

## *Part Three* THE UNITED NATIONS

### CHAPTER XII

## WHAT IS THE UNITED NATIONS?

THE United Nations constitutes the *world coalition* of governments which unite to defeat the Axis conquest of the world. We therefore speak of it as an entity, in the singular rather than the plural, in order to emphasize the *united* part of the name as that which is significant. We are concerned with the examination of this coalition taken as a whole.

Juridically the United Nations takes its origin from the "Declaration" signed in Washington January 1, 1942, by the representatives of twenty-six governments. This "Declaration" adopts as a common platform of the signatories the Atlantic Charter issued by Churchill and Roosevelt on August 14, 1941, pledges its adherents to employ their "full resources" for the war, to co-operate with each other and "not to make a separate armistice or peace," and it opens the coalition to "other nations" which make their contributions "in the struggle for victory over Hitlerism."

The Atlantic Charter renounces all aims of aggrandizement, and of arbitrary territorial changes; it affirms the right of self-determination of all peoples, equal access to raw materials, the intention of "fullest collaboration" between nations for "economic advancement and social se-

curity," post-war organization for collective security, freedom of the seas, and disarmament.

Within this inclusive framework of collaboration, leadership is provided by the great powers which must furnish the main military force to crush the Axis: Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union. This collaboration is guaranteed by the pacts announced on June 11, 1942: the twenty-year Treaty of Alliance between Britain and the Soviet Union, the Lend-Lease Agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union, and the agreement on "the urgent tasks involved in creating a second front in Europe in 1942."

These are the main formal, juridical, foundations of the United Nations as a wide coalition.

Thus the United Nations is a great project for collaboration among a wide variety of governments and peoples. It was brought into existence upon the basis of a measure of collaboration already in being; it proposes to extend and organize such collaboration on a world scale—for the winning of the war and looking beyond the war to the organization of the post-war world.

The United Nations will be as important as the component governments, by their joint efforts in realizing its declared aims, make it.

What measure of success will be achieved by this coalition, the United Nations, will be directly proportionate to the degree of mutual confidence which it develops, to the degree of close understanding among its members.

If they find a firm foundation in mutual confidence which makes possible well-planned and co-ordinated action, and the extension of their joint efforts to all questions vital to victory, then the United Nations furnishes the indispensable precondition for victory.

We have already examined some of the complexities and difficulties to be overcome in the United States in the establishment of national unity for victory. The problems of welding the United Nations into an instrument for victory are no less complicated and difficult. There is nothing to be gained by ignoring such problems; to solve them they must first be fully and accurately recognized and stated. The camp of the enemy has the unity of a master-slave relationship imposed upon it from above by terroristic dictatorship of an unlimited military autocracy fully armed with the most modern weapons of war.

The United Nations must find its unity through *agreement among equals* in which the only coercion is that exercised by the *common recognition of common necessity*. It must win new adherents among the governments and peoples still outside the United Nations by the same means.

All this is no simple and easy matter. It does not come about automatically. There is the widest diversity of viewpoint on the most important questions, not to speak of details, now facing the United Nations. This diversity has its roots in the separate historical backgrounds of the countries, in their degree of economic development, in their varying geographical positions, in the structure of their societies, in their forms of government, in their ideologies and prejudices.

Merely to glance over some of these differences serves to emphasize the importance of the problem.

There is the difference in the fundamental type of social and economic organization, exemplified in the contrast between the advanced capitalism of Britain and the United States on one hand, and the socialist order in the Soviet Union, on the other.

There is the difference between dominant nations and their subjects, as, for example, between Great Britain and India.

There is the contrast between great powers and the small nations, between industrial and agricultural nations, between those armed and those unarmed, between those exercising self-government and those overrun by the Axis conquerors.

There are traditional and continuing rivalries among great powers of a similar character, such as those between Great Britain and the United States.

This is but a bird's eye view of the intricate problems that are involved in reaching common policy among the United Nations based on the common recognition of common necessity. The greatest variety of viewpoint and tendency arises out of the diversity of the component nations.

Hitler and his associates set themselves the task to accentuate these differences, making use of them to break up the solidarity of the United Nations, and to sow suspicions and antagonisms among them, in order thus to divide the world into separate parts which Hitler expects to conquer piecemeal.

The United Nations has set itself the task to rise above these differences, to reconcile them, to subordinate every issue to the supreme task of crushing Hitler and his satellites.

It is the struggle between these opposite aims which is the content of the diplomatic and propaganda war going on between the Axis and the United Nations.

Hitler has his Fifth Column agents all over the world, busily at work to aggravate and embitter every issue that arises out of the differences among the United Nations,

to obstruct and defeat every effort to solve such issues, to bring them to the boiling point without solution, until they break out into open conflict.

The task of the United Nations is and must be the opposite of Hitler's aims, that is, it must conciliate these differences, help in every way to find temporary solutions, hasten their permanent solution as quickly as possible, prevent them from ever breaking out into open struggles. That is the purpose of the aims declared in the Atlantic Charter.

Hitler and his agents strive to keep out of the United Nations coalition those countries and peoples not yet aligned with it; whereas the United Nations must set itself the aim to win the allegiance and co-operation of all such peoples.

In so far as persons and groups in the United States pursue aims and enunciate policies which perpetuate and aggravate the differences among the United Nations, cultivate suspicions, and raise issues without helping to solve them speedily, to that extent they are—whether consciously or not makes little difference—working for Hitler's victory. To the extent that Americans strive for conciliation and speedy settlement of all issues among the United Nations, to that extent Hitler and his satellites are being defeated and victory is being won for the United Nations.

The greatest single weapon of the Axis, more important by far than even its air force, was and continues to be the exploitation of the misunderstanding, suspicion, and fear toward the Soviet Union that exists in Great Britain and the United States. Without that weapon Hitler could never have come to power in the first place. Without that weapon Japan could not have immobilized the United States until she was ready to choose her own time for the

blow. Without that weapon the Axis could never have destroyed the Spanish Republic. Without that weapon Hitler could never have conquered Czechoslovakia at Munich, or undermined and destroyed France. Without that weapon there never could have been the "phony war" which enabled Hitler to grab one country at a time. Without that weapon Hitler would never have dared to break out of the boundaries of Central and Western Europe through invasion of the Soviet Union. The excursion of Rudolf Hess to the Scottish moors via airplane and parachute was no more fantastic than all that went before it, bringing chaos to the world.

Hess's mission to England was merely the continuation of Baron von Killinger's mission to the United States.

The second most important difference among his intended victims which Hitler exploits is that between the dominant great powers and their subject peoples. The Japanese startled the world with their unprecedented successes in manipulating this issue in the South Pacific, bringing down in ruins the great British and Dutch empires within a few weeks, while employing only a few hundred thousand soldiers. At the moment this is being written, Japan and Germany are jointly exploiting, with great skill, the issues between India and Great Britain, while the United Nations is still paralyzed in a maze of bureaucratic red tape and has no answer except to "talk tough" to the peoples who must be won as allies. And so it goes, on issue after issue.

The United Nations is a grand conception with an inherent power which can and will crush the Axis. Its potency must be brought into active play by new and conscious policies, especially on the part of Great Britain and the United States. If the new bottle is filled with the old

and soured wine of imperialism, the teeth of subject peoples will continue on edge; in that case a million idealistic documents like the Atlantic Charter will not change the present descent from one disaster to another. The United Nations is not a magic formula but a signpost pointing out a new course for the world; we have taken only the first steps, but to obtain its promised benefits, we must consistently follow the new course.

The new course of the United Nations brings us face to face with a whole series of practical problems which will require detailed discussion in the several chapters to follow, and which are indicated above only in a general form. But before we take up such detailed problems, there are a few general questions raised by our nation's membership in the United Nations which require some clarification.

First of all, we require a revision of some of our national habits of thinking about "national interests." There is a mischievous and widespread conception that our "national interests" place us inevitably in a position of rivalry if not actual antagonism with all other peoples and governments. This shows its most vulgar forms in the "America First" nonsense of Lindbergh, Hoover, Vandenberg, Wheeler, *et al*, who combine it with the concept of conciliation with the Axis, but the poison spreads far beyond these circles, and takes on more insidious forms. So long as this kind of thinking dominates our participation in the United Nations we will fail to build that instrument into the power it must be to defeat the Axis.

It must be repeated that, in peace or war, the true interests of the people who are the nation are in harmony with the true interests of all other peoples and nations. Antagonisms and rivalries do not arise from conflict of interests between peoples. The outstanding example of this truth

is the Nazi regime itself, which conquered the German people and enslaved them as the preliminary to its effort to conquer the world. The crushing of Hitlerism is equally in the national interest of the German people as of the rest of the world.

If we cannot understand the deep truth here involved we will not make a success of the United Nations, we cannot lead it to victory. For the United Nations cannot be built upon a conception of temporary compromise of inherent and eternal conflicts among its component parts; it must rest on the assumption that temporary compromises of current differences are possible and valuable because they permit the true underlying interests to assert themselves and prove their harmonious relations.

If we, and therefore every other nation, participate in the United Nations upon the "America First" assumption or even the mildest variation of it, then the United Nations will quickly degenerate into a caricature of the defunct League of Nations which was done to death through the same conception.

In this war-to-the-death against the ferocious Axis and its mighty military machine, it is a form of national suicide to continue the "America First" habit of thought in any of its variations. We must learn to *think* in terms of the *common interests of peoples and nations* before we can effectively act for those common interests.

Perhaps it would be utopian to put forward this demand in ordinary times. But these are not ordinary times. It is not utopian to make this demand now, because it is *necessary to our survival* and nothing which is so necessary can be impossible. We can and we will learn, as a nation, to think in terms of common interests with other nations, because if we do not we are marching straight to national

destruction. It may take new disasters to teach us each new step on this new road of thought, but whether we prove to be stupid or intelligent, whether we learn slowly or quickly, learn it we must or take our place in the archives of future historical museums as a promising experiment which failed.

We will learn most quickly the essential harmony of our own national interests with those of other nations if we begin by establishing one supreme criterion by which everything is to be judged: that the supreme overriding national interest is the destruction of Hitlerism and victory for the United Nations. If we sincerely have adopted this as the law of life for our nation for the duration, if we practically subordinate everything else to this supreme consideration, then and not until then will we be holding fast to that which is most clearly the common interest of all the United Nations, and which makes the United Nations an entity, a power. From this starting point, we can most quickly come to the understanding of the particular and concrete harmony of interests among the nations and find policies acceptable to all.

In the second place, we must learn to think and talk with our Allies of the United Nations in terms which are equally valid for all. We must rise above our particularist forms of thought, whether these represent valid interests or mere prejudices, and find those forms and terms which adequately express the common interests. Thus, the common thought which will make possible common policy for the United Nations can be neither "pro-socialist" nor "pro-capitalist," for the United Nations includes peoples who are, and who are determined to remain, of both types. It cannot be "Christian" as so many well-intentioned churchmen demand, for the majority of the population of the

United Nations and our potential allies are of other faiths; nor of course can it be "anti-Christian" or anti any other of the existing religious beliefs, which must all make their contributions to the United Nations through *what they hold in common* and not through what distinguishes them from one another.

Thirdly, the United Nations can become a power for victory only if it makes war against the revolting Hitlerite denial of human brotherhood, the doctrine of "racial superiority" for some peoples and "racial inferiority" for others. This point is implicit in the Atlantic Charter's third point: the right of all peoples to self-determination. It must be made explicit in life, in the conduct of the war, in every policy, as well as in our thoughts and words, if we wish to make of the United Nations a really powerful coalition on a world scale which alone is capable of crushing the Axis. Without this, we will degenerate the United Nations into an opportunistic military arrangement which is weak at every joint, and which will fall apart under the first heavy blows. It is a *military necessity* as well as a moral imperative; if we do not follow this direction from high motives, we will be forced along the same path anyway by the punishing blows of disasters which inevitably follow every failure to recognize this moral law and act upon it.

The oppressed peoples of all the world are rising to national consciousness and the resolve to achieve national self-determination. If we do not enlist this force on the side of the United Nations it will work for the Axis and help to destroy us.

In this analysis of the United Nations and its problems I have attempted to base myself entirely upon the common sense, the common experience, and general understanding

of the masses of thinking people, without reference to particular schools of politics or philosophy, except those trends of democratic and libertarian tradition which most Americans hold in common. I have based my conception of policies entirely in the prerequisites for victory in the war, and not at all upon preconceived ideologies. That is the general scheme of this whole book. It is an attempt to find the road to unity of thought and action, on the part of persons, groups, classes, and nations who hitherto have been divided and antagonistic, but who must now unite in a life-and-death struggle against a common enemy, on pain of defeat, enslavement, and death.

The United Nations is fighting the most ferocious and formidable enemy that mankind has ever before faced. It must reach unprecedented heights of unity, determination, and heroism if it is to earn the victory. It must purify itself of everything which interferes with the struggle for victory.

Until we can unite the nation upon such an understanding of our task, we cannot win the war. We will reach the heights standing between us and victory because we must. It is a task laid upon us by history and by our character as a people. And we will not fail.

#### CHAPTER XIII

### THE SOVIET UNION IN THE UNITED NATIONS

FOR many years I have been writing pamphlets and making speeches about the Soviet Union, the main purpose