

Regional Force

THERE are two ways in which their responsibilities can be carried out. The first is through the creation of an international police force. The second is through the agreement of the major powers that each will contribute its military, naval, or air strength whenever that becomes necessary to check or prevent hostilities.

I do not believe that the first of these alternatives is either feasible or desirable. It is not feasible because, I believe, no one of the great powers will be willing for many years to come to reduce its own armed strength to a level lower than that of an international police force over which it does not possess full control. And unless an international police force is superior in strength to the military, naval, or air power of any nation, and even to the combined power of several nations, it will serve no practical purpose.

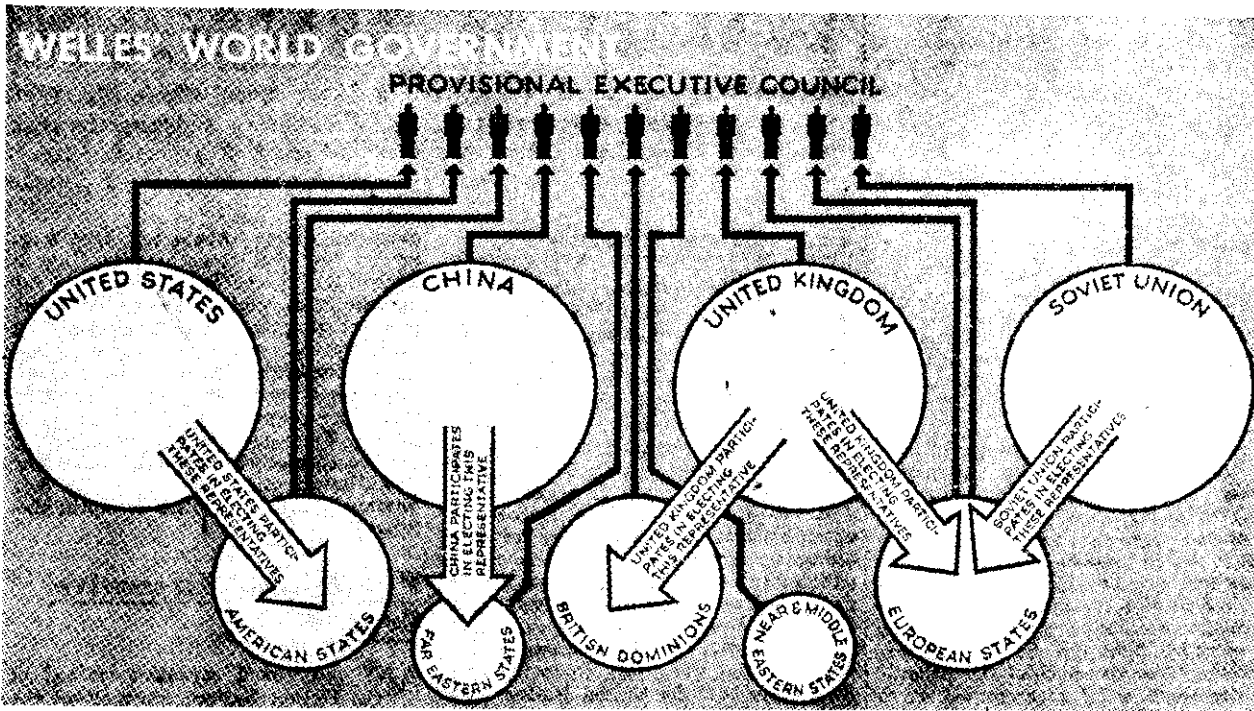
The second alternative seems to me the only practical solution. It would be both expedient and wise, therefore, for the nations within each region to agree upon the manner in which they will make force available, should it be required to prevent the outbreak of war within that area. The plans must, of course, be subject to the approval of the executive council and its security and armaments commission, which will co-ordinate them with whatever overall agreement for world security it may have devised.

From the standpoint of preserving world peace and expediting world order and stability, regional systems have great practical advantages. It is obvious that the states composing each region are far more familiar with their local problems than states geographically distant from them. They are more competent to work out constructive solutions and to take the initial steps necessary to prevent the growth of controversies. Should war break out between two American republics, for example, and should the present pacific methods for the solution of such controversies fail to prove effective, none of the American republics, it must be frankly stated, would willingly see British or Soviet or Chinese troops or airplanes sent to the Western Hemisphere to quell the outbreak. They would unquestionably prefer to try to settle the conflict within their region through the use of a strictly inter-American force, one designated for such a purpose by agreement between the American republics and yet operating in accordance with the provisions of an overall plan laid down by the supreme international organisation.

For very much the same reason, the European nations would not care to have U.S. troops and airplanes used to check hostilities within Europe. It must be also admitted that the people of the U.S. would not be willing to have American soldiers or airplanes utilised whenever a Balkan controversy flared up or whenever minor disputes outside the world areas in which the U.S. is directly concerned required police action.

Colonies—The Acid Test

I BELIEVE that two great moral principles must from the very outset be an integral part of the constitution of even a provisional international organisation.



SUPREME AUTHORITY in Mr. Welles' world government, which would eventually give way to permanent world congress, rests with executive council of 11 members. To allow full scope for continued military action against Axis, the four major powers would have one delegate each in the council. All other United Nations would have a voice in transition from war to peace through regional delegates, in whose election major powers would participate. Each region would have own police force. If a region failed to police itself, the executive council might apply force borrowed from other regions.

The first is the recognition by all nations of the inalienable right of every people on earth to enjoy freedom of religion, of information, and of speech. There can be no peaceful or free world of the future unless every nation recognises these freedoms as human rights. Every government, before it joins the world organisation, should be required to show that its citizens are enabled to enjoy these rights through effective guarantees contained in their national constitution.

The second principle is equal in importance. Hundreds of millions of people at the outset of the present war were under alien sovereignty as colonial subjects of the imperial powers. Can we conceivably envisage a peaceful or stable world if it is to continue, when the war is won, half slave and half free?

The peoples of Asia, of the Near East, and of Africa are waiting to see what the victory of the United Nations is going to mean to them. They will regard the decisions taken by us as an acid test. Unless the forces of nationalism, which are fast growing more and more powerful in all these vast areas of the earth, are canalised into constructive channels, a devastating state of chaos will ensue. The determination of some of these peoples to secure their freedom cannot longer be thwarted.

The international organisation must consecrate in a practical form the basic principle that no nation has an inherent or unlimited right to govern subject peoples. The colonial powers must recognise that their control is to be exercised first of all to prepare these peoples for self-government as soon as they are capable of exercising

this right; and that until they are fitted for autonomy the colonial power will be regarded by the international organisation solely as an administering power—as a trustee—and as such must be responsible to world public opinion through the international organisation itself. Peoples capable of self-government must be given this right by the international organisation whatever their race or colour, or whatever the vested interests of any present colonial power may be.

The United Nations must not evade this problem as the Allied Powers evaded it in 1919 by creating on paper a mandate system and then washing their hands of all further responsibility. No power on earth should again be permitted to ignore the obligation to demonstrate that its control of subject peoples is being exercised to expedite their fitness for autonomy, and that, until such time, its administration of their affairs is primarily in their interest.

The Final Steps

DURING the transition period, the United Nations, through the provisional executive council, should likewise at the earliest moment instal a world court to which justiciable matters could be referred. To the court would be brought international controversies or problems whose solution it would be unnecessary to refer to a political body such as the executive council itself.

The executive council should also prepare the way for the creation of a world congress in which every sovereign state may be individually represented, and in which even the defeated Axis states may have representation as soon as their period of trial has ended and they have had the opportunity to select popular governments.

Only after a period of years, during which peace must be maintained; only after a provisional United Nations executive council and its security and armaments commission have carried out their preliminary tasks; only after a world court and a world congress are functioning; and only after the defeated Axis powers are under control and definitely on the path to regeneration, can, in my judgment, the final steps safely be taken to complete that permanent world organisation which the peoples of the world are seeking.

The Soldier And
The Lady

♦

IT is undoubtedly the thing
to laugh at hapless drunks who sing
and lurch in swaying trams
and splutter incoherent damns.
Tipping forward the feathered hat,
giving the hair a complacent pat,
making a grimace of disgust
as one who under duress must
endure the presence bravely smiling
of some infinitely loathsome thing,
she shrinks away with feigned alarm
and cries aloud—"He's lost an arm!"

HOW annoying after the bridge
afternoon,
the tea and the cakes and the silver
spoon,
to have to sit in the crowded car
and face the thought of this dread-
ful war!
She looks at death in a live man's
face
and says—"These drunk soldiers
are a disgrace!"

T.W.