



Who, When, and What?

A Quiz

1. When did the Japanese invade Manchuria?
2. When did Hitler come into power in Germany?
3. When was the USSR a member of the League of Nations?
4. Who were the Big Four at the Versailles Peace Conference?
5. Who said "Peace is indivisible", and when?
6. Who said "Prosperity also is indivisible", and when?
7. Who said "It is peace in our time", and when?
8. Who said "We must quarantine the aggressor", and when?
9. Who represented Canada at the Versailles Peace Conference?
10. What was the Weimar Republic?

(Answers to Quiz on page 18).

CANADA AND THE POST-WAR WORLD

By L. B. PEARSON



CANADIAN AFFAIRS

Hope for Peace

You don't hear slogans like "War to end all war" nowadays. This is World War II, and woolly idealism is out of date. People don't get stung twice in a generation.

We have learned that we don't get peace just by winning a war. If we are to get peace and keep it, we will have to think our way out of the blunders and betrayals that led to World War II. Where do we start?

First, Collective Security

That is the only answer to Freedom from Fear. There is no security for any country, unless there is security for every country. Those of us on the "safe" side of the Atlantic are not safe at all, until the people in the world's danger-zones have been made secure.

Today that is more than a hope. It is a fact. There is real teamwork between the Great Allies. So long as that teamwork holds, security-futures are good.

Second, Collective Prosperity

The old League tried manfully to banish Freedom from Fear. It did little to banish Freedom from Want. Yet without it, Mr. Pearson declares, peace will never be safe. Said he, in a recent address:

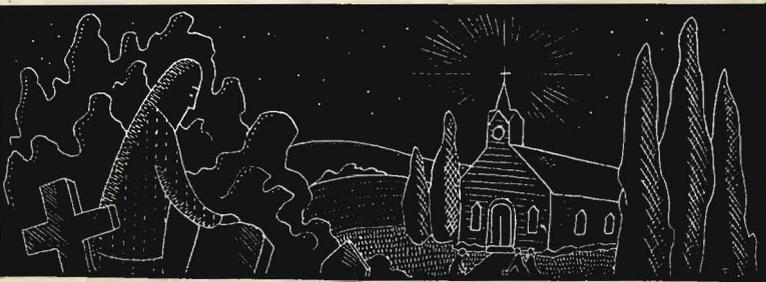
"Was it Napoleon or some quartermaster sergeant who said: 'An army marches on its stomach?' Whoever said it, I will put it another way: 'Armies march if there are too many empty stomachs'."

Is that Practical Politics?

Yes. The start has been made already. There was a United Nations Conference on Food last May; and another Conference on Relief and Rehabilitation (the famous U.N.R.R.A.) last November.

These are beginnings—but important ones. Link them in your thought with the Big Four conferences at Cairo and Teheran. Then ask yourself: What must be done to fulfil the promise of these beginnings? What can be done by a country of Canada's size and resources?

The article gives no cut-and-dried blue-print of peace. There is none to give. The pattern of world-peace is still in the making, and your own thinking can help make it.



Can we make a peace that will last? How?
A straight-from-the-shoulder answer by a
leading expert on international problems.

Canada and the Post-War World

By L. B. PEARSON

TWENTY-FIVE years ago, in the muddy and bloody trenches of France, soldiers from a country which was three thousand miles away from the nearest shell-hole, might well have asked themselves: "How did we get into this mess?", "How can we get out of it?", and, far more important, "How can we stay out?" It is an ironic tragedy that twenty-five years later, the sons of these Canadian soldiers, in the same part of the world, are asking themselves, but more grimly, the same questions.

The only way we can get out of the present mess now is by victory. Everything must be subordinated to that end. But is there any reason why we should not be working to win the peace while we are fighting to win the war? We do not want any half-baked, hastily-contrived, shakily-set-up peace structures this time.

We have been given another chance, but the third time it may well be down for good.

"'Mike' Pearson", writes Maclean's, "came to diplomacy after detours in the Royal Flying Corps, the sausage business and the academic life." At Oxford he played rugger and hockey. At the University of Toronto, while lecturing on Modern History, he coached the 'Orfuns' in the Ontario Rugby Football Union, and a hockey team in the winter.

As First Secretary in our Department of External Affairs in Ottawa he served on such important bodies as Lord Stamp's Royal Commission on Wheat Futures and the Price Spreads Commission (the body that issued the famous Stevens Report).

In the late 30's he served with the Canadian delegation to the League of Nations at Geneva, later at the High Commissioner's Office in London. Now he is our ambassador's right-hand man at Washington, D.C.

Canada was honoured recently when he was chosen chairman of the follow-up committee of the United Nations' Food Conference; and also of UNRRA's important Committee on Supply.

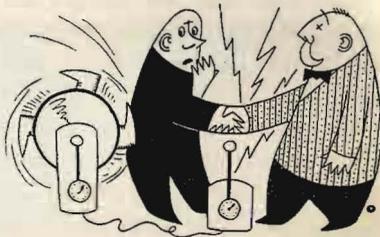


THE PEACE THAT FAILED

What happened, then, in 1919? The peace settlement of Versailles was to usher in a brave new world. But it turned to dust and ashes. It was a combination of kicks and kindness; of a severity which the Germans resented and an idealism which they did not understand. Tied to that treaty was the Covenant of the League of Nations, by which the peace was to be organized and made permanent. But it didn't work out that way, and all we had was an uneasy and impoverished truce between two wars. What went wrong?

There were obstacles, of course, at that time—obstacles which we will also find after this war—in the way of a cool, objective, and wise approach to the problem of the organization of peace. There

were obstacles in the millions of dead and wounded; in the thousands of square miles of devastation in the lands of the conquerors and the conquered; in the legacy of hate and anguish left by war; in sharpened national prejudices, new class antagonisms, strange fanaticisms. These obstacles, however, might have been overcome if just and necessary political and economic changes could have



"A combination of kicks and kindness"

been made peacefully, and if aggression by any one State could have been met with swift, automatic, decisive and collective police action by all the others.

Power-Plays

Nothing like that happened. Lulled by the mistaken hope that isolation would mean immunity, disillusioned by the bickering and back-biting of Versailles, the United States withdrew, leaving Europe to stew in its own juice.

Then, after the United States got out, Germany, with the desperation of economic collapse adding new bitterness to the humiliation of Versailles, concentrated every atom of her energy and skill on destroying the Peace Treaty. She managed to secure a position of first equality, and later superiority, in the European family. She cast aside, as soon as she was able, the velvet glove of the Weimar Republic for the mailed fist of Nazi brutality.

France first attempted to gain security by an alliance with the conquerors. When this failed, she tried to put teeth in the League of Nations and use that League as the instrument of her own policy in maintaining the peace settlement on which her security rested.

Certain other countries, however, including those of the British



"Mistaken hope of isolation"

Commonwealth of nations, looked suspiciously on all efforts to strengthen and arm the League in this way. They insisted that its Covenant imposed no legal obligation on any of its Members to use force, even for international police action against an aggressor. Force must remain under national control. That "sacred idol", unrestricted national sovereignty, must be preserved at all costs.

"No Teeth"—Why?

It is important to understand why certain States refused to put teeth into the Covenant of the League at this time.

In the first place, the world had not yet learned the essential truth that peace was indivisible. It was thought that the plague of war could be isolated; that sanctions, on the other hand, would expand every little local war into another world war.

Secondly, there was the view that the League should base its

strength on morality and not on force.

Thirdly, there was the fear that a League with automatic sanctions might be used to freeze a European status quo which should be changed.

Lastly there was the feeling, especially in the Americas, that the commitments involved in the League were a purely one-way affair. They were being asked to guarantee others, but those others would never need to guarantee them. Security is the ideal of the insecure. We failed to realize that insecurity for however remote a country meant insecurity for us—that our guarantees were not, in reality, for others, but for ourselves.

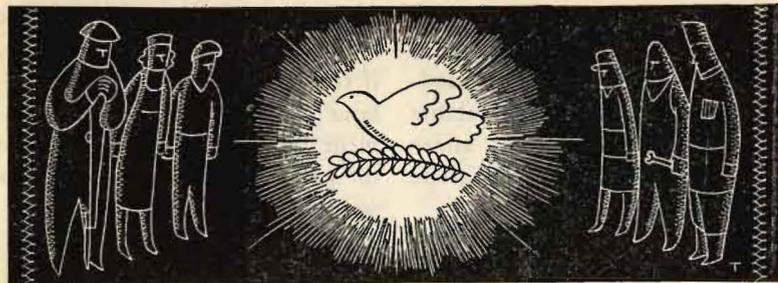
And so the League of Nations, or, rather the Members of the League of Nations, failed to meet the test of aggression against China and against Abyssinia. Instead of building up Geneva into a real fortress of peace, the governments signed with golden pens a pact declaring that war, like sin, was bad and should be outlawed. They neglected to back their hopes with collective force and prayed that no one would call their bluff. Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo, all did just that.

Old Pack Re-Shuffled

The new deal in international relations which was tried at Geneva, failed. The old pack was brought out and re-shuffled. The cards were dirty and blood-stained and the four suits were, (1) national hatreds, (2) national fears, (3) national armaments, and (4) national wars.

Across the Rhine, however, there were a group of Nazis who by this time, in the thirties, had got control of Germany and who knew how to play this old game with a crooked skill and a disregard for morality that made the rest of us look like children. Their methods were utterly ruthless and their tactics were "divide and destroy". The only counter to those tactics, "unite and survive", was rejected, and war came.

If you have any comments, write the Editor, *Canadian Affairs*, Wartime Information Board, Ottawa. Your letters will not be for publication. We want your suggestions, so we can do a better job.



NEW ORDER EMERGING

It may be hoped that the lesson of this ghastly failure has been learned. There are signs that it has, and others that it hasn't. In any event, there now exists another League of Nations, the United Nations, working and fighting together, pooling their resources, helping each other, because only by doing so can any of them survive. This reborn "collective system" will ensure victory. If it could have been achieved ten years ago, it might have preserved peace. If it is not maintained after victory and made the instrument of all nations that are willing to pay the price of collective security, then there will certainly be other wars.

Foundation-Rock for Peace

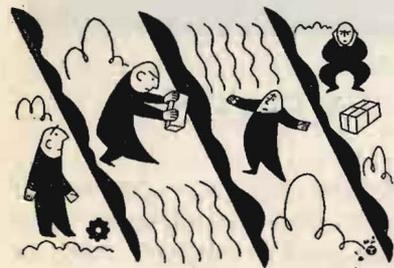
What of the future? How can we apply the lessons of our failures to ensure that the next peace set-

tlement will be a better one? What are the principles on which any such settlement must be based?

Two things are essential: (1) Recognition that peace is indivisible and that security must be organized on a collective basis. Only in this way can we secure freedom from fear. (2) Recognition that prosperity also is indivisible and that we cannot achieve it nationally at the expense of our neighbours. Only in this way can we secure freedom from want.

The second principle, economic interdependence, was almost entirely ignored at Versailles in 1919. Yet that was no "horse and buggy" home industry, village market age. The component parts of a single machine might come from ten countries, and the materials that went into its product from

twenty. How to keep these machines working, how to distribute all their products, when boundaries were turned into unscalable barriers by customs tariffs, under the sole control of each little sovereign state?



"Unscalable tariff barriers"

Nevertheless the peace settlement of 1919 in fact was based on the economic conditions of an age which had passed away. That age will be even farther away in 1945, or '46, or '47. At the next peace settlement, therefore, more attention will have to be paid to the economic needs of today and less to the political considerations of yesterday. Peace sits uneasily on an empty stomach. Let us not again sacrifice it in the name of extreme economic nationalism.

If we do, we can't avoid posing some awkward questions. What is the use of the right to fly a flag, if it flies over idle factories and empty kitchens? What is the value of the vote, if you cast it

from a bread line? What is the value of political independence, if the government of your neighbour can pass an Act of Parliament which will put a million of your fellow-citizens out of work?

Whither Next?

What steps are being taken now to prepare the way for the application of these principles to the post-war settlement?

War is a forcing time of growth, and international agencies for its prosecution have sprung up almost overnight. These cover almost every war activity — political, economic, and financial. There is a whole series of Combined and Joint Boards, Committees, agencies of one kind or another. But war demands centralization of control, and so these Combined agencies are for the most part U.K.—U.S. only.

It is a tribute to the growing power and importance of Canada that she—alone of the "Middle Powers"—is a full member of any of the Combined Boards. She is a full partner with the U.S. and U.K. on the Combined Food Board. All of the United Nations, however, have contact with all of the Boards—and all are consulted when their interests are directly affected.

Cooperation Growing

More important, however, than this machinery, is the spirit, the habit and the technique of cooperation which is developing among the United Nations. There are occasional set-backs to this development, but the general move is forward and the spirit behind it is the foundation on which we must build for the future.

We can, of course, if we so desire, scrap all international machinery, and go back to the days of international anarchy, with countries trying to escape from that anarchy and guarantee their own security by piling up huge armaments and seeking alliances. But armaments in one country merely produce armaments in another and exclusive alliances, in turn, tend to create other alliances with a resulting uneasy equilibrium which historians like to call "the balance of power". There is no security here. Peace balances precariously on the tips of bayonets and is easily knocked over.

Burden on "Big Four"?

It has also been argued that the organization of peace and the safeguarding of security should be the sole responsibility of the four Big Powers, the United States, United Kingdom, U.S.S.R., and China.

Power shifts, of course. But it is true that at present these four countries—because they now have the power—will also have to bear the main burden of the post-war settlement. The fact, however, that they have to bear the main burden is no reason why they should bear the whole burden and accept *all* the responsibility.

No organization of peace should be based entirely on any small group—even of the mightiest Powers. It must be shared by all free States. The great powers themselves endorsed this principle



"Peace balancing on the tips of bayonets"

at Moscow when they declared, "that they recognize the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security."

Why Small States Must Be Partners

If this principle is not applied, there will be one of three results. The States other than the "Big Four" will either try to form Power groups themselves and demand a franchise in the "Major League", or they will cluster uneasily for security in the shadow of a great Power, or they will relapse into isolation and seek security in neutrality.

None of these results will make for peace. The first merely extends the "balance of power" idea. The second merely surrounds each of the existing Big Four with satellites, who will share its fate and be lost in its ambitions and its fears. Least of all is there any hope in isolation, even for small States. A country's innocence and insignificance is no protection against the aggressor.

Small States—more especially the "middle States"—know this and they will not wish to return to neutrality and isolation. But they *will* wish independence and security.

How Share Authority?

Development of the United Nations organization, however, presents many and serious problems, not the least of which is the

division of authority and power between the various member States.

It is true that authority should be related to power and responsibility. There can be no effective international organization if Panama or Luxembourg could block action agreed on by forty other States; or if twenty small States who would contribute little to any international police force could impose sanctions against the wishes of nineteen States who would have to bear the main burden of the decision.

One must be realistic. Equality in theory and equality in fact are as far apart as Hitler and truth. We shouldn't confuse status and stature. On the other hand, every State, no matter how small, has the right to some participation in every decision which affects it. How to reconcile these two things, fact and theory, power and equality, is the problem.

The "Functional" Principle

Canadian spokesmen have more than once recently suggested that a solution to this problem might be found in applying the functional principle of membership and control to new international bodies.

These are big words which simply mean that main control of such

bodies shall be centered in those countries which are most important in achieving the objects for which the bodies were set up. Nor will the same States always be the controlling States for every agency. For instance, a council to act as the guardian of peace and security—the central United Nations political council—which did not include the United States, United Kingdom, U.S.S.R., and China would be absurd. But no one would suggest that those four nations should exclusively, or even primarily control a council established to deal with the international trade in wheat. Countries other than the four mentioned may occupy an even more important place than they have in particular aspects of international activity, and they will rightly insist on their part being recognized.

There is a practical argument in favour of this recognition of function, rather than status, in determining the composition and control of the new international bodies: No democratic country will play its proper part in international affairs if its influence bears no relation whatever to its importance. This means that United Nations post-war organizations must not all be controlled exclusively by the Big Four.



"Supreme United Nations Council"

Working from the Ground Up

Functionalism means something else. It means that progress towards post-war organization should begin with conferences on specialised subjects, for the purpose of setting up permanent post-war bodies to deal with these subjects. There should be one such body, the vital one, for political questions concerning security, armaments, boundaries, etc. There should be others dealing with labour and social problems, finance and commerce, communications, food and agricultural questions, and so on. Each of these bodies might be constituted in a different way. But all would be joined loosely together by some supreme United Nations Council, with perhaps rotating membership.

This is a practical approach to the problem and it is the one now being made.



CANADA'S PLACE

When the U.S. and U.K. governments decided some time ago that the United Nations should begin the process of organizing for peace, they did not convoke an assembly to discuss general political or economic matters. The first United Nations conference in May 1943 at Hot Springs dealt with one question only, and an essentially practical one, "Food and Agriculture". Hence, the first permanent United Nations organization will likely be that on Food and Agriculture now being worked out in Washington by the Interim Commission representing 44 nations.

"Milk for Every Hottentot"!

This Hot Springs Food Conference laid down the pattern. It was a workmanlike approach to practical problems. In other days

—and not so far back either—the emphasis at international meetings was nearly always placed on the "rights" of men and nations. It is, I think, of some significance, that at the first United Nations Conference the emphasis was placed on their "welfare". We may get further in this "welfare" approach to international organization than ever we did along the road of glittering political abstractions. It has been sneeringly referred to by some as the doctrine of the "pint of milk a day for



"A pint of milk for every Hottentot"

every Hottentot". Well, a pint of milk a day for everyone may in the long run prove a greater help to international cooperation and provide a surer basis for international organization than thunderous declarations about the rights of man.

Similarly, the second United Nations meeting, the Relief Conference at Atlantic City in November 1943, dealt with a very practical welfare problem. It put the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration to work, an organization in which the countries most concerned will play the most important, though not the only part.

Creeping Up On Peace!

This may seem a somewhat unheroic way of approaching the organization of peace; creeping up on it, taking one objective after another. It is a long way removed from the heroics and romance of the Congress of Vienna or even the tense controversies and dramatic encounters of Versailles. But if the work done is unspectacular, it is valuable. We will have to keep working at it, strengthening it bit by bit, long after the enemy has surrendered.

Canada should take her full share in all these developments. If, in the last war, she won

national status, in this one she has gained international recognition. Her powerful war effort has assured that. Few countries have done more to make victory certain. The United Nations recognized this at the Hot Springs and Atlantic City Conference where Canada was given an important place. London and Washington recognized it in the formation of the combined boards.

The Commonwealth Tie

Canada, furthermore, has won this place in the world in her own right and not as the appendage of any state or group of states. At the same time, in playing this new part her position is not weakened but strengthened, by her intimate friendship with the United States and by her valued membership in the British Commonwealth. That Commonwealth is a league of nations which really works, largely because it has been allowed to develop freely, and in the British way is not confined by any constitutional or administrative strait jacket. The strongest bond uniting its members is, in fact, the freedom of those members. Whatever happens in the future, Canada will wish to preserve that tie.

Any world association, however, without the history and tra-

Our Place in World Community

Canada's problem, then, is simply this: How to reconcile her position as an independent nation in the British Commonwealth of nations, which it would be folly for her to weaken, with her position as a North American state and her position as a member of the world community. This is easier to solve now than before the war, for three reasons:

(1) No longer can anyone—unless it be some of our own people—challenge our right to complete freedom within the British group.

(2) The United States, the heart and center of Pan-Americanism, is no longer isolationist. North Africa and the Southern Pacific have shown our neighbour that the "world is her parish".

(3) The conception of international association and collective defense against aggression is far more deeply rooted in men's minds than it was before the war.

There is, then, no reason for pessimism. The war has confirmed Canada's national stability and enhanced her international standing. She can face the challenge of the future with hope and with confidence.

More on Rehabilitation



In this issue of *Canadian Affairs* we want to repeat in summary form the various allowances paid to service men and women on discharge. This in effect replaces the summary in "Future for Fighters" (Vol. I, No. 2), and includes the latest amendments.

Rehabilitation Grants

The Services themselves arrange for the clothing allowance and rehabilitation grant. The latter is payable to everyone who has served more than 183 days. It amounts to one month's pay and allowances. Transportation to your enlistment point or to your home, or to any other place in Canada that can be reached at no greater expense, is also provided.

The clothing allowance of \$65 is paid to everyone except officers and those discharged at their own request.

Allowances for What?

So far this has all come from the branch of the Service concerned and has nothing at all to do with the rehabilitation order-in-council.

The rehabilitation order-in-council (PC 7633) provides for five classes of allowances to be

paid after discharge. The order-in-council will eventually be replaced by a formal Act of Parliament.

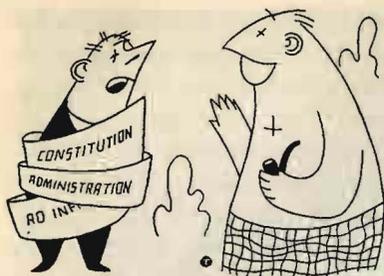
The purpose of the order is simple—to provide allowances to service men and women both while looking for work or while training for a job. It is taken for granted that service men and women will want jobs and not charity.

The same rates of benefit or allowances are paid in all cases but the time for which they are paid and the conditions vary.

Here are the five types of benefit.

(1) First and foremost is the "out-of-work" benefit. Look this over carefully, servicemen. Under this contract, and it is a contract, a discharged service man or woman is not compelled to take the first job that offers. The government feels that ex-service men or women should not be put in that position. Hence provision is made for a period of weeks during which time suitable employment may be found or training courses decided upon. This out-of-work benefit applies if the discharged person "is capable of and available for work but unable to obtain suitable employment".

(2) Next is the benefit paid to those men and women who can't take a job at once because they are temporarily incapacitated. They are not physically able to return to their old jobs or take new ones. This will help tide them over the period of readjustment.



"Administrative strait jacket"

ditions and the common political ideals of the British Commonwealth is going to need a more precise organization. There are those who fear that Canada's position in any such organization will prejudice her position in the British Commonwealth. But this need not be so in the future any more than it has been in the past. On the contrary, participation by Canada in a world association will make easier her membership in the British group, by preventing that group from developing in a narrow and exclusive way which might conceivably bring into conflict Canada's American and British interests.

Similarly, Canada might find it difficult to join any Pan-American union which conceived hemispheric cooperation as hemispheric isolation and cut itself adrift from the rest of the world. In short, the world today is too small for exclusive groups.

(3) Third is a benefit paid to farmers waiting for returns from their crops and to men and women who are starting in business until they get on their feet.

(4) Now comes the "training" benefit. The job-training benefit provides allowances for men and women while taking vocational courses. The rate is the same as in the case of the others.

(5) The fifth benefit is the allowance paid to men and women to begin or carry on with university and college training.

How Much Is Paid?

\$10.20 per week for a single man (\$44.20 per month)

\$14.40 per week for a married man (\$62.40 per month)

\$12.00 per month for each of the first two children

\$10.00 per month for a third child

\$8.00 per month for each of the next three additional children

An additional allowance of \$15.00 a month is provided for a dependent parent.

How Long and to Whom?

They are paid to any serviceman or woman honorably discharged from the Services. The length of time for which they are paid varies with the length of service but does not exceed one year, except in the case of allowances paid to enable service people to take vocational training or carry on with college or university courses. In these cases the time can be extended if the men or women show that they have made satisfactory progress and need the extra training.

A year is the limit in the case of the other allowances, but only if

your time of service is at least a year. If it is less, then the time for which you are entitled to the allowances is reduced also.

When Are They Paid?

The out-of-work benefits are paid only during the eighteen months following discharge.

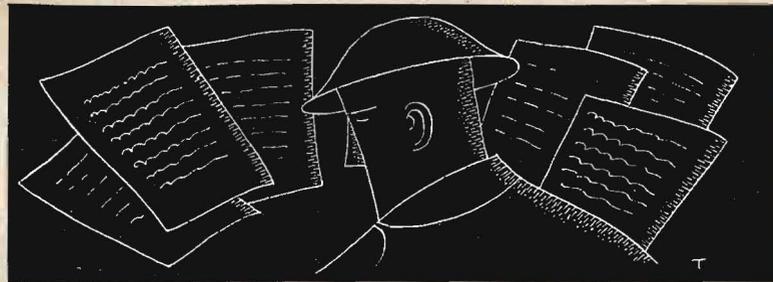
There are a few details to watch.

Out-of-work benefits paid to women will not exceed their rate of pay at discharge. Married women whose husbands can support them will not receive out-of-work benefits. Out-of-work benefits are not paid for the first nine days or for any time when you are receiving a rehabilitation grant. And the time for which they are paid is reduced after you have once had fifteen weeks' work in the year following discharge.

The allowances for vocational courses, the allowances paid to those temporarily incapacitated, to those waiting for returns from crops or from a business must be applied for within a year of discharge or a year of the end of the war, whichever is later.

The point of this rule is that a soldier discharged today may take a war job. He still has a chance within a year from the end of the war to apply for vocational training or the other benefits listed in the preceding paragraph.

The allowances paid to those who want to take a university course are different again. In order to claim them you must qualify for a university course within 15 months of discharge. In the case of competent and hard working students, allowances for university courses may be extended for the length of the course, although the actual period for which you are entitled is based on length of service—a month at college for a month in the army.



Questions for Discussion

1. "The peace settlement of Versailles was a combination of kicks and kindness". Do you think there should have been more kicks and less kindness, or vice versa?

NOTE: Here are two comments on the Versailles Treaty. Think them over.

I. (From the Encyclopedia Britannica) "The German Treaty appears, when its various items are assembled together, to have been crushing and severe to a high degree."

The military terms of that treaty were as follows: The German Army was cut to a police force, 100,000 strong, (one-ninth of its peacetime size). The creation of a reserve by conscription, and the manufacture or possession of planes, tanks and heavy artillery were also forbidden to the army. The German Navy had to be surrendered and construction of battleships was outlawed. The heart of German heavy industry (in western Germany) was to be a permanently demilitarized area and for fifteen years was to be occupied by Allied garrisons.

A War Criminals clause, which was not enforced, stipulated that the German Emperor and all German officers and soldiers guilty of war atrocities were to be handed over to the Allies for trial. Holland refused to surrender the Kaiser. A

list of about 100 war criminals was drawn up. The Germans refused to surrender them but did try a few of them before German courts. Finally the proceedings were dropped.

If certain circles let the Nazis re-arm Germany, that wasn't the fault of the Treaty.

II. (From Dorothy Thompson) "When the Kaiser's regime collapsed, the German nation was rising in full revolt. A central council of workers, soldiers and peasants had been formed and was taking over the administration, with a whole network of local councils assisting. But when our occupying armies marched in, they refused cooperation with these opponents of the old regime and insisted that the Imperial officials be re-instated".

Maybe the kicks and kindness were unfortunately distributed. Should there have been more vigorous kicks in the direction of Junkers, militarists, and supporters of the old regime? See the book by E. A. Mower in the Penguin series, "Germany Puts the Clock Back."



2. Do you think that we have learnt any lessons from "the ghastly failure" of collective security?

NOTE: The first point is to decide what the failure was and why it happened. The argument of the author is that the failure occurred because the Great Powers shrank from putting teeth in the League.

Here are a few dates. Hitler came into power in Germany in the spring of 1933. Germany was a member of the League of Nations from 1925 until October 1933. Japan was a member of the League until March 1933. The Soviet Union joined the League in September 1934, was expelled in 1940.

Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931. Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1935. Germany re-occupied the Rhineland in 1936. Germany and Italy intervened in Spain in 1936. In 1937 Japan invaded China proper. In March 1938 Hitler occupied Austria. In September, 1938 Hitler occupied the Sudetenland of Czecho-Slovakia as a result of the Munich Pact. In March 1939 he overran the rest of Czecho-Slovakia. Two weeks later the Spanish republican government was at last overthrown. In August 1939 the Soviet-German non-aggression pact was signed. In September 1939 Hitler invaded Poland.

That gives a bird's-eye view of the period of appeasement, during which concessions were made to Hitler and Mussolini. That

policy has been justified on several grounds. That Great Britain and France were disarmed; that Great Britain could not count on the cooperation of the other Powers; that the British Government was deceived by the promises of the Nazis.

A striking comment on this policy is that of Walter Lippmann, the American commentator: "The significance of Munich lay in the fact that Great Britain and France agreed to exclude Russia from a settlement which had the highest strategic consequences for Eastern Europe."

In this analysis one considerable factor in the "ghastly failure" was the fact that the other Great Powers felt unwilling to join in measures of collective security with the USSR against Germany and Italy. Hitler and Mussolini, did their best to increase this disunity. Hitler is losing the war today because the United Nations are united.

Contrast the declaration of Teheran in which Great Britain, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. joined, with the Munich Pact to which France, Great Britain, Germany and Italy were parties. The old distrust has given way to better feeling. It is an indication that the same mistakes will not be made in the future.

3. Can countries with Canada's population and resources make any important contribution to the planning of the post-war world?

NOTE: The author's view is short and clear: "No organization of peace should be based entirely on any small group—even of the mightiest powers. It must be shared by all free states". That of course is just the point of view of the United Nations' leaders as expressed at the Moscow Conference a few months ago.

The gist of the matter is this. Supposing that we grant, as we must, that teamwork among the Big Four is essential for the organization of peace. That doesn't mean that the smaller powers, among whom Canada has a leading place, are simply pawns in the hands of the big ones. Far from it. They have scope for a great deal

of initiative and can do a great deal to help or hurt international cooperation.

The present policy of Canada is outspokenly for active and responsible cooperation in a new world order. We have asked for responsibility and we got it at Hot Springs and Atlantic City. It was expressed by our own Prime Minister in these words: "It seems to me not to be a matter of matching manpower and resources, or in other words, military and industrial potential between three or four dominant states. What we must strive for is close cooperation among those great states themselves and all other like-minded countries."

4. Are we making any progress towards a peace founded on welfare?

NOTE: Here are some post-war projects already taking shape.

(1) The Hot Springs Conference of May, 1943, dealt with the questions of Food and Agriculture. The Conference worked on a long-range problem, how to increase the amount of food in the world and assure an adequate supply for the peoples of the world. "It is apparent that in all countries there are large sections of the population who do not get adequate and suitable food for health; in many countries the majority of people are in this condition." Starting from that realistic premise, the organization set up by the Conference is now exploring ways and means.

(2) U.N.R.R.A. (The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration) was set up at another conference in 1943. It is an emergency organization, to cope with the immediate relief problem after the war. Within the last three years, 35 countries in Europe and Asia, containing more than half a billion people, have been overrun by the Axis forces. Some organiza-

tion has to take responsibility for immediate relief measures. U.N.R.R.A. is the answer. Canada, like the U.S.A. and Britain, is giving U.N.R.R.A. 1% of its current national income.

(3) The International Labor Office, part of the League of Nations organization, now situated in Montreal, is holding a conference in April, 1944. On the agenda will be this question: What measures can be taken by all participating countries "to promote improvement in such fields as public health, housing, nutrition, education, the welfare of children, the status of women, conditions of employment, the remuneration of wage earners and independent producers, social security, standards of public services and general production?"

All these conferences are a beginning in the attempt to build a post-war world in which Freedom from Want can become a realizable goal. As the author puts it, the new "welfare approach" to post-war problems is replacing the "glittering political abstractions" of a few years ago.

Answers to Quiz

1. In 1931.
2. In the Spring of 1933.
3. From September, 1934 to Spring of 1940.
4. Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Woodrow Wilson, Orlando.
5. Mr. Maxim Litvinov, Soviet Foreign Commissar, in 1935.
6. Mr. W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, on June 22, 1943.
7. Mr. Neville Chamberlain, then Prime Minister of Great Britain, on September 20, 1938.
8. President Roosevelt in his Chicago speech of 1937.
9. Sir Robert Borden, then Prime Minister.
10. Form of government in Germany 1918-33.

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