

# ELY CULBERTSON'S POST-WAR PLAN

By Robert McMillan

[Preventive policing is usually more successful than riot squads called in to handle perpetual mob hysteria. Many readers of this journal will look with horror upon our nation or any group of nations engaging in policing the world after the war is won. Many, no doubt, are sincere pacifists and some even "isolationists." I present herewith the Culbertson Plan because Ely Culbertson, himself, has won acclaim for something far more important than that upon which he built a fortune—a system of playing cards. Culbertson has studied at six universities, he has been involved in revolutions, he has traveled extensively, and knows the field of mass psychology. He has read deeply and widely in philosophy, history, and economics—including George. Burton Rascoe called his autobiography *The Strange Lives of One Man*, "the story of a man who not only wants to make peace with God but with man and with himself."

The complete 92-page booklet of the Culbertson Plan can be obtained by sending 25 cents to Free Market Institute, 90 Beacon Street, Boston.—R. McM.

**T**HERE is no end to the making of peace proposals these days, but the plan evolved by Ely Culbertson merits more than average attention. Realizing the world cannot wait until a particular ideology—political, economic, or religious—triumphs over all others, he has built a house of peace, leaving to its individual members the freedom for making future political and economic adjustments. Emphasizing the necessity of having a plan ready in the event of a sudden collapse of the Axis, he warns that in such a circumstance we would be less prepared for peace than we were for war.

Culbertson asserts that there are scores of indirect causes of wars, but the direct cause of all wars of aggression arises from purely psychological mechanism, and that in every nation, whether Fascist, Communist or Democratic, there exists a war party which will lead its country into a war of attack as long as effective weapons are obtainable. His plan includes the prohibition to all nations of such decisive weapons.

Culbertson says, "It is not enough to defeat the war lords. In order to prevent the ultimate destruction of all free civilization, the war idea must be put into a strait-jacket by creating a peace-machine more powerful than a war-machine.

"Can such a peace-machine be built? Can the devastating forces of nationalism be neutralized?" Culbertson's answer is convincingly "Yes. The industrial revolution has created new conditions," he says, "which make lasting peace possible immediately after victory," for these reasons:

1. All nations, except the five large industrial nations, are comparatively disarmed, and after the war the munitions monopoly will be controlled by the United States, Great Britain and Russia. All decisive weapons can easily be transferred, therefore, to a world cooperative of all nations.

2. The United States will emerge from this war as the greatest military power of all time, and it can do what no other nation could ever before do, "declare lasting peace on the World."

The Plan includes a technique for collective security, world government and world economy as well as the creation of a World Police Force, avoiding the risk of creating ultimate military tyranny, by a system of Quotas. A new system of Regional Federations aids in creating a world government strong enough to maintain order, and yet not interfere with the sovereignty and freedom of nations. The economic structure of Regional Federations provides opportunity for the backward nations to rise.

The author advocates proclaiming now to the enemy nations just conditions of peace—guaranteeing that they will not be changed after the war. He proposes to establish world-wide educational, scientific, and economic institutions to develop international cooperation in economic activity, including world free trade.

## *Eleven Regional Federations*

The World Federation would comprise eleven regional Units, which would embrace the seventy odd sovereign nations. Each Region would form a natural economic, psycho-social and geopolitical unit containing a balance between agriculture, industry and available raw materials. Each Regional Unit or Federation would be held together by a government of elected representatives from its several States. The World Federation, whose duty is the maintenance of peace, would in turn be operated by a body elected by the eleven Regions. This method would reduce the number of nations to workable units without diminishing the rights of each State. He designates the eleven sovereign States in the Federation as: American, British, Latin, Germanic, Middle European, Middle Eastern, Russian, Chinese, Japanese, Malaysian and Indian.

Mr. Culbertson says:

"To start the World Federation it is necessary for only two or more Regional Federations to become members. Germany, Italy and Japan are required to join as one of the conditions of peace. For other States, there shall be no coercion, but neither shall they share in the privileges of membership. If organized at once, the Federation would not only be helpful in winning and shortening the war, but is a ready-made means for compelling the Axis to be good neighbors, for they would have no choice but to join and subscribe to its constitution.

## *Quota Force of Police*

"Without an International Police Force there can be no guarantee of peace; but the creation of such a Force

is envisioned along more realistic lines than proposed heretofore. The United States, Britain or Russia would never consent to disarmament, and place their destiny in the hands of a body composed largely of foreigners and perhaps enemies."

The fear that an International Police Force would evolve into a military oligarchy to enslave the world, was responsible for the failure of the League of Nations, but Mr. Culbertson has presented a solution in a new system of composition and distribution of the armed forces based on decisive weapons, in what he calls the Quota Force.

"Under this plan the World Federation Government would have a monopoly of the manufacture of heavy weapons, and would permit only its own World Police to have them in their possession. A fixed quota of men recruited from each of the eleven States, and a Mobile Corps made up of units from member States, would comprise all the armed forces in the world. When not otherwise needed, each contingent of the World Police would be stationed in its country of origin, whereas the Mobile Corps would be stationed on strategically located islands. Each national contingent of police, although maintained by the World Federation Government, remains a national armed force in the Country of origin, while the Mobile Corps would be under the direct training and command of the World Federation, and would act as the shock troops of the World Police. In case of attempted aggression, the latter troops would be the first to be used, and the National contingents called on only if necessary. In no case would a National Unit be required to participate in military operations against its country of origin.

"The right of revolution is preserved by a provision which prohibits the World Police from interfering in the internal affairs of any State. Each National army serves a double purpose, for it acts as assurance against its own country in which it is stationed, as well as a force available to the World Federation to attack aggressors. The National forces do not belong to their own countries but are lend-leased to the World Federation as a guarantee against tyranny of the Federal Government. It is psychologically certain that the National Army of the United States would never turn against its mother country in support of a tyrannical World Federation, but would turn against any other country which attempted aggression. It is note-worthy that through the quota system, defense against aggression is placed in the hands of the weaker nations, which collectively become the greatest military power."

Mr. Culbertson declares that it is not possible to conceive any combination of nations which would conduct a war of aggression without being decisively outnumbered.

Under the Culbertson Plan with the Quota Force in operation, the Axis countries, being members of the Federation, would organize their own "army of occupation" composed, not of foreigners, but of their countrymen. The adoption of the Plan at once would make it possible to establish National Quota armies and a World

Police Force within a year of the termination of hostilities, thus obviously minimizing the cost to each nation of military security. The author believes that this saving alone would be so great as to mark the beginning of a new civilization of a higher order.

The careful study of the Culbertson Plan will help all to understand and evaluate the difficulties underlying and hindering the establishment of peace.

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## A NOTE ON BURMA

**E**VENTS are moving fast now, like a high wind. And like this wind they have overthrown things that cannot be restored to their original state. Little-known Burma is undergoing a drastic change, which is of significant importance to Georgeists.

The *New Republic* notes that the Japanese occupation of Burma is of an essentially different nature from other conquests, but while it estimates the political situation correctly, it undervalues the economic state of affairs that we know to be of greater import. General Wavell has undertaken a re-conquest of part of Burma, and being our ally we hope he is successful. Many factors, however, are present that make his attempt uncertain beyond a purely local area.

The Burmese natives have been long dispossessed of their land, and exploited by British and Indian capital on huge plantations. When the Japanese forced the British to withdraw, the news accounts spoke of the Burmese apathy, and even of Burmese attacks on the British and Indians. The resentment of the landless and disinherited natives was apparent.

The Japanese determined to allow Burma a semi-independent government, putting the previously imprisoned U-Saw at its head, and encouraging the formation of a Burmese army as an ally. Although the Japanese are primarily interested in India, and use Burma as a pawn, still the strategy seems to be fairly successful. More important, however, from our point of view, is that the Japanese have broken up the large plantations and allowed the natives to take possession of the land. Here we have a major stroke.

Given their birthright, the opportunity for labor to work on land with the prospect of keeping its wages for its own use, a bond of friendship is being forged between Burmese peasant and Japan. It matters not our suspecting, with reason, that Japan may later repudiate these acts, and go back to the old imperialistic enslavement. At present, the Burmese have more reason to be grateful to our enemy, and will look with alarm at a British effort to re-take the land. It is likely that Burma will actively oppose the United Nations. To date General Wavell's Indian army has taken back only a small portion of territory, one mainly inhabited by Indians and unfortified. It remains to be seen whether this army encounters serious opposition from men who feel they are free again.—A. B.