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## POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION

### Some Extracts from speeches of officials since January 1, 1943

Winston Churchill

British Prime Minister

*(From a speech broadcast March 21, 1943)*

#### REGIONALISM

One can imagine that under a world institution embodying or representing the United Nations, and some day all nations, there should come into being a Council of Europe and a Council of Asia.

\* \* \*

We must try to make the Council of Europe, or whatever it may be called, into a really effective league with all the strongest forces concerned woven into its texture with a high court to adjust disputes and with forces, armed forces, national or international or both, held ready to enforce these decisions and prevent renewed aggression and the preparation of future wars.

Any one can see that this Council, when created, must eventually embrace the whole of Europe and that all the main branches of the European family must some day be partners in it. What is to happen to the large number of small nations whose rights and interests must be safeguarded? It would therefore seem to me, at any rate, worthy of patient study that side by side with the great powers there should be a number of groupings of states or confederations which would express themselves through their own chosen representatives, the whole making a council of great states and groups of states.

\* \* \*

We must remember, however, that we in Britain and the British Commonwealth of Nations, although almost a world in ourselves, would have to reach agreements with great and friendly equals and also to respect and have a care to the rights of weaker and smaller States, and that it will not be given to any one nation to achieve the full satisfaction of its individual wishes.

Anthony Eden

British Foreign Secretary

*(From an address before the General Assembly of Maryland, March 26, 1943)*

#### UNITED NATIONS AFTER THE WAR

We cannot have prosperity in one country and misery in its neighbor, peace in one hemisphere and war in the other. And if we try to

have these things we shall be back on the old road to world war. We shall never find security or progress within heavily defended national fortresses. We shall only find them by the greatest possible measure of cooperation. The United Nations, and in particular the United States, the British Commonwealth, China and the Soviet Union, must act together in war and in peace.

The greatest of all peace aims is to insure that never again shall unscrupulous leaders be able to carry their peoples into war and bring tragedy on the world. We shall accordingly take steps for the physical prevention of this danger by the enforced disarmament of these gangster nations. We must insure that this protection of peace-loving peoples is maintained in full effectiveness for whatever period may be necessary.

We must therefore be ready to protect and maintain whatever settlement we devise, and one thing, I am sure, is, above all, essential. Never again must the civilized world be ready to tolerate unilateral infraction of treaties. For that would be to sap the whole foundation of the secure international life which it is our principal purpose to restore.

\* \* \*

Any new international authority that we may agree to set up can only succeed if it is backed by sufficient strength.

It will not be enough for one country, or even two, to display the qualities necessary to protect the peace. The work will take all that America and Britain, Russia and China, and the United Nations can offer.

### **General Henri Honore Giraud**

*(From a speech before the Alsace-Lorraine Society, March 14, 1943)*

#### **FRENCH UNION AND COLLABORATION IN EUROPE**

I give to the people of France my most solemn assurances that their sacred right to determine by themselves their own government shall be fully conserved. I promise them that all conditions permitting them to make such a choice in lawful order, with all their liberties re-established, shall be assured. I assure them that such a situation will be created as soon as France has been freed.

I am the servant of the people of France. I am not their master.

\* \* \*

France will contribute the fruit of her reflections, ripened in suffering, to help in the end to build a better Europe—a Europe at peace. I feel certain that such a vital contribution will be made by France. It will come forth from Frenchmen, united and free; from the prisoners, my countrymen, of whom I think incessantly, whose souls, as a youth from the North told me in captivity, were forged better than their weapons.

### Mme. Chiang Kai-shek, of China

*(From an address before the United States Congress, February 19, 1943)*

We of this generation, who are privileged to make a better world for ourselves and for posterity, should remember that, while we must not be visionary, we must have vision, so that peace should not be punitive in spirit and should not be provincial or nationalistic or even continental in concept, but universal in scope and humanitarian in action, for modern science has so annihilated distance that what affects one people must of necessity affect all other peoples.

\* \* \*

We in China, like you, want a better world, not for ourselves alone, but for all mankind, and we must have it. It is not enough, however, to proclaim our ideals or even to be convinced that we have them. In order to preserve, uphold and maintain them, there are times when we should throw all we cherish into our effort to fulfill these ideals even at the risk of failure.

*(From a speech in New York City, March 2, 1943)*

What are we going to make of the future?

The wisest minds in every corner of the world are pondering over these questions, and the wisest of all reserve their opinion. But, without letting temerity outrun discretion, I venture to say that certain things must be recognized. Never again must the dignity of man be outraged as it has been since the dawn of history.

\* \* \*

Finally, in order that this war may indeed be the war to end all wars in all ages, and that nations, great and small alike, may be allowed to live and let live in peace, security and freedom in the generations to come, cooperation in the true and highest sense of the word must be practiced. I have no doubt that the truly great leaders of the United Nations, those men with vision and forethought, are working toward the crystallization of this ideal, yet they, too, would be impotent if you and I do not give our all toward making it a reality.

### Maximilian Steenberghe

President of the Economic, Financial and Shipping Mission of the Netherlands  
Government-in-exile

*(From an address before the American Academy of Political and Social Science, February 12, 1943)*

#### ECONOMIC COLLABORATION

I am quite confident that a collaboration between Western Europe and the United States could greatly contribute to the peace of the world, if their collaboration would really aim at promoting human welfare all over the world.

Such collaboration should have as its primary object the development of production resources for the peaceful benefit of all. It should not constitute a closed system. The economic ties which bind Western Europe to the rest of Europe have always been so strong that they cannot be broken without great harm being done. Economic barriers against the rest of the world would be a great disaster.

\* \* \*

No monopolies or exclusions should hamper a free and effective development of communications. If this were neglected we would fall into the fatal mistake made by Mussolini with regard to the Mediterranean. The Atlantic Ocean must become a real "mare nostrum" belonging to all of us and open to the initiative of all free people.

### Franklin D. Roosevelt

President of the United States

*(From a speech to the 78th Congress, January 7, 1943)*

#### ISSUES OF THE WAR

In this war of survival we must keep before our minds not only the evil things we fight against but the good things we are fighting for. We fight to retain a great past—and we fight to gain a greater future.

Let us remember that economic safety for the America of the future is threatened unless a greater economic stability comes to the rest of the world. We cannot make America an island in either a military or an economic sense. Hitlerism, like any other form of crime or disease, can grow from the evil seeds of economic as well as military feudalism.

\* \* \*

The issue of this war is the basic issue between those who believe in mankind and those who do not—the ancient issue between those who put their faith in the people and those who put their faith in dictators and tyrants. There have always been those who did not believe in the people, who attempted to block their forward movement across history, to force them back to servility and suffering and silence.

The people have now gathered their strength. They are moving forward in their might and power, and no force, no combination of forces, no trickery, deceit, or violence can stop them now. They see before them the hope of the world: a decent, secure, peaceful life for all men everywhere.

### Henry A. Wallace

Vice President of the United States

*(From an address before the Conference on Christian Bases of World Order, March 8, 1943)*

#### THE UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA

The future well-being of the world depends upon the extent to which Marxianism, as it is being progressively modified in Russia, and democracy, as we are adapting it to twentieth century conditions, can live together in peace.

\* \* \*

We of the Western democracies must demonstrate the practicality of our religion. We must extend a helping hand to China and India; we must be firm and just with Prussia; we must deal honestly and fairly with Russia and be tolerant and even helpful as she works out her economic problems in her own way; we must prove that we ourselves can give an example, in our American democratic way, of full employment and full production for the benefit of the common man.

By collaborating with the rest of the world to put productive resources fully to work, we shall raise our own standard of living and help to raise the standard of living of others. It is not that we shall be taking the bread out of the mouths of our own children to feed the children of others but that we shall cooperate with every one to call forth the energies of every one, to put God's earth more completely at the service of all mankind.

**Cordell Hull**

Secretary of State

*(To the House Ways and Means Committee, April 12, 1943)*

#### RECIPROCAL TRADE PACTS

Stable peace and economic warfare will not mix. We know that, now, from bitter experience. Just as we must work together to set up and operate the necessary machinery to maintain peace, we must work together to make the years of peace fruitful for ourselves and for others.

One of the most essential subjects of international cooperation in the years that lie ahead is this very one of trade and the various trade restrictions to which the act refers. What happens to international commerce has an intimate effect on many of the things that lie closest to the minds of the people of every country.

\* \* \*

The foundations of international cooperation must be laid now, and they must be built out of mutual confidence, mutual respect and common interest. Today we are engaged in the greatest cooperative enterprise in history. In this struggle for human freedom thirty-one united nations, large and small, are banded together in a brotherhood of self-preservation, and twelve other nations are associated with them. While bending their utmost energy to the attainment of complete military victory and enduring the immense sacrifice which the war imposes upon them, these nations are meantime laying plans for the future.

All these hope-inspiring plans for international cooperation will come to nothing more than pious expressions unless there is confidence that the countries which participate in them are determined to have ready for immediate use, whenever needed, the necessary instruments of effective action.

So far as our nation is concerned, the continued existence of the trade agreements machinery is the most important of these instruments. It is the central and indispensable point in any feasible program of international cooperation. The only alternative is for nations to travel the

same extremely narrow economic road that was traveled so disastrously during the years following the last war.

*(From an address at the Pan American Union, April 14, 1943)*

### AMERICAN UNITY AND WORLD COOPERATION

These principles upon which we have built our inter-American life are no exclusive property of the continents of the Americas. They are not peculiar to this hemisphere. They are universally applicable and are open to universal adoption.

We have not labored to create a region apart from the rest of the world. We have fostered the idea and the practice of a community of good neighbors whose members are—in fact cannot escape being—a part of the life of the world. The international law to which we submit ourselves is not an international law of the Americas alone, but is the law of civilized nations everywhere throughout the earth.

The practice of equity is not a design for a hemisphere, but is a rule for living in a free and peaceful world. The liberty that we jealously safeguard as the right of every American nation, great and small, is the same liberty which we believe should be established throughout the earth.

### Sumner Welles

Under-Secretary of State

*(From an address at the University of Toronto, Canada, February 26, 1943)*

### AMERICAN POST-WAR UNITY

When the war ends similar problems will face us both. We shall both confront the task of demobilization, and we shall both endeavor to make sure that the young men—and the young women—who are discharged from military service have a real chance to find useful and productive employment. Both of us prefer a system of free enterprise, and we shall both desire to lighten government controls as rapidly as the phenomenon of scarcity vanishes and conditions permit free enterprise to play its proper role. Both of us will find our industries still working largely on war orders, and the problems of conversion will be urgent. Both of us will want to make our contribution to the relief and reconstruction of the devastated countries, and we shall want to make that contribution in the way which will help the peoples of those regions get back to health and strength and to self-reliance as rapidly as possible. We shall both be interested in possible international arrangements about gold, and currencies, and international investment. And we shall both desire to increase the economic interchange between us and with others on the most fruitful basis possible.

\* \* \*



I think that we of the Americas can say that if 22 independent democracies such as those which occupy North, Central, and South America—of different races, of different languages, and of different origins—can achieve the measure of progress which we now have achieved, towards a peaceful and humane relationship, and towards profitable economic cooperation, that same form of relationship can be achieved in all regions of the world.

The creation of that same kind of decent international relationship by all peoples is the objective today of the United Nations. I am confident that after the unconditional surrender of our common enemies that objective will be attained.

*(From an address before the Rotary Club in New York, April 15, 1943)*

### UNITY OF AMERICA IN THE WORLD PLAN

The American republics have been bountifully endowed by nature with rich natural resources. The development of these resources under the sovereign jurisdiction of the governments of these nations, and for the benefit of their peoples, can have the effect of bringing happiness into the lives of many millions who now suffer from want. Such development will require resourcefulness and long, hard work. It is going to require a wider possession and use of land, the expansion of food production in order to feed adequately a growing population, the improvement of labor standards, the abolition of illiteracy through free public education, the extension of public health facilities, the investment of local and foreign capital in new types of local enterprise and a willingness to change existing habits in order to provide new ways of living that mean a better existence for all elements of the population.

It is my belief that through the extension of the same principles of international cooperation which have already given such productive results, the American republics can make vast strides toward the attainment of the standard of living and of individual security of which their resources, material and human, are capable. This is one of the great challenges of the post-war world to inter-American relations.

\* \* \*

The New World can never attain that measure of security and of well-being to which it aspires except in collaboration with the other States and regions of the world.

To this collaboration the American republics have much to bring. They have the experience of their own achievement in international living. They have proven the correctness of their great ideal that cooperation among States, premised upon the recognition of the equality of the sovereign rights of all nations, great or small, and guided by the principles which they have established, can work.



**Francis B. Sayre**

Special Assistant to the Secretary of State

*(From an address given in Washington, April 29, 1943)***COMMERCE**

This, then, is the commercial part of our peace policy.

The winning of the peace will require many other forms of international collaboration, political, humanitarian, financial. But so far as commerce goes our course is clear. We must move in the direction of reducing barriers to trade, and of removing all discriminations. And we must do it by a method that will work. We have no such margin for error now as we had in 1919. We must decide our course in the near future, and we must make the right decision. The present congressional debate is the first great American referendum on the new foundations of the peace.

**Charles A. Thomson**

Chief of the Division of Cultural Relations, Department of State

*(From an address at Boston University, March 15, 1943)***CULTURAL COOPERATION**

A form of cultural cooperation . . . is the development of programs of education for the building of international understanding. Any planning for the rehabilitation of war-torn Europe must give attention to the educational institutions and educational programs that have been destroyed or distorted by the war. While the reconstruction of the educational program in each country must be done by the people of that country, the United States and the other United Nations may be of definite assistance. Consideration must be given, also, to the cooperative reorientation of the education in the Axis countries, where, as previously remarked, the school is now an instrument of warfare.

\* \* \*

In the past the American people have given freely of their cultural heritage and achievements to the world's peoples. Today they are committed by participation in the present war to the development and use of their power on a world-wide basis in order to obtain national security in an enduring peace. In the immediate future their national security will require that military, political, and economic measures be supported by cultural measures which will guard against the dangers of minds poisoned for war and areas closed to the flow of information and ideas. In the light of American experience and achievement, the freedom of the mind for the full use of existing knowledge and for the unrestrained pursuit of new knowledge will be the ultimate guarantee of national security in a democratic world. Cultural cooperation with the world's peoples to support this freedom will be an integral part of American foreign policy.

### John W. Studebaker

United States Commissioner of Education

*(From an address at the Institute of Educational Reconstruction,  
New York, April 7, 1943)*

#### EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

The United Nations must be prepared, as a necessary underpinning to disarmament and economic and political reorganization, to restore the educational systems which Germany has crushed in overrunning countries and to provide some temporary supervision of the educational system which Germany has used to convert its own and other peoples to the Nazi philosophy.

\* \* \*

Education must go hand in hand with international arrangements for trade, for disarmament, for political organization. For they are not likely to be achieved unless they have an underpinning of sound popular understanding as to their necessity and practicability.

A world only half-educated can only be half-free. I am convinced that education for democracy throughout the world must somehow be achieved if the world is not to suffer, generation after generation, from ever more destructive and calamitous wars.

We must not only plan for the speedy rehabilitation of the educational institutions in the democratic nations which have been overrun by the Nazi hordes. We must also extend our planning to include assistance in the eventual restoration of the educational systems of Germany and its satellites in which the education has been prostituted to the evil purposes of evil nationalist leaders.

Although food and medical supplies may very well be the most pressing need in the liberated nations of Europe, almost as pressing and much more difficult to meet will be the need of ministering to the minds of men and women, rebuilding their faith and courage, their hope in the prospect of a better world for their children.

\* \* \*

The most difficult problem is the decontamination of the educational systems of the Axis nations themselves.

### Harold E. Stassen

Governor of Minnesota

*(From a speech before the United Nations Forum, Washington,  
March 8, 1943)*

#### A HIGHER LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT

The developments of science in travel, trade and communication clearly indicate that government, limited to a national scale, is not enough. We need a new and higher level of government to serve mankind.

\* \* \*

This does not mean that the new level of government will take the place of the national level of government. It will not fundamentally disturb domestic sovereignty. Nations will continue to have their own flags, their own constitutions, their own heritage, their own citizens. The new level should be added to carry out those relations to other nations which have been successfully conducted by devious diplomacy, international intrigue, balance of power, extraterritoriality, spirals of rising tariffs, devaluated currencies, making and breaking of treaties and recurring wars.

This new level of government must emphasize human rights rather than nations' rights. Its cornerstone must be a deep respect for the fundamental dignity of man, of every race and color and creed.

\* \* \*

But pray God, we begin now definitely to think and plan and criticize and propose and amend and devise and follow through, to initiate the means of winning this peace, an enduring peoples' peace, for the sake of the future welfare and progress of men and women and little children in this nation and in the other nations of the world.

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#### PRAYER AFTER THE WORLD WAR

Wandering oversea dreamer,  
 Hunting and hoarse, O daughter and mother,  
 O daughter of ashes and mother of blood,  
 Child of the hair let down and tears,  
 Child of the cross in the south  
 And the star in the north,  
 Keeper of Egypt and Russia and France,  
 Keeper of England and Poland and Spain,  
 Make us a song for tomorrow.  
 Make us one new dream, us who forget.  
 Out of the storm let us have one star.  
 Struggle, O anvils, and help her.  
 Weave with your wool, O winds and skies.  
 Let your iron and copper help,  
 O dirt of the old dark earth.  
 Wandering oversea dreamer,  
 Singing of ashes and blood,  
 Child of the scars of fire,  
 Make us one new dream, us who forget.  
 Out of the storm let us have one star.

—CARL SANDBURG, *Smoke and Steel*