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BEYOND WAR

An introduction to a series of
leaflets on post-war problems.

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Florence Brewer Boeckel

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National Council for Prevention of War,
1013 Eighteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

BEYOND WAR

In his first radio address to the nation after the outbreak of war, President Roosevelt called upon America to look beyond the war. He said,

"The true goal we seek is far above and beyond the ugly field of battle. When we resort to force, as now we must, we are determined that this force shall be directed toward ultimate good as well as against immediate evil. We Americans are not destroyers -- we are builders."

No one, however firmly he believes the war must be won in order to build the kind of world we want, believes that winning the war will build it. There are, however, two questions in the minds of many Americans.

The answer is that the government itself has set up not one but many agencies to work on post-war plans. The Under-Secretary of State, Sumner Welles, on October 7, 1941, said,

"I can conceive of no greater misfortune than that the people of the United States and their Government should refrain from devoting themselves to the study of reconstruction until the end of the war; than that they should permit themselves to adopt the passive policy of 'wait and see.'"

But can we prepare for what we are going to do after the war when we do not know how the war is going to end, how much power we shall have to do anything or what the conditions will be with which we have to work?

Post-War Influence of the United States

It is true that much of the post-war situation can only be expressed in terms of X, but there are also known quantities with which we can be sure we shall have to deal. Some of these quantities we know from past experience. Some we can foresee insofar as we now see clearly what kind of world it is that we want to build. Some are determined by the character of the crisis through which we are passing.

We know that whether we win the war, as America has set out to do, or whether it ends in a stalemate, or even if we should lose the military conflict in the Far East and Europe, the resources of the United States will be relatively intact and that it will have influence in determining the world's future. Whatever power we have, we shall be able to use to the best advantage only if, when the time comes, we have clearly in mind what we want and what we are ready to do to get it.

Our opponents have a clearly outlined plan for the "new order" which they wish to set up. Insofar as they conquer, they can impose their plan on the rest of the world, for it is a plan intended to be dictated and imposed by force. On our side, granted a complete military victory, even if it were to be won entirely by us, we should not be able to impose our plan for a democratic world, because it is not the kind of plan that can be imposed. To carry it out, we must rely on having

as much voluntary support as possible among the peoples of other nations.

We Must Win Support for Democratic Plans

But we are not fighting this war alone, and even granted victory for our side, ours will not be the only voice in deciding what is to be done when the war is over. At present we do not have the complete support for our plans of the governments of our allies. Our own peace aims have been broadly stated as the establishment of four basic freedoms throughout the world. The Atlantic Charter, which is so far the only official statement of Allied peace aims, does not assure world economic equality, for it allows for preserving the present system of preference among a few countries; it speaks of the right of all peoples to decide their own form of government, but it has been interpreted by the British Government, in spite of strong protests from many people in England, as not applying to India.

We must realize that the changes and sacrifices called for will be much less for us than for Great Britain, yet agreement with England as to the kind of world we want must be accepted as being much easier than agreement, for instance, with Russia and China. Whether or not we can win the full agreement of the governments of the United Nations on post-war policies, we have a better opportunity to do so now while we have a common purpose for which all are working together, than we shall have when the pressure of this common purpose is removed. To win support among the people, either of the United Nations or among those of other nations, our best chance is to prove our sincerity and to prove that we ourselves think our plan is good by daring to act on

it now in fields where we have freedom of action. For these reasons we cannot postpone "for the duration" deciding what we want to do in the period that follows.

**We Need a Plan
And to Act On It Now**

If our victory is not complete, if the war ends in a stalemate, the side which sees most clearly what it wants to accomplish, which has the most carefully worked out plan, will have the advantage. Today, as has been said, the post-war plans of our opponents are more carefully prepared than our own. We cannot allow this situation to continue. Furthermore, if at the end of the war, part of the world is built on one plan and part on another, the struggle between the two ideas will continue. It is safe to say that that one will ultimately prevail which is most firmly established in its own part of the world. At present, our opponents have the advantage at this point, for their own nations are organized in line with their world plan. They are consistent and complete dictatorships. On our side, even our own country is less than completely and consistently organized on the basis of democratic principles. We cannot afford to wait for the end of the war to do all that we can to overcome this disadvantage.

**Belief in Democracy
Must be Strengthened.**

Suppose that we do not win the war -- since to plan for the future it is necessary to take every possible outcome of the war into account -- not only shall we still have some power in the world situation, but the less power we have to put our ideas into immediate effect, the more im-

portant it will be for us to have a firm grasp on those ideas in order that we may hold to them in spite of any force of circumstances tending to black them out. We must ground ourselves in democratic principles now. We must think hard about democracy now. We must consider now why we believe in it. Our understanding must be deep enough to be rooted in acceptance of the spiritual truth that underlies democracy -- the unity of mankind. Otherwise, when the test comes, we shall not be able to hold our beliefs against opposing pressures and in the face of suffering and sacrifice.

A Revolution Calls For Future Planning

There are other reasons why we must do more than fight the war. It is agreed that the crisis through which we are passing is a revolution. A revolution requires planning for a new future. It does not permit a return to the past. This conflict is a revolution because it is not alone a conflict between nations which represent opposing ideas, but a struggle that is going on within every nation and within the mind of each one of us between two ideas that reach back to fundamental conceptions as to the nature of man and men's relation to each other. To win, we must do more than win on the actual field of battle. We must win on those fronts where we ourselves are our own opponents.

Again, if we have not thought beyond the war, then at its end we shall think only in terms of the war. We will make a peace which looks back and seeks revenge instead of a peace which looks forward and endeavors to build. It is not possible during a war to prevent a rise in the spirit of revenge, but if throughout the war we have been looking beyond it, directing our force beyond it, we will make a peace that faces the future. We

will drop our desire for revenge along with our weapons of war and replace it with a willingness to cooperate as we replace weapons with tools.

War and Peace Plans are Interwoven

And there is a compelling reason why, regardless of uncertainty as to the outcome of the war, post-war planning must go on during the war. It cannot but aid our war effort. War and post-war policies cannot be kept separate and distinct. There are war policies which will affect the future one way or another according to whether they are decided this way or that. Our relations with South America and our experiences at Rio, where we won support by making clear our policies for the future, are a case in point. Also no one can doubt that a post-war situation is affected by whether, for instance, we adopt a war debt policy as we did in the last war, or a lend-lease program such as we have adopted in this one.

Taking it the other way around, the very outcome of the war may depend on what our plans for the future are, and on our giving proof now that they are honest and sincere plans. What it is believed you are fighting for wins few or many to your side and makes greater or less the determination with which the fight is carried on. It cannot be supposed that the battle in the Philippines has been unaffected by the fact that Congress has assured the Filipinos their independence. Their army has fought heroically by the side of ours. The cooperation of China was strengthened when our State Department announced we would give up all extraterritorial claims. A threat that China might make a separate peace arose after the announcement that Hong Kong would again be in British hands and when a statement by our Secretary of the

Navy was taken to imply that we did not look upon the battle for China's freedom as equal in importance to the battle for Anglo-Saxon freedom. The slogan "Asia for the Asiatics" must be persuasive so long as the democracies can be suspected of racial arrogance.

How Can We Prepare?

When it is admitted that we should and can prepare during the war for the kind of world we want when the war ends, the question we have to answer is, "What can we do?" Already some of the ways in which we can prepare to build even while we destroy, have been indicated.

We Must Think About Democracy

We must think about what democracy is and why we want it.

To know why is of great importance, for unless your reasons for reaching a goal are compelling, the determination to reach it will weaken as obstacles arise. The men who set up the first great democratic nation thought long and hard about the principles on which democracy rests. Back of their thinking was the deep religious conviction that freedom of conscience for all men is essential to the full discovery of the will of God. Translated into the political field, this meant that it is democracy, the right of all men to develop their faculties, to have an equal opportunity for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, which most advances civilization.

The purpose of democracy is the development of men -- all men, every man. Freedom is the means,

not the end. Men are the end and under democracy can never be used as means to the ends of others. "The spirit of democracy must be, Come, let us reason together." Toleration of the minority by the majority is the only method of advance which does not risk losing the contribution that some might make. It is because democracy has not been completely true to its own principles, because it has put material values above human values, that it finds itself questioned and challenged today.

Thought comes before action and if we hope to enact policies that are consistent with democracy, we must know what democracy is and why we want it. In no other way can we be prepared to adopt the policies it requires. Statesmen defend the course they followed after the last war by pointing out that the people were not ready to pay the price of establishing a democratic, just, and stable world.

We Must Act Now Where We Can

To be prepared to build a democratic world we must act now, where we have freedom to act, in line with democratic principles.

Only by doing this shall we give democracy as firm and broad a foothold as possible and develop the habits and techniques of democratic action.

Within our own nation we have political democracy, but our industrial and educational systems, our racial attitudes and our personal relationships are, as we all admit, less than completely democratic. These must be reconsidered and all other gaps in the democratic line filled in. The time to do this is now, when the war emergency itself provides the impulse.

(1)

Government agencies, engaged in post-war planning are dealing chiefly with national problems. They are considering post-war questions of unemployment, of farm production, of how war industries are to be transformed back into peace industries. It is obviously necessary to work out the answers to these questions now if the cost of demobilizing our men and our war economy is to be democratically distributed.

Such national planning is not unrelated to world problems, for if this country is to help to build a stable world, it must be sure that it, itself, is stable. Also, if in one nation there are well-considered plans, these may be fairly readily extended and adapted to others. Already we are thinking in terms of extending on a world scale certain plans that we have tested. The idea of enlarging our ever-normal granary policy to a world ever-normal granary policy is being considered. Our public works program and our policy of grants-in-aid from the federal government to the states on the theory that the development of one benefits all, are being discussed in terms of grants from nation to nation for developments that will give post-war employment to their people. International plans like the wheat and sugar agreements which have been tried out in limited fields are being studied to see whether they might not be more widely applied.

Post-War Planning in Local Communities

If the federal government finds it possible now to think in terms of the future, what about our local communities? Here it is the citizens themselves who are responsible for directing their force also toward what lies beyond the war. In local communities the war emergency is creating

at least two things which, if they can be made permanent, will greatly strengthen our democracy for the future. It is creating a community spirit because all members of the community today see that they have a common purpose. To make it permanent, we need to express it now in activities that will be needed also when the war is over. Because of war needs, there is a new interest in public health and social welfare activities. This is the time to strengthen old agencies that have been working along these lines and to see to it that the new ones created are created on a permanent, not merely on an emergency, basis. The war emergency is forcing us as communities and as individuals to overcome the habit of waste and to plan ahead rather than to rely on last-minute ingenuity. Foresight and preparation will become permanent habits if we think not only of the emergency but "above and beyond the war."

Democracy and Race Relations

One of the flaws in our own democracy which calls most insistently for correction is the position of the colored people who live in this country with us and have helped to turn it from a wilderness into a home for themselves and for us. The government has long granted them equal political rights, it has recently prohibited their being separately classified under Civil Service, it has insisted during the present emergency that the facilities of government buildings such as the public cafeterias be made equally available to them. Nevertheless, the very war effort of the government has been handicapped by the prevailing undemocratic attitude of the individual white person toward the individual colored.

The vital importance of this problem could not be more forcibly pointed out than it was in a letter (2) from Pearl Buck published in the New York Times of last November. 15. After describing the various ways in which the position of the colored people in this country does not accord with democratic principles, including discrimination against them in defense industries as well as in the Army and Navy, Mrs. Buck says: "This contradicts their idea of a democracy" for which they are, and proved themselves in the last war, willing to fight and die. She goes on to show the close bearing of this problem on the war itself:

"The importance of facing the situation between white and colored people in our own country is two-fold-- it is upon this rock that our own ship of democracy may go down first, and upon this rock, too, that all peoples may divide into the ultimate enmity. Everywhere in the world the colored peoples are asking themselves whether they must forever endure the arrogant ruling white race... It is idle to say that the crisis is two steps off and let us attend first to defense and the present war. Crisis between white and colored is not two steps off -- it is close, inextricably mingled with this war, because the war against Nazism carries race equality or inequality as one of its main issues... Democracy now suffers from vagueness because of the lack of relation between principle and action... Is democracy right or is it wrong? If it is right, then let us dare to make it true."

The problem of race prejudice in this country is most acute between the white and colored, but wherever race or national or class prejudice arises, it must be combatted. Here is one of the battle fronts within our own minds where the struggle for democracy must be won and won now.

Democracy and
the Americas

There are other fields where we have freedom of action and where we are being watched to see whether we believe in the democratic principles we talk about enough to act on them now, and so can be trusted to act on them in the future if others help us to win the power to put our principles into effect. There is the field of our relations with South America. Here we have gone far, in recent years, not only to prove the sincerity of our plans, but to test them out. In recent years and particularly under the present Administration, we have substituted a cooperative Pan-American policy for one largely dictated by ourselves. We have withdrawn our armed forces from neighboring states, have given them the responsibility they should have for the conduct of their own affairs, and the chance for development that comes only with responsibility. We have removed even such controls as the Platt Amendment, which gave us final say in the affairs of Cuba. We are settling our oil dispute with Mexico on the basis of recognition of the right of Mexico to exercise such sovereign powers as we would claim for ourselves. We have begun to consider the economic development of each of the American nations as a benefit to and a problem of all the Americas. As a result, the Rio Conference held in the present emergency brought tremendous support to our side.

But we have not done enough to create complete hemisphere solidarity. We are only beginning to realize what changes in our own economic set-up will be necessary if the productive and purchasing power of the countries to the south is to be improved. We are far from ready to make them. To insist that South American countries deal only with us is a war measure. When we begin to build

the post-war world, we cannot attempt to limit their trade contrary to their own interests, if we follow the principle of equal opportunity and trust it to result in general good. As an instance in our South American relations of our failure to live up to the principles we claim to follow, we have so far refused to accept, as we agreed to accept, the decision of a board of arbitration in the El Chamizal (3) controversy with Mexico concerning a piece of land washed by the flooding of the Rio Grande from the Mexican shore to ours.

In the field of cultural relations with Latin America, however excellent the government's program is, there is still too much feeling among us as individuals that South America should adopt the way of life of North America. If there is to be real solidarity, this must be replaced by the desire to combine the best in both cultures.

Democracy and World Policies

But it is not enough to act in fields where we have freedom of action. We must think ahead in terms of the world and consider what post-war world policies must be adopted if democracy is to prevail. It is possible with the help of past experience to see at least what we cannot do. We know that if we are to leave the way open for the development of all, as democracy requires, and if we are to have the stable, cooperative world in which alone democracy can thrive, the peace we make cannot this time be a punitive peace. It cannot be a peace dictated by some to the exclusion of others, as it was the last time when we excluded from the conference table where the fate of all was being decided, not only the enemy but Russia and neutral nations. The leader of the

British Labor Party, and member of the government, C. R. Attlee, in a speech in the House of Commons, has declared the "first principle" of the next peace to be "that there shall be no dictated peace." (4)

The next peace cannot be a peace which leaves control of sea lanes and of the earth's resources, which are needed by all, in the hands of a few. It cannot be a peace which continues a colonial system under which some peoples are treated as means to the ends of other peoples. What conditions it imposes to bring about security must be imposed on all.

For ourselves we cannot again advocate any form of world organization in which we are unwilling to play our part. The war has answered the question of "isolation." If the post-war world is not organized on a world basis, it will at least be organized on a regional basis. Any form of organization will require some limitation of what are now claimed as sovereign rights -- that is, the right for one nation to do what is for its own benefit regardless of the effect on other nations. We cannot expect that nations will give up "sovereign rights" for the sake of an organization based on national political considerations and power. We can hope that if there is created a world organization to promote human welfare -- to meet the needs that all realize are common needs -- the people of any country will be willing to limit their power to satisfy their own needs at the expense of others.

What Kind of World Organization?

To be ready for any form of organization and to be sure we do not propose what we will not sup-

port, we should consider now among ourselves whether we believe in a world federation developed according to functions to carry out common purposes, or in an organization that more closely represents a super-state, or whether we believe the next step toward world unification should be the formation of regional blocs which hopefully would cooperate. We should consider whether we are willing to use our force to maintain whatever organization is established, or, if not, whether we are willing to contribute our share toward basing it on such even-handed justice that there is unlikely to be any threat to destroy it. No organization means anarchy. But for law to prevail there must be general acceptance of the justice of the body of the law and provision for its change as conditions change.

In this whole question of post-war organization, past efforts must be taken into account with care that the best in past experiments -- such as is to be found in the World Court and in the International Labor Organization and in the humanitarian commissions of the League of Nations -- is carried forward.

National Policies and World Organization

Consideration of what form of organization we approve cannot be separated from what claims to sovereign rights we are willing to give up. Among the policies long regarded as strictly national policies and that will have to be reconsidered from the world point of view, are tariffs, immigration, currency, freedom of the seas, and administration of undeveloped areas, which has much to do with equal access to raw materials.

One proposal which, if accepted, might prepare us for the limitation of sovereign rights, has been made by the Federal Council of Churches through its Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace. (5) The proposal is for Congress to recognize that national legislative action, particularly in the economic field, affects others, and that we have a duty "to exercise our power with a decent regard for all who may be seriously affected." Having recognized this principle, Congress is called on to set up a commission to study and to report, before action is taken, what effect policies we adopt will have on other countries. (6)

As Soon As the Fighting Stops

Even before any final post-war settlement or establishment of a world organization, there will be immediate problems that will have to be promptly dealt with. Millions of people in all countries will need food, clothing, shelter, medical care and jobs. As has been said, the government is already thinking along these lines. Any steps taken to meet these immediate problems will make easier the later permanent adjustment of world affairs.

Outside of the government, a plan has been suggested by which groups would be formed now to prepare for post-war aid to various countries. Americans of Polish descent, for instance, with refugees from that country, would find those of special skills and others who would train now and who would gather what supplies they could, to be ready to go to Poland as soon as hostilities end to help in work of reconstruction.

Conclusion

Little of the total post-war problem has so much as been suggested in this leaflet and less of the difficulties of finding the solution. No one, however, can set the whole matter aside as too complicated to do anything about. It is character, individual character held true to democratic principles, that the post-war world will need most of all. The change that must come is a change from material to human values as a basis of life. Nations will make this change only as individuals make it. No individual can solve the post-war problems, but every individual can help to keep alive belief in principles without which no problems can be soundly solved. By holding at least a part of our attention on the future we can all help to preserve through a period of destruction a sense of permanency and progress. By keeping in mind our true goal, we can limit a national feeling of satisfaction for what we are as compared with others, and help to bring about a realization of what we ourselves must do and be to reach that goal. We can do this working alone; we can do it better meeting in small groups to read and to discuss.

Little has been said about the prevention of war in the new world. Before this war, there was a long, hard effort, in which many thousands of people in many countries joined, to prevent war in order that we might have a fair chance to create the kind of world that all today agree we want. We are now forced to reverse our program and under the difficult conditions of war, try to build a world which by its nature will leave no room or reason for war. To do it we shall have to keep the spiritual vision and faith -- which Christianity and democracy both proclaim are in the keeping of the individual -- keep them unobscured however heavy the smoke from many fields of battle.

FOOTNOTES

- (1) For list of government agencies engaged in post-war planning and brief accounts of what they are doing, order Public Policy Digest No. 17, September 1941, National Planning Association, 1711 Eye Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. This basic list is kept up to date in the monthly issues of the Digest. Separate issues, 25¢

A list of other than government agencies issuing material on post-war problems is published by the International Student Service, 8 West 40th Street, New York City. Single copies free.
- (2) Reprints of Pearl Buck's entire letter are available free from the Y.W.C.A., 600 Lexington Avenue, New York City.
- (3) For full statement of El Chamizal controversy, write the National Council for Prevention of War, 1013-18th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Free.
- (4) "Peace Aims--British Official Statements" may be obtained from British Library of Information, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City.
- (5) For complete report of the Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace, write the Federal Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York City. 10¢.
- (6) Other leaflets, to which this is an introduction, are being prepared on special problems mentioned. They will be published, as is this one, by the National Council for Prevention of War.

Suggested for Group Reading
and Discussion

Peace Plans and American Choices, by Arthur C. Millspaugh. Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C., \$1.00

The Road We Are Traveling, 1914-1942 and Goals for America: A Budget of Our Needs and Resources, both by Stuart Chase. Twentieth Century Fund, New York City, \$1.00 each. Volumes 1 and 2 of the series of six entitled "When the War Ends." Special price for all six, \$5.00

Conditions of Peace, by E. H. Carr. Macmillan, New York City, 1942, \$2.50

The Problems of Lasting Peace, by Herbert Hoover and Hugh Gibson. Doubleday, Doran and Company, New York City, 1942, \$2.00

National Resources Development Planning Board Report, 1942, Washington, D. C. Free

The Struggle for World Order, by Vera M. Dean. Headline Book, Foreign Policy Association, Midston House, 22 East 38th Street, NYC, 1941. 25¢

Guides for Post-War Planning, National Planning Association, 1711 Eye Street, Washington, D. C. 25¢

Report of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 405 West 117th Street, NYC, 5¢

The Atlantic Declaration (August 14, 1941); and A Symposium on World Organization, 1920-1940; 1941. International Conciliation, Carnegie Endowment, 405 West 117th Street, NYC, 1941. 5¢

For material on League of Nations, World Court, and International Labor Organization, write the League of Nations Association, 8 West 40th St., NYC.

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For material on League of Nations, World Court, and International Labor Organization, write the League of Nations Association, 8 West 40th St., NYC.

A Just and Durable Peace, Data Material and Discussion Questions, published by the Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace, Federal Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, NYC, 1941, 65 pages. 10¢

Pius XII and Peace, National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1312 Mass. Ave., Wash., D.C. 10¢

Social Justice and Economic Reconstruction towards a Christian Britain, Federal Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Ave., N.Y.C. 10¢

The Peace We Lost, Post War World Council, 112 E. 19 St., NYC. 10¢

World Organization, by Olive I. Reddick, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1734 F St., N.W., Wash., D.C., 1941. 25¢;
10 copies for \$2.00

A Plan for Britain, National Planning Association, 1711 Eye St., N.W., Wash., D.C. 25¢

Religion and the World of Tomorrow, by Walter W. Van Kirk. Willet, Clark & Co., NYC, 1942. \$1.50

Economic Consequences of the Second World War, by Lewis Lorwin, Random House, NYC, \$3.00

For philosophical study of the problems we face:

The Crisis of Our Age, by P. A. Sorokin, Dutton, NYC, 1941. \$3.50

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY AND WHY?

- "The Rise of Liberalism," by Harold J. Laski, Harner & Bros., New York City.
- "The Jeffersonian Tradition in American Democracy," by Charles M. Wiltse, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C.
- "The Course of American Democratic Thought," by Ralph H. Gabriel, Ronald Press Co., 15 East 26th Street, New York City.
- "The Democratic Spirit," by Bernard Smith, Alfred A. Knopf, New York City.
- "The Rise of American Civilization," by Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, Macmillan, New York City.
- "The Destiny of Western Man," by W. T. Stace, Reynal & Hitchcock, New York City, 1941. \$3.00
- "Founding Fathers," by K. B. Umbreit, Harper & Bros., New York City, 1941. \$3.50
- "The March of Democracy," by James Truslow Adams, Scribners, New York City, 1939. \$3.50
- "Foundations of America" (Documents), Sun Dial Press, New York City, 1938. \$1.00