the championing of Chinese territorial integrity, and our two world wars on this basis.

Discuss the threat Germany would have been to us on the Atlantic Seaboard.

What does the author mean by a "strategical system"?



Define the Atlantic Community, explaining how it is a part of the organization of strategic systems.

Within a strategic system what would be the obligation of the big state or states to the small states, and to the community as a whole?

What cooperation of a military and naval nature will this involve?

What co-ordination of foreign policy is necessary within the Atlantic Community in regard to the non-Atlantic Community?

In what respects does the Atlantic Community embody the principles of the Atlantic Charter?

What other strategic communities are foreseen by Mr. Lippmann?

Broadly, what nations would the Russian orbit include?

State our primary war aim as expressed by Mr. Lippmann and give his recommendations for durable peace settlements with Germany and Japan.

Discuss U. S.-Russian relations, the basis on which we can operate, and the issues that might threaten this cooperation.

Read the six war aims as summarized by Mr. Lippmann and express your opinion as to whether they would insure a good peace.

## 2. THE ELEPHANTS OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

*The Super-Powers*, by William T. R. Foxe

What is meant by the term "power politics"?

Do you agree that the peace must realistically be based on the "good" use of power, rather than on some supra-national authority?

Discuss the strategic inter-dependence of Great Britain and the U. S., and the obligations of cooperation this entails.

Describe Russian relations with the U. S. and Great Britain, pointing out that Russian cooperation in the peace is neither to be assumed nor rejected, but achieved.

What price does the author think Russia will ask for her cooperation? Describe the security belt of frontiers she will want.

What are the basic principles on which the three great powers can cooperate?

Will the Super-powers be a threat to the small nations?

Discuss the various possible frameworks in which the three power coalition could work for peace, pointing out the one that would be best.

### *Additional Reading:*

*How New Will the Better World Be?* by Carl Becker.

*Soviet Russia's Foreign Policy, 1939-1942*, by David J. Dallin

## EUROPE AND THE NEAR EAST

Great Britain lies near the European continent and has a European culture. Russia is partly contained in Europe. These two nations are vitally concerned in every European problem. The U. S. lies apart, yet now she too is joined, through membership in the United Nations, to the problems of Europe and the Near East. That they are acute, that they are vital and perplexing, is witnessed by Mr. Bonsall, who was present at the drawing up of the last peace, and whose account of this was studied in Chapter II. The Treaty of Versailles did not solve the difficulties, nor is it likely that any treaty can finally do so. But again the U. S. is going to have a part in the search for solutions, the average American with his vote is going to have his "say-so" concerning the measures to be established for future peaceful adjustment. Americans must gain all possible information about the problems the United Nations will have to face. In Europe and the Near East they are ethnographical, racial, religious, political and economic.

In *The Coming Struggle for Peace* André Visson gives a detailed and competent study of these problems, a clear and objective analysis. Helen Hiatt is more subjective in *No Matter Where*, less the specialist and more the average young person who sees the troubles of Europe as related to the young Europeans who have become her friends.

## 1. PEACE TABLE PROBLEMS

*The Coming Struggle for Peace*, by André Visson

Review the possibilities of Anglo-American discord over foreign markets, merchant marine, civil aviation and empire.

What will Stalin demand for the Soviet in his search for security in Europe?

Discuss the possibilities of *rapprochement* between Russia and Poland, historical causes for their antagonism and mistrust, the quarrel over boundary, the Ukrainian minority.

What is the relation of the Polish Government in Exile to the Union of Polish Patriots?

Why is it doubtful that the Baltic states will regain their independence, and what do you think of the Finnish hopes for independence?

Trace the history of the DeGaulist movement from its birth in Lon-

don after the fall of France to its return to France, pointing out the significance it may hold for France's future.

What two dangers threaten post-war France?

How does the alignment of Scandinavia and the Low Countries with Great Britain in a military alliance, according to the recommendation of General Smuts, fall in with Mr. Lippmann's ideas for the Atlantic Community?

Describe the minority problems of Czechoslovakia.

Yugoslavia's population is Serb, Croat and Slovene. Which of these is represented by Mikhailovich and which by Tito, and what is the background of their opposition?

Do you think that post-war Greece will be a republic or a monarchy? Why?

What was the pre-war Balkan Entente? Do you think it could be restored, and if so might it head a Balkan Federation?

Which of the Arab states are under British influence, which French and which one has recently granted oil concessions to the U. S.?

Describe in some detail the tragic problems of Arab and Jew in Palestine, and how the British have tried to solve them.

How is the post-war political status of Iran important to Great Britain? To Russia?

## 2. THE EYES OF YOUTH

*No Matter Where*, by Helen Hiatt

Of what value would it be to our understanding of Europe and Europeans if more young Americans could live for a while in Europe and have friends of their own age among the various nationalities?

In reading of the failure of our post-war foreign policy there has been the oft-repeated statement that a nation must have military strength to enforce her commitments. In reviewing the mobilization and fortification necessary to maintain Swiss neutrality, do you find this statement borne out?

Express your opinion of the Nazi Labor Camp and of the rule that before entering a profession a certain length of time must first be spent in one of these.

What of Miss Hiatt's conclusion that there is still probity in personal life in Germany, though not in public life? Could personal probity survive the demands made on it by the Nazi state?

Does the remark made at the Fall of France, "There is a new world to reconstruct . . . the barriers are down," express France's historic revolutionary spirit, and portend the establishment of a Fourth Republic as described by Mr. Visson?

*Additional Reading:*

*Permanent Peace for Europe*, by Harry Lewis Braham

*Balkan Background*, by Bernard Newman

## CHINA AND ASIATIC RUSSIA

There is a tradition of friendship between China and the U. S., cherished by the people of the two countries and also by their governments. Since China was opened to the western world a little over a century ago, the U. S. has stood for her territorial integrity. We have also advocated the "Open Door," as indicated first in the treaty of 1844, and later amplified by John Jay in 1899 when he secured recognition of the principle by other nations. These policies have been important in assuring equal trade rights in China to all nations, and in so doing have aided in preventing the division of China by foreign powers or its conquest by one of them. Walter Lippmann points out the importance to the U. S. of a friendly and independent China in his description of world communities, and Nathaniel Peffer demonstrates very lucidly the influence on our foreign, and even internal, policy, of our determination to trade with China, and to trade on an equal footing with other nations. Through most of her recent history China has lain huge and helpless, unable to cope with industrialized and militarized might. She has felt unrest, disillusionment and humiliation, and has been torn by civil war as she struggled to emerge into the modern world. For ten years China alone fought an unequal war with Japan, but fought on. Our entry in 1941 on China's side demonstrated that our national interests in her territorial integrity are to-day what we realized them to be over the hundred years preceding. The peace in the Far East, therefore, must safeguard these interests, and as it has always been to our advantage to have an independent China for our Pacific neighbor, the best peace for China will be the best peace for us. By helping to establish firmly the Chinese nation, we will be carrying out our traditional policy toward her, and we hope and believe will be helping to establish firmly peace in the Far East.

## 1. PEACE IN THE PACIFIC

*Basis for Peace in the Far East*, by Nathaniel Peffer

Trace briefly our relations with China for the past hundred years.

Enumerate the main provisions for a treaty of peace for the Far East.

If the key to the peace in the Far East is a strong China how can the United Nations contribute to this end?



What were the territorial outposts and political special privileges enjoyed by foreigners in China?

State your opinion and give reasons to support it, as to whether, by giving up territorial outposts and political special privileges, the western powers will be deprived of economic opportunity.

Discuss the possibility of post-war China threatening the peace by expansionist ambitions.

What does the author say of the post-war industrialization of China offering "economic deliverance" to the U. S.?

What will be America's future in China?

## 2. CHINA'S DESTINY: 1944

*People on Our Side*, by Edgar Snow

If Russia joins the war in the Far East what issues will be involved?

Russia aided both Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek in staging the Chinese Revolution, and influenced Republican China strongly until Chiang threw out the Communists in 1927. Describe Chinese-Russian relations since that time.

What effect has the assumption by the U. S. of the major part of the war with Japan had on China under the Nationalist party?

How does Mr. Snow support his contention that Chinese economy is run for the benefit of Nationalist leaders?

Read aloud the author's summary of Chiang Kai-shek's book, *China's Destiny*.

Do you see any hope of the dictatorial government of China to-day developing into a democratic one?

Explain the recall of General Stilwell from China as related to the unhappy political and military situation in Chungking.

Should the United States aid the Chinese Communists because they are really fighting the Japanese, as we have helped other partisans who are fighting our enemies—for instance, those under Tito in Yugoslavia?

*Additional Reading:*

*Battle Hymn of China*, by Agnes Smedley

*Siberia*, by Emil Lengyel



## FAR EASTERN EMPIRE

Before the first World War colonies were very simply held, but after 1918 imperial relations seemed irreparably disturbed. The doctrines of Wilson and the ideas of Lenin acted as a yeast to raise among the more enlightened colonial peoples concepts of self-determination, nationalism and democracy. But of all the colonies, those in Asia were least aroused, perhaps because that war was far removed from them and failed to shake the "legend of white invincibility." Not so the second World War! Most of these colonial holdings of the western powers have been conquered by Japan, even India has been threatened, and it is obvious that the legend of white supremacy will never flourish in this area again. Those concepts of Wilson's, voiced again in the Atlantic Charter, have grown strong in South Eastern Asia. The peoples of Indo-China, Burma, the Philippines, the Netherlands East Indies, British Malaya, and British and Dutch Borneo will be as eager for a voice in their government as are the people of India.

Edgar Snow in *People on Our Side* draws one of the clearest, most interesting pictures of India and her strivings for national independence that can be found anywhere. In *Pacific Charter* Hallett Abend travels through the countries of the Far East, and discusses their present problems and their hopes for the future.

## 1. INDIA

*People on Our Side*, by Edgar Snow

Relate briefly the basic facts of Indian geography, government, population, races, literacy, wealth-distribution.

Religion dominates the lives of India's millions, and nine-tenths of all Indians are Hindus or Moslems. Describe:

I. Hinduism: castes; leaders; non-violent civil disobedience; Karma.

II. Mohammedanism: On what points of Hindu philosophy do the Moslems disagree? Who is the Moslem political leader? What is Pakistan?

Characterize the three political parties of British India.

What part of India and its population is ruled by the princes? How are the native states run? Describe some of the princes.

What particular item of the Cripps offer did the Indians resent?

How important in the British-Indian conflict is the Indian resentment of racial and color discrimination? Note that this was also felt keenly in Burma.

What are the prospects of the Congress Party and the Moslem League resolving their differences, and framing a constitution satisfactory to all?

## 2. COLONIES OR STATES?

*Pacific Charter*, by Hallett Abend

In studying Mr. Abend's book bear in mind the conclusions Mr. Pepper came to on the same problems.

How did the U. S. work to prepare the Filipinos for independence? Give details.

Will they be ready for independence in 1946? Will they want it then? Contrast the views of Mr. Abend and Mr. Pepper.

It is generally agreed that Indo-China was badly governed before the war. Should it be turned back to the French in the hope they will reform their colonial methods, or can some other settlement be worked out, some promise of ultimate independence?

Mr. Abend does not think Thailand should be restored as an independent government, Mr. Pepper does. After reading the two opinions what do you think?

The Netherlands East Indies have been promised dominion status after the war. Is this the most they can be given now? Why?

Sketch briefly British penetration of the Malay States, and their post-war status. Why does Mr. Pepper call them an "economic prize"?

Why did the Burmese welcome the Japs and sabotage British defense?

Should the U. S. be willing to assume any post-war responsibilities toward Burma, or any other part of colonial Asia?

*Additional Reading:*

*Until They Eat Stones*, by Russell Brines

*Verdict on India*, by Beverley Nichols

## LATIN AMERICA

Students and writers generally agree that only in our relations with Latin America has the United States evolved a positive foreign policy. In the one hundred and fifty years of our independence we have been sorely afraid of "foreign entanglements," and at critical periods have put our trust in the negative doctrine of isolationism. Yet we have felt, throughout, the importance of our relations with the giant neighborhood to the south of us. The history of these relations, from the enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine to the flowering of the Good Neighbor Policy, is fascinating and important. As we have progressed in hemispheric cooperation we have learned more about Latin Americans—their history, their social, economic and political problems—and they have become better acquainted with us. Now, jointly, we have evolved something that puts hope into all our struggle for world peace, something new and fine, to be cherished and cultivated, a cooperative international system that works! It has served our hemisphere well in these war years, and it may perhaps be the pattern for world cooperation.

Carl Crow's *Meet the South Americans* is an informal but informative introduction to the ten South American nations and their peoples. In *The America's and To-morrow* Virginia Prewitt gives a detailed, accurate study of Latin American problems and inter-American affairs. She leaves her reader deeply impressed with the importance of the Good Neighbor Policy to all the nations of the hemisphere.

## 1. NEIGHBORS ARE PEOPLE

*Meet the South Americans*, by Carl Crow

Survey briefly the geography of the South American nations and the make-up of their populations. Read also what Virginia Prewitt says about this.

Why does Mr. Crow call them "the ten bad neighbors," and what is the cause of this friction among themselves?

Describe some of the economic difficulties of the South American nations and the unsatisfactory ways each nation has tried to solve them.

Contrast Brazil's two leading cities, Rio and São Paulo.

Describe the coffee industry in South America, especially in Brazil and Colombia.

In what respect was the settlement of Argentina different from that of the other nations, and how is it different as to racial make-up?

Explain Argentina as the wealthiest of the South American nations

on the grounds that its colonization was different, and so its economic foundation is different.

What is the basis of the author's statement that Chile is leading her continent in social legislation?

Why is Colombia especially important to the United States, and we so important to Colombia?

Compare Mr. Crow's estimate of German propaganda in South America with that of Miss Prewitt.

## 2. INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS

*The Americas and To-morrow*, by Virginia Prewitt

Describe in detail the colonization of Latin America, emphasizing the fact that for four hundred and fifty years foreign peoples went in not to be free but to get rich on the country, and explaining the influence this has had on political progress.

Trace the development of our foreign policy toward Latin America, from President Monroe's statement of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823 to the development of the Good Neighbor Policy, by describing "Dollar Diplomacy," "The Big Stick," and the various Inter-American Conferences, each with its growth toward further cooperation.

What was the Drago Doctrine, and when was it first promulgated and adopted?

What was the significant accomplishment of the 5th and 6th conferences, further developed in the 1936 conference?

Read aloud the quotations from President Roosevelt's speech at his 1933 inauguration, and from his speech to the Pan American Union that year, pp. 86-87.

How were these promises borne out by Secretary Hull's assurances given to the 7th conference?

The importance of the reciprocal trade agreements cannot be over-emphasized. What was the necessity for them and what have they accomplished, both in increase in hemisphere trade and in hemisphere confidence?

The Convention for the Promotion of Cultural Relations was signed in 1936. Describe at some length the varied activities that have been developed under it.

Trace Mexico's fight to "re-capture" her oil, and explain how this incident was indicative both of the growth of nationalism in Latin American nations and of our new policy toward them.

What are the various ways the United States acted to help Latin America when her economy was shattered by the war?

Describe the many ways we have benefitted, since our entry into the war, by our good relations with Latin America, comparing the present situation with that of the first World War.

Have the good results therefrom justified the huge sums of money spent in promoting the Good Neighbor Policy?

*Additional Reading:*

*America and the Americas*, by Hubert Herring

*Timeless Mexico*, by Hudson Strode



## GERMANY AND THE PEACE

Anyone talking or writing about how enemy countries should be treated after the war lays himself open to criticism on one of two charges: either he is displaying those un-Christian traits of hate, vindictiveness and unforgiveness; or he is too lenient and so opens the way for racial hatred, national greed, and maniacal ambition to throw the world back to barbarism. But on one point all persons are agreed, namely, that future war, if possible, must be prevented. It seems then that such an aim could be the measure of this phase of post-war planning, not punishment of an enemy for gratification of a base instinct, but control of peoples who threaten the life and ideals and progress in civilization of other peoples. If this involves apparent cruelty, it must be regarded in the light of necessity; better the hard restraint of the few than plunder and death of the many. But control is a more difficult task than punishment, it will involve choosing the best measures and sustaining the effort to enforce them. A great quantity of literature on this subject issues to-day from the press to guide us to effective decisions. The problems of Germany and Japan are different, the controls must be different, but the end is to be the same. We know something was wrong about the last settlement with Germany. This time we want terms that will be adequate and we want to be sure they can be enforced.

## 1. GERMAN THREAT

*What Shall We Do With Germany?*, by Bernadotte Schmitt

On what estimate of German character was American peacetime friendliness toward the German people built?

What does Mr. Schmitt say of the German idea of race superiority and of their submissiveness to the state?

Outline briefly the rise of the German state to unity under Bismarck.

Read aloud the teachings gleaned from German writers as summarized in "Conquest and Kultur" and in "What Germany Thinks," quoted on p. 8.

How does Mr. Schmitt explain the rise of Hitler? Read his quotation from Emil Ludwig, pp. 10-11.

What kind of a people or nation will Germany be after the war, when we will be trying to make and enforce the peace?



Discuss the three things the author says must not be done in making the peace with Germany.

What are the four points of the military terms as outlined by Mr. Schmitt?

Why does he think these would be inadequate, and what does he recommend further?

What do you think of a long occupation of Germany by the United Nations?

## 2. GERMAN CONTROL

*The Control of Germany and Japan*, by H. G. Moulton and Louis Marlio

In what respect were the Versailles Treaty and the League of Nations inadequate for maintaining the peace?

Bearing in mind that industrial power means war power, give the four suggested territorial re-adjustment plans to reduce German industrial power, and briefly state the objections to each.

What of the recommendation that key positions in the Rhineland be permanently occupied by military forces?

Criticize the three economic control plans for reducing German industrial power.

Why is it considered possible to enforce peace by the control of minerals? What would be some of the difficulties in applying "mineral sanctions" to Germany?

How could suppression of aluminum ingot production be accomplished? Why is this termed essential?

What control of civil aviation is recommended? How could this be enforced without handicapping Germany economically?

Why are economic controls alone judged inadequate for enforcing peace?

Economic controls as supplementing military controls are regarded as necessary. What military controls would you recommend for Germany?

### *Additional Reading:*

*Lessons of My Life*, by Lord Robert Gilbert Vansittart

*Germany After Hitler*, by Karl Baromans Frank (Paul Hagen, pseud.)

## JAPAN AND THE PEACE

Since Pearl Harbor no American can think of a militaristic Japan except as a threat to our peace and that of the world. It then becomes necessary at the end of this war to see that our Far Eastern island neighbor develops along other lines. The problem of controlling Japan is very different from that of controlling Germany: in some ways it may be easier; in other ways it will be more difficult. We are less acquainted with Oriental civilization than we are with that of Europe, and, partly because we know so little of Japanese economy and her national psychology, the difficulties of finding adequate controls are multiplied. What are the peace terms that will destroy that peculiar Japanese nationalism and her threatening military power, but will enable her to develop an economy of peace?

Willis Lamott in *Nippon, the Crime and Punishment of Japan* analyzes Japanese national psychology and the strange foundations for it in her Emperor-worship and fantastic national polity. For the specific controls that must be applied to assure a pacific Japan the study, *The Control of Germany and Japan*, by H. L. Moulton and Louis Marlio, is concrete, and adequately covers the economic and military aspects.

## 1. JAPAN, THE ENIGMA

*Nippon, the Crime and Punishment of Japan*, by Willis Lamott

Many students of the Far East describe Japan as a psychopathic case. How is this true?

What is meant by the term "decisive decade"? What are its dates?

What are the three currents that merged to produce modern Japan?

Describe the triumph of Traditionalism over Liberalism in politics, and the methods used to bring this about.

How Fascist is Japan? What Fascist ideas are found in Traditionalism?

Japanese national policy is called "Kokutai." What are its principles?

What influence, economic and political, does the principle of "Wa" have? "Musubi"? "Hakko Ichi-u"?

How have Japanese leaders used mythology, religion and racial traditions, as a basis for their national theory?

Describe the place of the Emperor in Japan to-day.

Of what importance and influence is the Imperial Rescript on Education? How has education been abused to support national polity?

What re-action to defeat may we expect from Japan? Of what developments and attitudes must we beware? Re-read Hallet Abend's chapters on this subject in *Pacific Charter*.

## 2. THE CONTROL OF JAPAN

*The Control of Germany and Japan*, by H. L. Moulton and Louis Marlio

Briefly describe Japan's economic position in 1930, as to size, population, occupations, foreign trade, etc.

It has been agreed that Japan will be stripped of her colonies after the war. Will this mean: financial loss to the nation? loss of an over-population outlet? loss of advantageous trade?

How self-sufficient is Japan as to food-stuffs, clothing and strategic materials?

Summarize Japan's economic mobilization for war that began in 1931, both at home and in her colonies.

How will the taking of Japan's colonies and occupied areas be a real control of Japanese war power?

Why do the authors come to the conclusion that the most effective control of Japan in an economic sense would be that of aviation?

Do you think that, as in the case of Germany, the control of Japan must be of an economic and military nature?

What type of military control would you recommend?

*Additional Reading:*

*Ten Years in Japan*, by Joseph P. Grew

*Government by Assassination*, by Hugh Byas

## BLUEPRINTS FOR THE CHURCH

We are particularly fortunate to-day in having many of our political leaders convinced that world order must be built on a moral basis. The United States has Roosevelt, Wallace, Herbert Agar, and many others calling for the brotherhood of man, the rights of the individual, and freedom for all people. The conferences of the United Nations have also supported these principles. And in our time we see the one positive foreign policy our nation has developed, built on the foundation of one's duty to his neighbor. But President Wilson toured the nation a quarter of a century ago preaching these truths, and yet in 1941 we were plunged into a war that denies them all. The conclusion is, of course, that a few leaders with these convictions are not enough, the people must believe and must translate their faith into moral action. The question then arises, how can this belief, this faith in what is right, in those truths first pronounced by Jesus, be cultivated, developed and disseminated? The Christian Church, of course, must play a major role in this. Therefore many Christian leaders are giving thought to the problem of how the church is to meet the demands of the post-war world. When the need for world unity is so great, can the church remain weakened by disunion? When a great faith is needed to energize humanity in a fight for what is good, can the church remain complacent? When social changes that can mean the real equality of man are within our grasp, can the church remain inert? What the world needs from the church is that "outward and visible sign" of its "inward and spiritual grace." But the church is always made up of individuals, and can work only through them.

## 1. CHURCH UNITY

*The New Order in the Church*, by William Adams Brown

Define and describe the Ecumenical Movement.

What is the "New Order" in the church and why is it needed?

The author lists "the primary needs of the post-war world" which the church must supply. Discuss each at some length:

1. The need for renewed fellowship in the church and in the world.
2. The new frontiers for Christian missions.
3. Corporate action and corporate sharing in the church and in the world.



4. The obligation of education, especially Christian education, to contribute to world understanding.

What is the World Council of Churches? On what philosophy of faith is it founded?

Describe the Federal Council of Churches and the need for the development of a National Council to cooperate as a part of the World Council.

Summarize the "program for to-day and to-morrow."

## 2. THE CHURCH IN THE POST-WAR WORLD

*Which Way Ahead?*, by Walter Russell Bowie

What especially do the nations need from the church in this world crisis?

What changes must be accomplished in the church to enable it to meet this world need?

What are the "eternal values" that have given life to the church through the centuries and "win life and loyalty" for it to-day?

Do you agree with Dr. Bowie that the sins the Church is most burdened with are "pride, self-assumption of unequal privilege, false superiority and meanness of soul"?

What is Neo-orthodoxy and what is its threat?

Can war be averted by mobilization of moral forces against that which is brutal and immoral in our civilization? Discuss this.

Read aloud from page 70 the four lessons Dr. Bowie says we must learn.

Give some of the author's ideas of discipline in the church.

Describe the "spiritual orders" Dr. Bowie would like to see used in the church.

*Additional Reading:*

*The Church Looks Forward*, by William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury

*Christianity and Democracy*, by Jacques Maritain



## AMERICA'S RESPONSIBILITY

"The peace of the world cannot be established without America. America is necessary to the peace of the world. And reverse the proposition: the peace and good will of the world are necessary to America."

—Woodrow Wilson, Speech at Sioux Falls, S. D., Sept. 18, 1919.

We have searched the past to find the mistakes that led us into a second World War. We have looked sharply at this new global world inhabited by our generation. We have studied carefully the problems of the various nations and dependencies. We have pondered these things in relation to the United States and in relation to our primary war aim, the making of a lasting peace. And now we see clearly that the time has come for decisions. We are beginning to make them, too. America has a responsibility, and there is every indication that Americans are more clearly conscious of this than they were in 1919 and 1920. We now know from our own experience that isolationism is a defeatist policy. We realize that America must formulate an active foreign policy, one that will bring "the most advantage to the long range interest of its people," one that will be constant, that will not change with changing political administrations, that will look for security in a world organization to maintain the peace. We believe in the "People's Century," in equality, in freedom, and we believe that now is the time to transform our faith into fact. Now is the time for America to work with other nations, as we have already begun to work in the food conferences, in the monetary conferences, and in the conference at Dumbarton Oaks, where the first lines of world organization were drawn. We are now drafting our blueprints for a better world to-morrow.

### 1. NOW IS THE TIME

*The Time for Decision*, by Sumner Welles

Mr. Welles and other students of foreign policy emphasize the point that cooperation for the post-war world must be formulated and implemented now before the war ends. What are the reasons for this?

Of what importance to winning confidence, and support of foreign policy, is Mr. Wilson's "open covenants openly arrived at"? Recall what Mr. Bonsal says about this in *Unfinished Business*.

Compare the plank in the Republican platform for 1920, quoted on page 41, with the one on foreign policy in the Republican platform of 1944.

Does the 1944 plank promise more support of international cooperation and world organization than did that of 1920?

What was Mr. Welles's mission to Europe in 1940? Summarize the impressions and replies he got in the various capitals.

Describe the conference in 1941 that led to the formulation of the Atlantic Charter. Read aloud the Charter, quoted on pp. 176-177.

Discuss recognition or non-recognition of a government used as a coercive measure in foreign policy.

Compare our policy toward Argentina with that toward the Vichy government of France. On what grounds can our policy toward Vichy be justified?

What measures does Mr. Welles recommend to mitigate the discords of Eastern Europe?

Give a brief summary of the history of international cooperation for peace.

Outline Mr. Welles's recommendations for world organizations.

Compare his plan for world organization with that of Mr. Lippmann, and of Mr. Foxe.

## 2. THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

*Proposals for the United Nations Charter*, by Clark Eichelberger

What are the purposes of the World Organization as stated in the draft of the Charter drawn up at Dumbarton Oaks? What are the obligations each member nation must assume?

Name the five major bodies of the United Nations Organization, describing the special function of each.

How will the membership of the Assembly and the Security Council differ? Why is this necessary and wise?

In what respect does the Security Council have power and obligation that the League of Nations so definitely needed and lacked?

Describe the sections of the Charter that deal with regionalism. Do these follow the recommendations of Mr. Lippmann? Point out the importance of this in carrying out our "Good Neighbor Policy."

What is the Military Staff Committee and what will be its functions and obligations?

What are some of the autonomous agencies that have already been set up under the Economic and Social Council?

What were the matters not decided at Dumbarton Oaks? Discuss their possible future solution.

What is the importance and necessity of having the permanent Secretariat entirely independent of their governments?

Summarize what Mr. Eichelberger says about America's role in World Organization. What does Mr. Welles think of this?

*Additional Reading:*

*An American Peace*, by Neil MacNeil

*Foreign Policy Begins at Home*, by James P. Warburg

*An Intelligent American's Guide to Peace*, edited by Sumner Welles

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Bowie, W. R.	<i>Which Way Ahead?</i> 1943. (11)	Harper	1.50
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Hiett, Helen	<i>No Matter Where.</i> 1944. (5)	Dutton	3.00
Lamott, Willis	<i>Nippon: The Crime &amp; Punishment of Japan.</i> 1944. (10)	John Day	2.50
Lippmann, Walter	<i>United States War Aims.</i> 1944. (4)	Little	1.50
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Braham, H. L.	<i>Permanent Peace for Europe.</i> 1944. (5)	Christopher	2.25
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### *First Meeting: THINKING OF WAR AND PEACE*

1. Peace Must Embrace the Earth
2. The Peoples' Century

### *Second Meeting: THE LOST PEACE*

1. The Peace Treaty and the Covenant of the League
2. Democratic Failure

### *Third Meeting: THE NEW GEOGRAPHY*

1. Physical Environment and People
2. Geography of Politics

### *Fourth Meeting: BALANCE OF POWER*

1. World Communities
2. The Elephants of International Politics

### *Fifth Meeting: EUROPE AND THE NEAR EAST*

1. Peace Table Problems
2. The Eyes of Youth

### *Sixth Meeting: CHINA AND ASIATIC RUSSIA*

1. Peace in the Pacific
2. China's Destiny: 1944

### *Seventh Meeting: FAR EASTERN EMPIRE*

1. India
2. Colonies or States?

### *Eighth Meeting: LATIN AMERICA*

1. Neighbors are People
2. Inter-American Relations

### *Ninth Meeting: GERMANY AND THE PEACE*

1. German Threat
2. German Control

### *Tenth Meeting: JAPAN AND THE PEACE*

1. Japan: the Enigma
2. The Control of Japan

### *Eleventh Meeting: BLUEPRINTS FOR THE CHURCH*

1. Church Unity
2. The Church in the Post-War World

### *Twelfth Meeting: AMERICA'S RESPONSIBILITY*

1. Now is the Time
2. The United Nations' Charter

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- \*2. January, 1935. *Adventures in Reading, Seventh Series*. C. S. Love.
- \*3. April, 1935. *Below the Potomac*. M. N. Bond.
- \*4. May, 1935. *Europe in Transition*. Phillips Russell & C. M. Russell.
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